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FEBRUARY, 1811.

ART. I. *Histoire des premiers Temps de la Grèce, depuis Inachus jusqu'à la Chute des Pisistratides; pour servir d'Introduction à tous les Ouvrages qui ont paru à ce Sujet: avec des Tableaux généalogiques des principales Familles de la Grèce.* Par M. Clavier, Juge en la Cour de Justice Criminelle séant à Paris. 2 tom. 8vo. Paris. 1809.

THE present state of classical learning in France is, perhaps, scarcely so flourishing as might naturally have been expected. After all that has been said on the question, whether it is under the influence of liberty, or the fostering protection of a munificent despotism, that arts, sciences, and letters, are the most likely to thrive, it would seem that no decisive or universal answer can be given to that question, excepting as to one description of studies,—those of political philosophy. To a class of mental pursuits, immediately conversant with the foundations of government, it is impossible that a government which has no other foundation than force, should, under any circumstances, be propitious; but, beyond this point, despotism appears to have no direct interest in pushing the principle of exclusion. It is indeed true that almost every species and degree of mental cultivation must, in some measure, tend to promote the growth of a spirit of liberty; but, in most cases, this tendency is only *ultimate*, and the dangers with which it menaces a despotic ruler, are too remote and contingent to be balanced against the present advantages which he may derive from affording encouragement to the politer studies; partly as such a course of proceeding may conveniently serve, in the first instance at least, to divert a considerable portion of the intelligence of his subjects from political inquiries; partly as it may place him in a popular and engaging point of view; and, above all, as it may surround him with able and willing heralds of his fame. Ancient literature may fairly be included within the scope of this observation. For, though several of the standard classical productions might pass for absolute manuals of republicanism, we need not say

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how many of them breathe a far different language; and the truth is, that by much the greater number of the subjects which ordinarily occupy the attention of the classical scholar, have no positive political aspect whatsoever. Upon this field, therefore, we should have been apt to imagine that the French sçavans, zealous as they have undoubtedly shewn themselves in the cause of knowledge, would have bestowed a considerable share of their labour; but the fact is otherwise. Amidst the many splendid works, of a scientific or descriptive nature, poured forth from time to time by the Parisian press, though there are not a few, particularly in the descriptive department, which the student of the classics must value as furnishing excellent materials for his researches, he will yet find no great proportion that can be considered as directly of a learned nature.

Yet this remark, as even our present number will sufficiently evince, is not without exceptions; and certainly, a very respectable one now lies before us. The classical acquirements of M. Clavier have, it seems, procured for him the patronage of the French court: and, if we are not greatly misinformed, it is to these acquirements that he owes the distinction which has annexed so honourable a title to his name. If such be the fact, however, we cannot but observe that the honour is rather to the merits of M. Clavier, and perhaps to the personal liberality of his imperial master, than to the constitution of that government which it is at present the fashion in France to eulogize as a revival of the reign of Saturn. The citizens of a free state are accustomed to regard high political and judicial situations as the natural prizes of eminent and probably laborious service in those respective lines; nor can they help deeming such dignities to be very inappropriate rewards for achievements of a purely academical character. It may be an auspicious sign for the science or literature of a country, but is undoubtedly an evil omen for its liberties, when the great trusts of office are placed in the hands of *mandarins of science*, or when the administration of justice is confided to jurisconsults because they are learned in the law of Crete, and familiarly conversant with the precedents of the judgment of Paris and the trial of Mars.

Our present concern, however, is not with the decisions of M. Clavier, but with his history; of which yet we are constrained to observe that, in the qualities of gaiety and liveliness, a considerable portion of it nearly resembles what we might expect to fall from the learned judge in his professional capacity. Let it be noted, at the same time, that this misfortune was unavoidable, or, at least, avoidable no otherwise than by an avoidance of the subject. 'The early times of Greece' present a waste extent of darkness and

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and perplexity, into which even the art of Homer, unassisted by his invention, could scarcely have infused a particle of spirit or fascination. Through a long, difficult, and intricate navigation, the historian has to steer by the obscure and intermitting light of a few dimly-twinkling authorities, and with no other compass than loose conjecture. In effect, a great part of the volumes before us bears the appearance, rather of a chronological or archæological essay, than of a history. On such a foundation, it would be impossible for us to raise an agreeable or interesting article, even if our pen could boast a far greater share of vivific energy than we can compliment it with possessing. As the best compromise, however, of which the occasion allows, we shall separate our observations into two distinct classes; considering, under the first head, which is addressed to the scholar and the antiquarian, not to the general reader, the more dry and crabbed parts of the subject; and referring the more popular topics to the second, which by these means will become, we will not say more entertaining, but at least less decidedly dull and oppressive. Addressing ourselves, then, in the first instance, to the former task, we here bid adieu, for a short interval, to all our idler, lighter, and fairer readers, intreating them to wind round the base of the rugged ascent which they behold us about to climb, and anticipating a happy restoration to their society in the valley beyond.

So far as we can collect from the preliminary discourse of M. Clavier, the estimate which he has formed of his own work, it would seem that he conceives its principal merit to consist in the scheme which it exhibits of the chronology of the early Greek history, and, as subservient to this end, in the researches on which it largely enters into the origin and course of the more distinguished families who appear in that history. It is apparently with allusion to its uses in this respect, that the book is, somewhat magnificently, announced in the title-page as designed for an introduction to all the existing histories of Greece; and the fact is, that it was originally composed as introductory to the historical sketches in Pausanias, of which author M. Clavier has prepared, and intends to publish, a translation. After all, however, as we are given to understand in the preliminary discourse, the title-page much under-states the value of our author's speculations: 'Cet essai pourra servir d'introduction à toutes les histoires de la Grèce qui ont paru jusqu'à présent, et *j'ose même dire qu'il est indispensable pour ceux qui voudront les lire avec quelque fruit.*' A blushing, hesitating avowal, which, it must be owned, savours of the characteristic naïveté of the great nation; but, for ourselves, we witness, without any very lively sally of resentment, the self-gratulation with which a man of learning and industry contemplates a

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monument, reared by his own most laborious exertions, to his fame. Nor, indeed, does M. Clavier at all attempt to monopolize the credit of the system which he presents to the world. On the contrary, he declares himself under the deepest obligations to a countryman of his own, with whose reputation at least, if not with his works, every English scholar is familiar, the well-informed and able Freret. The chief ground in truth, on which the chronology of M. Clavier stands, is the principle of *genealogical synchronisms;* a principle perfectly well known to the ancient chronologers, but which, in modern times, was first revived, as our author assures us, by Freret, and which is, as he thinks, of such importance, that the revival of it may well entitle Freret to the appellation of *the father of historic criticism.* Considerably more is comprehended under this title than it probably was intended to convey; nor, indeed, is there a doubt that the principle in question had been partially employed by modern chronologers antecedently to the time of Freret; but we notwithstanding admit, that the almost exclusive stress laid on it by that sagacious antiquarian, and the minuteness with which he has followed it out into its practical consequences, in some degree justify the pretensions urged on his behalf by the present writer, and may be considered as constituting him the founder of a new chronological school.

To those who may be unacquainted with the principle of genealogical synchronisms, a single example of the manner in which it is actually applied, will probably afford a clearer insight into its nature than the most precise definition. Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, established a sort of sovereignty in the Chersonese, about 560 years before our æra. But this Miltiades was the sixteenth in descent from Ajax Telamon; and allowing, according to the usual computation, three generations to a century, sixteen generations will take about 533 years; whence we shall have the death of Ajax about (560 + 533 =) 1093 years before our æra. Therefore we may say that Troy, by this reckoning, was taken about 1090 years before our æra. Again; Agis, king of Sparta, was the twenty-third in descent from Aristodemus, who was one of the Heraclidæ, and died just before the expedition of that family into the Peloponnesus, leaving two sons of a tender age. Now Agis was murdered about 240 years before our æra, and all chronologers agree that the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ took place about 80 years after the capture of Troy; twenty-three generations occupy nearly 767 years; from all which premises it follows that the epoch of the capture of Troy was about the year before our æra (240 + 767 + 80 =) 1087; in almost exact consonance with the result of the former calculation. This simple

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simple case sufficiently illustrates the principle; of which, however, the application is occasionally somewhat intricate.

But it must not be imagined that M. Clavier is merely a servile attendant on his great leader; for, in two important respects at least, he may claim the praise of originality. Freret, discussing the general subject of ancient chronology, did not, in regard to the particular case of Greece, develope his system with perfect fulness of detail, and principally confined himself to that portion of the Grecian history, which falls below the Trojan war. M. Clavier, on the contrary, has thoroughly explored every nook and cranny of the Helladian legends from Inachus to Pisistratus. Pervading this broad interval by the help of the synchronisms which he from time to time discovers, as we cross a stream by means of stepping-stones, he has called forth and systematised a hundred family-histories which lay buried under the rubbish of centuries of barbarism; and scarcely the name of one *swift-footed* or *golden-haired* hero has been discovered in the tattered relics of the classical chronologers, who is not here regularly *filiated*, and traced to a local habitation. Farther, it must be remarked that Freret did not adhere with unvarying steadiness and simplicity to the great chronological principle which he had been so anxious to establish. Desirous of accommodating his genealogies to certain preconceived notions, he strained them beyond all bounds; and, not content with vindicating the vulgar chronology against the Newtonian, actually placed the Trojan war sixty years earlier than even the date which the vulgar chronology assigns to that event. The present author, on the contrary, has been uniformly faithful to his polar star of genealogy; and it has guided him to a point somewhat more below the vulgar standard than Freret ascended beyond it. By the vulgar standard we mean that of Usher, which, with some variations, but variations immaterial when the question is respecting half a century, seems to have been adopted by the majority of late chronologers.

The work of M. Clavier undoubtedly does great credit to his learning, industry, and research. By those who fully acquiesce in the fundamental positions on which the author relies, this system must be considered as a much-improved edition of that of Freret,—improved, not only by enlargement, we mean as to the history of Greece, but also by emendation. The system, however, may be examined with advantage even by those who view its foundations with some degree of distrust; although in what manner such persons may derive benefit from the examination, we shall be able more conveniently to explain hereafter. In the interim, we frankly acknowledge that to this class of doubters we ourselves belong; and, with every sentiment of respect both for Freret and his present

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coadjutor, and with a distinct conviction that many of the proofs on which the Newtonian Chronology has been made to rest are worse than suspicious, we must own ourselves not thoroughly satisfied of the superiority of the vulgar system, either in its usual form, or as modified by the author before us, to that of Newton. In proceeding to state some of the reasons of our doubts on the subject, we shall no longer particularly keep in view the distinction between the chronology of Usher and that of M. Clavier; for, though that distinction amounts to little less than the interval of a century, yet the chronology of Newton (we are, of course, speaking of his *profane* chronology,) is distant from both the former by considerably more than three times the same interval. Besides this, the system of M. Clavier is liable, and in an aggravated degree, to some of the identical objections which Newton, with whatever conclusiveness, urged against the vulgar system. The latter is principally formed on the dates transmitted to us by the ancients, which dates are supposed to have been fixed in part by a computation of the royal genealogies of Greece, at the rate of three descents to a century; and it is on this very ground that Newton has erected against it some of his strongest works. Those works, however, are manifestly still stronger as against the chronological scheme of M. Clavier, than as they were originally intended; because, how far the ancient schemes were constructed on the alleged basis, or any similar basis of computation, may be, and in fact has been*, questioned; but no such question can be raised respecting the scheme of M. Clavier.

It is not our purpose to expatiate on the confusedness and uncertainty, so long ago remarked by Pausanias,† of the old Greek genealogies, or on the embarrassing mixture of fable with which they are evidently but inextricably entangled. Else, a good deal might be observed on these topics. It might be observed, for example, that, according to some of the ancient writers, Inachus, king of Argos, or his son Phoroneus, was the earliest Grecian monarch, while, by others, we are confidently presented with a formal list of six or seven successive kings, who had reigned in Sicyon previously to the existence of Inachus or Phoroneus. It might be observed, farther, that, after descending through three generations of human beings from Japetus inclusive, we are not a little astonished at recognizing, in the fourth step, our old acquaintance the volatile Mercury; and that, after a similar descent, of no fewer than fourteen stages from Inachus, we discover, with a surprise equal to that of Horace on a like occasion, Bacchus justly styled

* See Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, pref. to vol. 2. vers. fin.

† Lib. 8, c. 53.

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'ever young.' These are mere specimens, though certainly strong ones, of the contradictions and absurdities with which the genealogical legends of Greece abound, and that, so far at least as the contradictions are concerned, with respect to periods greatly more recent than the Trojan war. We are content, however, with dropping a hint on this part of the subject, and shall pursue our attack in a somewhat different quarter.

It is found, that, on an average, there are three successive generations of mankind to a century, or, which is the same thing, about 33⅓ years to a generation. On this principal, the genealogical chronologies of the ancients seem to have been computed; and it is applied in the same manner by M. Clavier. But here it is particularly to be observed, that the majority of the genealogies so computed, are *royal* genealogies. That is, they are certain recorded successions of kings, of which, we are told, that they proceeded regularly onwards from father to son. Thus the chronology of Greece, from the period of the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the family of Hercules down to the times of more authentic history, is determined principally by the number of reigns in the regal lines of Sparta, Messene, Corinth, Arcadia, and Macedon; all of which sovereignties are said to have, during that interval, or the greater part of it, flowed without interruption in a course of lineal descent; and the law of lineal descent enjoins the allowance of three generations to a century. To the royal genealogies just enumerated, the limits of both our subject and our space induce us to confine our attention.

Now it occurred to Newton, that the propriety of the allowance of three reigns to a century, which is claimed for all these concurrent successions, finds no support or countenance throughout the compass of ascertained and indisputable history. Exceptions may doubtless be discovered to the position; but, on an average, the rate of regal succession has proceeded with a far greater rapidity than would have been prescribed by the law of lineal descent. In order to place the matter beyond controversy, Newton set himself carefully to examine the catalogue of such regal successions as fall within the period of historic certainty, and to deduce from these an average for the lengths of reigns. He compared together the lists of the kings of Israel, the kings of Judah, the successors of Nabonassar in Babylon, those of Cyrus in Persia, the Macedonian monarchs from Alexander, the Ptolomies, the Seleucidæ, the kings of England, and those of France; and the result was that he determined the proportion of the average length of reigns to that of generations to be as 18 or 20 to 33 or 34. It is true that the accuracy of this proportion has been disputed; but the error charged on it is not such as would materially affect it in

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practice. According to a learned living chronologer, Dr. Hales, the average length of reigns is about 22½ years; an amount not very discrepant from the standard assigned by Newton, though we could in our turn object to some of the data from which this corrected expression is derived.

The causes of the difference, in point of duration, between reigns and descents, must be sufficiently obvious. A monarch dies without issue, and is succeeded by his brother; in which case, though there are two reigns, there is but one generation. Or he is succeeded by his father's brother; in which case there are no fewer than three reigns to one generation. These interruptions of the lineal course, are, in a long series of reigns, very probable occurrences, and, when the question is respecting several concurrent monarchies, occurrencies morally certain. A succession of reigns, therefore, does not, on a average, coincide with the contemporary succession of descents; or, which is the same thing, a list of successive kings is very seldom a *genealogy*. But, besides the occasional supersession of the direct by the collateral line, kings are frequently deposed, and the substituted individual may be of equal or superior age with him whom he has supplanted. For the sake, however, of simplifying the discussion, let us leave unnoticed the possibility of such deposals; and still, the liability of the direct line to interruption, will alone sufficiently authorize us to adopt the computation of Dr. Hales, which makes the ratio of the average length of reigns to that of generations as 22½ to 33⅓, or nearly 2 to 3.

Thus fortified by historic experience, the Newtonians ask the question, Why a rule of computation which is found to hold with respect to all ascertained time, is to be rejected from the early regal successions of Greece, and, were it necessary, we might add, of Egypt, Babylon, and Italy? They demand that a reason shall be assigned for excepting, not one of these as an accidental case, but almost altogether, from a maxim of known universality, and throw the burden of proof on their opponents.

To a certain extent, a reply has been made, which seems in a good measure conclusive. The objection of Newton against the vulgar mode of computation extended to the whole of fabulous history. It was very forcibly answered, therefore, that the æra of a part of that history may, with the highest probability, be supposed to have fallen within the times of patriarchal longevity recorded in Scripture; during which the progress of reigns, like that of generations, must, on the whole, have been decidedly slower than at present. But it is obvious that the observation must be confined to very early ages. No benefit, for example, can be claimed from it by that portion of classical history which is subsequent to the Tro-

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jan war. According to the date assigned to that event, even by the vulgar chronology, it preceded the time of David by little more than a century; and it very distinctly appears from the sacred books that, at a period anterior to that of David by at least one or two generations, and it seems probable that at a still earlier period, the ordinary duration of human life had subsided to its present level. It still remains, then, to be explained, why the chronology of the regal lines below the Trojan war should not be reduced according to the modern standard. And it is observable, that, if these are so reduced, the elder lines also, by being necessarily brought lower down, will in proportion be excluded from profiting by the longevity of the patriarchal ages.

From the manner in which we stated this question at the outset, the grand defence, which the advocates of the vulgar chronology have set up against the objections just stated, will have been anticipated. They contend that those objections sufficiently refute themselves, as being founded on the supposition of *an interruption of the direct regal line*, a supposition which is, in the present case, excluded. With relation, for instance, to the kings of the race of Hercules, it is the consenting report, as Freret observes, of all antiquity, that, through the whole of the period now in question, the sovereignties of Sparta, Messene, Corinth, Arcadia, and Macedon, were regularly transmitted downwards in the course of lineal descent. What, then, more plain, than that the law of lineal descent should be employed to regulate the chronology of those sovereignties? In order to confirm his argument, this indefatigable chronologer took pains to establish the point by actual examination, that, in most cases where reigns have been shorter than the average length of a generation, they have been abbreviated by an interruption of the direct line, and perhaps by the introduction of a new family. On this reasoning some of the followers of Freret have laid great stress; and, although M. Clavier does not in express terms allude to it, yet, from his professions of a general acquiescence in the answers offered by Freret to the objections of Newton, we have no doubt that he considers it as conclusive.

The argument in question seems built on what is nearly a truism; for it may readily be conceded, that, so far as any given regal succession has proceeded in the direct line, so far, generally speaking, it has been governed by the genealogical rule of three steps to a century. But, with the utmost deference to the acknowledged and undeniable acuteness of Freret, we are constrained to observe, that his reasoning cannot be applied as he would apply it, without a considerable confusion of ideas; and that, while he has bestowed much labour in proving what never was controverted, he has begged the whole of the question really at issue. When it is affirmed, by the

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the followers of Newton, to be highly improbable that several concurrent successions of reigns should occupy what would amount to the proportion of thirty-three years to a reign, the principal reason of this improbability is, because it is highly improbable that several concurrent successions of reigns should proceed unbrokenly in a direct line. The one improbability measures the other, or rather is the same with it. It is precisely *because* the lineal descent is apt to be interrupted, that the law which regulates lineal descent will not in this case apply; and if actual experiment, within the range of authentic history, proves that, even where a sovereignty is quietly transmitted downwards in the same family, the succession is not apt to follow the law of lineal descent, it necessarily, and in the very same degree, proves that the succession is not apt to follow the *course* of lineal descents. When, therefore, the recorded chronology of early Greece is charged with falsehood, because, contrary to all experience, it supposes several coincident regal successions to have obeyed, for centuries together, the lineal law, in what manner is its truth demonstrated by asserting that it, in fact, supposes those successions to have been lineal? This involves the very point in which its alleged falsehood consists; and to urge this as an answer to the charge, is something like assuming the thing to be proved as part of the proof. It is not making one difficulty explain another, only because it approaches to the still more questionable device of making a difficulty explain itself.

Single examples, we again admit, may be found, in which a crown has for a long period regularly been handed from father to son. The catalogue of the kings of Judah presents us with eighteen kings in a direct line; a remarkable circumstance, but, like other remarkable circumstances, capable of being substantiated by testimony. In this instance, indeed, it is farther worthy of observation, that early marriages and violent deaths reduced the average length of reigns considerably below thirty years. Otherwise, the case may be considered as nearly parallel with that of the Spartan kings of the race of Eurysthenes, of whom sixteen, as we are told, reigned in a direct line. Each case is uncommon, though neither reaches the point of positive improbability. But here is the distinction;—the succession of the kings of Judah is *unique;* nothing like a long regular course can be traced in any of the concurrent royalties mentioned in Scripture; and that of Judah, of which the whole history is minutely given, is sown thick with interruptions, chiefly indeed from deposals and usurpations. On the other hand, let us observe what we are called to believe in the Grecian history. First, there were two consociate races of Spartan kings; and as from Eurysthenes inclusive, the lineal descent continued for sixteen reigns, so, at the very same time, from his brother Procles inclusive,

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sive, the lineal descent continued for fifteen reigns. What casts additional suspicion on this very suspicious account, is that this double continuity of lineal descent is exclusively confined to the times which preceded the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, that is, to the dark ages of Greece. Immediately after that æra, we find, in the race of Eurysthenes, Cleomenes succeeded by his half-brother Leonidas; Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, succeeded by his cousin Plistoanax; and, in three generations more, Agesipolis by his brother Cleombrotus. Beginning at the same point, we find, in the race of Proeles, Demaratus displaced by his cousin Leotychides; and, after two more reigns, Agis succeeded by his half-brother Agesilaus. These changes are in the natural course of things; but previously to these, the chronologers palm upon us fifteen or sixteen successive kings of each line, one and all of them in the direct descent; a relation, which surely cannot be received without much hesitation and wonder.

It would be well, however, if we could stop here, or if the chronologers either would or could be content with placing an exclusive reliance on the royal genealogies of Sparta. But Freret, in behalf both of himself and of the ancients, strongly disclaims such a principle; and the truth is, that, unsupported by the other concurrent royal genealogies, the basis of the system of synchronisms would be greatly weakened. There are exhibited, therefore, catalogues of the kings of Messene down to the extinction of that kingdom; of Corinth and Arcadia, down to the periods in which royalty was abolished in those states respectively; and of Macedon, down to the epoch of the Persian invasion. These lives occupied different lengths of time; but the shortest lasted for centuries; and as they are all said to have been direct, the chronology of every one of them is computed by the proportion of three reigns to a century. Now it has already been observed, that the circumstance of a long succession of sovereigns, proceeding according to the course of lineal descent, as in itself it is remarkable, so is rendered considerably improbable, when asserted of two coincident royal races like those of Sparta. What shall we say, then, when to these two lines a third is added, standing precisely, we are assured, in the same predicament? What, when still farther, a fourth,—a fifth,—a sixth? Six concurrent lines, all from the same stock, all within the limits of Greece, five of them within the narrow nook of the Peloponnesus, and this during a period comparatively darkened by barbarism, and ensanguined by such warfare and bloodshed as barbarism ordinarily produces,—yet all proceeding for ages together in mutual unison, but by gradations so inconsistent with the common rule of succession, that it probably would be a task of some little labour to discover six other such exceptions to it, at whatever distance

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tance from each other, throughout the whole extent of ascertained history. For ourselves, we must own that we find this so great a demand on our credulity as we can ill afford to satisfy. Even the plainest terms of language seem to be confounded together, when we hear of a rule which in every instance fails, and of an exception which is in every instance exemplified.

It must always be remembered, that we are here speaking of the world as it actually is. If men lived two or three hundred years or more, it would be a highly improbable occurrence that any of them should ever die without leaving some issue; and, in that event, the long undeviating progress of a family in a right line would not be at all surprizing. That the matter is not so in the present state of things, that the presumption is the other way, any man may satisfy himself, who will attend to such histories of the course of private families as he has the means of knowing. Yet this is, in some respects, the weaker case. For royal life was exposed to peculiar hazards in times when barbarism and war prevailed, when wars were murderous and wearing beyond all modern experience, when kings were always expected to be the leaders of their own forces, and when the leader was such, not figuratively but literally.

But the facts in question, it is said, however wonderful, are attested by the conspiring voice of antiquity. Here again the point in dispute seems to be begged. That there is no fact so singular, provided only that it does not involve a contradiction, of which the truth may not be established by a certain weight of testimony, Newton was fully aware: much better aware than, we are sorry to say, Freret latterly shewed himself. In the present case, however, the testimony is extremely imperfect. It is that of authors speaking to events which confessedly took place many centuries before their own time, and in an age of barbarism; and the authors, in a great measure, copy the stories from each other. To such evidence Newton very allowably opposed the radical improbability of the things related; and the credit, in this respect, of the testimony, being thus directly put in issue, certainly cannot be quoted in its own favour. If it be merely meant that the authors alluded to, having computed the chronology of certain regal successions according to the law of lineal descent, are at least consistent in asserting that those successions were indeed lineal, the plea may surely be allowed; but it is, to make the most of it, not very forcible, since the charge against those authors is that of inconsistency, not with themselves, but with experience.

In addition to the grand argument already noticed, some auxiliary explanations have been offered of the pretended length of reigns in early Greece, and especially in the two Spartan lines. On behalf of the latter, it is in the first place alleged, that the kings of

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of Sparta were not allowed to marry young, probably not till the age of thirty-seven; a circumstance which would of course tend to increase the chance of long minorities. With respect to this allegation, as it is disallowed, and we think justly, by M. Clavier, we shall only remark, that the fact, even if admitted, would by no means be conclusive in favour of the hypothesis which it is adduced to support. For, if the lateness of the royal marriages would tend, as it would undoubtedly tend, to increase the chance of long minorities, yet it would in nearly the same degree tend to increase the chance of the sovereign's dying before he had any issue at all, that is, the chance of the introduction of the collateral line; and it is plain that this latter effect, as far as it extended, must counteract the former.

Next, it is contended that some long minorities actually occur in the history of the Spartan kings; on which it may be enough to observe, that the general rule furnished by experience for the average length of reigns, fully provides for the occasional occurrence of long minorities. When it is calculated, that, in the lineal descent, three generations ordinarily fill a century, it is meant to be perfectly understood, at the same time, that particular cases very greatly err on both sides of this medium. On the whole, however, long minorities and premature deaths mutually compensate for each other; and, on this rule, the proportion is struck. In reckoning the duration of a series of reigns, the occasional intrusion of the collateral descent so far alters our proportion, that the medium allowance to every term in the series is reduced to 22½ years. But it is manifestly impossible to balance this reduction by talking of long minorities; for the possibility of these was sufficiently taken into the account in the first instance.

Lastly, it is urged that, from the beginning of the first Messenian war downwards, the assumed proportion of three reigns to a century was actually verified in both the Spartan lines. Were the fact proved, so extraordinary a circumstance would not authorise our extending the same scale of computation farther back than the first Messenian war; but the truth is, that the date of this war is precisely one of the posts contested between the Newtonian and the common chronology. The single direct authority for the date vulgarly assigned, is, we believe, a passage in Pausanias, the verbal correctness of which as delivered down to us, Mr. Mitford disputes; and, even if the passage be incorrupt, there was abundant room for a mistake on the part of the author.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the pleas of late marriages and long minorities have been set up in defence of all the royal lines on which we have commented, though certainly in every other case more vaguely and loosely than in that of Sparta. How far such

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such explanations are calculated to relieve us from the difficulties of the subject, has, in reference to that case, already been shewn; and we fear that the explanations no more gain strength or probability by recurring in so many additional instances, than the fraction of an unit gains magnitude by being repeatedly multiplied into itself.

It is doing no more than justice, however, to the system of Freret and M. Clavier, to state that it does not depend solely on royal or public successions, recorded in the archives of states, but in part, also, on private genealogies which were preserved, as these authors suppose, in the bosom of particular families. Of these they have, with great industry, made out several; as, among others, those of Miltiades of Athens, and of Battus who has the credit of having founded the kingdom of Cyrene; and they find that these, generally speaking, synchronise very tolerably, with the royal successions already mentioned. Now there is room to believe that a private genealogy, as the object of it usually is to trace the filiation of some living person, will simply recount the steps of his lineage from father to son, without noticing those branches of the common stem who may have died off without issue. On this account, in computing it chronologically, we may safely allow three successive names to a century; and if, therefore, thus computed, it is found to harmonise with any particular succession of kings, the presumption may be raised that such succession of kings must have proceeded regularly in the direct line. We have not had the leisure to investigate the private genealogies relied on by Messrs. Freret and Clavier; nor know how far it can be ascertained, (if indeed it be not folly to talk of ascertaining any thing on the matter,) whether the object of such genealogies was simply to trace the lineage of individuals, or whether it was not rather to trace *the representation of families*, in which latter case every man who had ever headed the family would be recorded, though he should have died childless and left his place to collaterals. At all events, however, it strongly appears to us that the authority of these genealogies, though it may effectually prevail to load the question with new perplexities, is by no means adequate to remove those by which it was previously embarrassed.

Before we quit this subject, we would address one general observation to the genealogical synchronists; whom we cannot help reminding that, in the application of their master-principle, they have not a little sacrificed that simplicity on the ground of which it stood chiefly recommended. When we deduce from certain experience an average for the ordinary rate of human descent, or of royal succession, and when we employ this result to settle the chronology of the catalogues of either kind transmitted down to us from

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from the dark ages, we make use of a rule, broad, defined, and *one*; we entirely release ourselves from the embarrassments that might be occasioned by an attention to the numeral dates recorded in the extant copies of ancient authors; and reduce to the least possible compass, and to one single class, every other difficulty by which the information contained in those authors is clogged. If again, out of deference to the scriptural statement that the length of human life was formerly far greater than at present, we qualify, with respect to the more ancient fables, the chronological calculus furnished by modern experience, here doubtless we admit an exception to our rule, but an exception of which the principle, though not perhaps as easy of application, is yet in itself as broad and simple as that of the rule itself. The matter, however, is perfectly altered, if, when we compute the chronology of a particular succession of kings, traditionally preserved, we are to find in the special circumstances of the case, some reason for deviating from all established canons of computation, some new calculus, confessedly neither sanctioned by experience, nor prescribed by unerring authority. It was comparatively little for the ancient chronologers to hand down to us a collection of successive names; it was by one degree more difficult to vouch that those names were all in a direct line of descent; but when they undertake to tell us with regard to princes who lived in distant and obscure times, whether they married at the age of twenty or of forty, or whether each was thirteen years old at his father's death, or thirty, they exact considerably more from our belief. Nor is the matter greatly mended, if they have not told us these things clearly, but have left us the task of searching them out, by sifting, comparing, and moulding together, twenty different hints, more or less obscure, from as many different authors. Here we have made a deep encroachment on the simplicity of our principle. We have rendered it dependent on those very criteria, which we had before renounced as fallacious and unmanageable, and from which we had hailed it as promising us an escape. We have deserted the bridge which we had built for a safe and easy transit across 'the palpable obscure' of ancient legends, and must once more

> 'O'er bog, o'er steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
> With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursue our way.'

In the few strictures which we have ventured to offer on the Newtonian, as contrasted with the vulgar chronology, we have confined ourselves, not only to the principles of genealogical computation respectively adopted by each, but to these solely as illustrated by the history of the early times of Greece. The reader will perceive that this path was prescribed to us by our present subject;

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subject; but it cannot be unknown to him, that this constitutes but one part of a very wide and complicated field of inquiry, and that those who would become familiar with the whole question, must turn over a far greater quantity of materials than the utmost ingenuity could compress into the space of the critique which we are now writing. Of arguments in opposition to the Newtonian system, no author has adduced such a store, or with such effect, as Freret himself; and, even where his uncommon erudition and address fail to produce conviction, they still cannot but excite admiration and pleasure. Perhaps, however, the English scholar may find a readier access to the New Analysis of Chronology by Dr. Hales; who, though he seems to be imperfectly, if at all, acquainted with the writings of Freret, and though, as we think, his book would have greatly benefited by such an acquaintance, yet contends against Newton with considerable learning, ingeniously applied. Indeed, while we must decidedly reprobate the severe and indecorous terms which Dr. Hales, with warm professions of regard for the general fame of Newton, has allowed himself to employ respecting the chronological speculations of that gifted genius, and while we are persuaded that his severity is, in not a few instances, misplaced, and capable of being retorted,* it is impossible

* It would be irrelevant to enlarge on this subject in the text; but we shall give, in this place, one instance of our remark.

According to Newton, Troy was taken in the year before our æra 904; and Hesiod and Homer flourished 30 or 35 years afterwards. But Herodotus gives it as his opinion that those poets lived 400 years before himself. Now, says Dr. Hales, Herodotus was born B. C. 484. Therefore Hesiod and Homer lived B. C. 884. That is, they lived only 20 years after Newton's date for the taking of Troy; and this, it seems, is *absurd* and *altogether inconsistent* with Newton's own account of 30 or 35 years.

Newton's chronology we knew many years ago; but, from accidental circumstances, it so happens that we write without having it under our eyes. Yet, without immediate reference to it, we think we perceive in this reasoning of Dr. Hales, four radical flaws. First; when Herodotus, or any other author, not drawing a chronological scheme, but writing cursorily, mentions a round number like 400, it is perfectly hypercritical to pretend that the exact number may not be more or less by 10 or 15. Suppose that some modern writer should, in the course of a discussion on some other subject, observe that North America was discovered 300 years ago, would it not be mere perverseness to inform him that his statement was *absurd and altogether inconsistent with fact*, since the discovery in question took place, not 300, but 314, years ago? Secondly; Even were we disposed to construe the passage in Herodotus rigidly, both the form of expression which he uses, and the context, leave abundant scope for the subtraction which the Newtonian chronology requires. In the preceding sentence, the historian remarks that the knowledge of the theogony, and of the forms and natures of the gods, was with the Greeks so recent, that it might, in fact, be called an acquisition of yesterday. For, he proceeds, it appears to me that Hesiod and Homer, who first instructed the Greeks on these points, flourished *four hundred years before my time, and no more.* 'Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἥλικον τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μὲν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι.' This plainly does not amount to an assertion that those poets might not have flourished ten or fifteen years *later* than the date assigned; if the sentence is to be tied up at all, it is only on the other side, namely, that at any rate they flourished

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ble not to admit that he has made good several of the positions which he has attempted to decypher. On the other side, for an excellent defence, not indeed of all the peculiarities of the Newtonian system, but of the grand principle of cutting off near three centuries from the segment of history intercepted between the Trojan war and the institution of the Olympiads, we would refer an inquirer to some observations on Grecian chronology, which Mr. Mitford has annexed as an appendix to the third chapter of his masterly history of Greece. Mr. Mitford has, it must be owned, omitted, and we cannot very well account for the omission, to defend the computations of Newton with respect to the regal successions which we have already considered; but some other branches of the subject, he treats with equal fairness and good sense. We would especially instance his reasonings concerning the age of Homer; which, with one exception too trifling to be specified, seem to us extremely judicious and weighty, not to say, conclusive.

On the whole, it appears to us that the republic of letters has been much less than just to the Newtonian system of chronology; a system which, though in no view comparable to some other productions from the same hand, would yet have immortalised an inferior name. That it is open to many objections, and particularly, that the astronomical grounds on which it partly stands, are, not in a scientific but in a historic sense, insufficient, must, we fear, be admitted; but the case offers only a choice of difficulties; and

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flourished *no earlier*. Thirdly;—and this alone would be conclusive;—It appears a most unwarrantable assumption, that Herodotus counted the 400 years from the time of his birth. Why not from the time when he wrote his history? Why not from the time when he arrived at years of discretion? Or rather, why from any *definite* moment at all?—For the absurdity consists in exactly fixing the higher end of the term of 400 years, while the lower is so evidently vague and indeterminate. But fourthly; The higher end is likewise vague and indeterminate; unless Dr. Hales intends to maintain that Hesiod and Homer flourished only during one single year, namely, the aforesaid year, 884. If, as may be presumed, he means merely that they flourished *about* that period, we humbly submit that he concedes nearly the whole question in dispute.

This is not the only example that might be given, of the occasional rashness of Dr. Hales on this subject. On the contrary, the criticism with which he immediately follows up the foregoing, differs from it, as might easily be shewn, very little, excepting that it is urged with still greater petulance. It appears, as the author 'strongly suspects,' 'that Newton himself was aware of this absurdity and inconsistency, (the absurdity and inconsistency already commented on,) and, *to hide it*, referred the time of Hesiod and Homer, by a round-about reckoning, to the remoter date of Solomon's death, instead of referring it to the nearer date of the taking of Troy.' It appears further that, in attempting this clumsy stratagem, the unfortunate Newton ran from Scylla to Charybdis, and only subjected himself to a fresh overthrow from our modern chronologer. Our limits will not permit us to enter on the point; but the attentive reader of Dr. Hales will, we doubt not, agree with us in thinking that the blunder of Newton was precisely as great in the one case as in the other,—that is, was precisely none at all,—

Nor is it Homer nods, but we that dream.

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there are, on the other side, many among the objections of Newton to the vulgar chronology, of which we must say, if not that they are incapable of refutation, at least that we know not how they are to be refuted. It would highly gratify us to believe that the imperfect observations which we have hazarded on the Grecian chronology, might at all contribute to place in a clearer light the pretensions of the system in question,—might at all assist our readers in appreciating even the meaner work of so mighty a master. At the same time, those observations have been suggested to us by an unprejudiced view of the subject, not dictated by our veneration, however profound, for the memory of Newton; nor are we of opinion that the fading chaplet which we have flung on the tomb of this second Bacon, this other hope of British philosophy, can lose any part of its humble merit as a tribute to genius, because it is also intended as an offering to truth.

It is worthy of notice, however, that even the full establishment of the Newtonian chronology would only partially affect the value of the chronological disquisitions before us; for the synchronisms of M. Clavier, or many of them, might remain equally good, on whatever scale his genealogies or successions were calculated. As an accompaniment, too, to the study of Pausanias and other Grecian antiquaries, his work will, we think, be useful, whatever be the soundness of the chronology which it recommends; because it exhibits a sort of *paradigm* of the loose and scattered information contained in those writers, and reduces it to as much shape as it is capable of receiving. We may take this opportunity of mentioning that, while we have little doubt that M. Clavier's promised translation of Pausanias will prove a performance of merit, we are apprehensive of his making somewhat too free with the text of his author. The alteration of a word in Pausanias, which he proposes in vol. ii. p. 45, of the present publication, we hold to be inadmissible. First, his objection to the usual reading, is, as we believe, groundless. Next, the reading which he would substitute, is liable to very solid objections. Not only is it harsher in itself; but it transfers a clause from the beginning of one sentence to the end of the preceding sentence, in a manner which, as the careful reader will perceive, if he is in the habit of attending to the force of Greek particles, is inconsistent with the laws of syntax.

Our readers are, we doubt not, tired, like ourselves, of this thorny subject; and here, we are content to bid adieu to it. Before, however, we apply our attention to the historic merits, properly so called, of M. Clavier, there are two short passages, together with a note, which appear to us to call for some distinct animadversion, and this, as involving higher interests than those which occupy the attention of the mere chronologist.

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The first of these passages, with the note annexed to it, is as follows:

'Platon dit en effet * que la musique et la sculpture étoient encore de son temps en Egypte au même point où elles étoient il y avoit dix mille ans; *ce n'est pas une façon de parler*, ajoute-t-il, *quand je dis dix mille ans, mais c'est l'exacte vérité*; et comme il avoit voyagé dans ce pays-là, il avoit pu s'assurer par lui-même de cette antiquité, qui nous est d'ailleurs attestée par une foule de monumens dont la Haute Egypte est remplie.

'Cette haute antiquité ne s'accorde guères avec ce que nous lisons dans la Bible. Mais les théologiens les plus savans conviennent que si nous devons croire sans examen tout ce qu'elle nous enseigne sur le dogme et sur la morale; il n'en est pas tout-à-fait de même de ce qui est purement historique, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de nombres qui peuvent avoir été altérés, et qui l'ont été effectivement, puisque des chronologistes très-orthodoxes ont varié de près de deux mille ans sur l'époque de la création du monde; le P. Petau ne la portant qu'à l'an 3983 avant notre ère, et D. Pezron, savant bénédictin, la reculant jusqu'à l'an 5868, sans qu'on l'ait traité d'hérétique. On peut donc bien la reculer encore davantage sans offenser en rien la religion.'—Disc. Prel. pp. 5, 6.

M. Clavier does not seem aware of the limits which orthodox writers have prescribed to themselves, in dissenting from the received text of the sacred records. Of the various readings which time and accident have introduced into the copies of the originals; but, in which, however, there is on the whole incomparably less variety, than in those of any other ancient work extant; it certainly is thought allowable for commentators to select such as they may best approve. At the same time, all *conjectural* emendation of the sacred text is strictly prohibited; not from any absurd or superstitious reverence for the mortal vehicle in which immortal truth has been transmitted to us; but on this plain and rational ground, that, where the license of conjecturing is so little required, and may prove so inexpressibly dangerous, a total abstinence from it is alike prescribed to us by prudence and duty. The spirit of this general canon extends to the Mosaic chronology, which, it is well known, differs according as it is computed from the Hebrew, the Samaritan, or the Septuagint pentateuch. Now Petavius adhering, we believe, to the Hebrew dates, fixed the creation at B C. 3984 (not 3983); while we can readily conceive that Pezron, of whose rashness no less than his erudition we are not ignorant, chose to follow the dubious authority of the Septuagint. It should be observed, however, that there is some room for discrepancy even among those who reckon from any one of these sources singly; and, consequently, the *extreme* opinions entertained with

* *De Legibus*, L. II. T. 2, p. 656.

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respect to the era of the creation, by writers, whose orthodoxy has yet never been impeached, are, in fact, distant from each other by a wider interval than even M. Clavier supposes. Still, because on these principles, the commentators on the sacred chronology have been permitted to differ, it does not follow that they may differ on any principles or according to any caprice; nor, because a Benedictine has, without offence, added two thousand years to the received date of the world, does it follow that a Benedictine, or any other person, ecclesiastic, civil, or judicial, may repeat the same operation *toties quoties;* nor, because biblical authority will not positively bear us out in fixing the epoch of the deluge within a few centuries, is this any argument that we may send off that epoch into indefinite antiquity, and believe with Plato, that Egypt had reached a high state of civilization four thousand years before the Mosaic accounts, even according to the freest mode of calculating from them, suppose the world to have existed.

For ourselves, we feel perfectly satisfied with the Jewish chronology. Nothing, that has yet come under our eye, with regard to the vaunted monuments of late discovered in the Thebaid, has shaken that satisfaction, even for a moment; and, indeed, considering the far more plausible opposition, which the Mosaic records have victoriously sustained, we shall be truly astonished if we find that they have any thing to dread from all the relics ambushed in the catacombs of Thebes, or the temple of Tentyra. For, it must be recollected, that Egypt, with its 'monstrous troop of deities, and the dog Anubis,' was long ago beaten from the field; and, with it, the whole army of Chaldean astrologers and Mithratic mystagogues. The enemy, finding no hold in the dynasties of Berosus and Manetho, or in Phenician fragments of history, dragged from their musty obscurity fourteen centuries after they were professedly penned, took refuge beyond the Ganges, and, in this post, for a while he maintained himself. Our readers will recollect with what confidence the archives of Chinese and still more of Bramhinical learning were paraded as furnishing the surest proofs of an immemorial and unfathomable antiquity; but we need not say that every year which has been added to the existence of those proofs, has, so to speak, cut off centuries from the existence of the subject of them. In fine, the whole system of Bailly is now formally abandoned by his great countryman La Place, who professes every where to discover unequivocal indications of an universal deluge; and thus, the beautiful vision of the modern Atlantis has, like its fabled predecessor in Plato, sunk under the waters. In this crisis, it is rather curious to find the unfortunate mummies of the Pharaohs once more roused from their noisome caverns, and summoned to a renewal of the contest. We know not, in fact, that they are provided

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vided with any stronger weapons than those of which they before availed themselves; but, if this should prove the case, we yet believe that the utmost success for which they can hope will be the triumph of a day. If it should happen that the Egyptians once more chase the Israelites, it will also happen, we believe, that

> 'Moses once more his potent rod extends
> Over the sea, the sea his rod obeys,
> On their imbattled ranks the waves return,
> And overwhelm their war.'—*Parad. Lost.*

To say the truth, we should have inclined to expect, that, in the present day, the objections urged against the Mosaic records, would have been built rather on the apparent novelty, than on the presumed antiquity, of the globe. In fact, La Place, we perceive, in a late work, after conjecturing that the earth has been deluged in consequence of a collision with a comet, supports his hypothesis by this among other positions, that 'it explains the short period of the existence of the moral world, whose earliest monuments do not go much farther back than three thousand years. That La Place intended this remark as an oblique reflection on the Mosaic history, we are far from feeling the most distant wish to insinuate; particularly as we have not his work before us, but quote at second-hand.* It cannot, however, be denied, that his language bears a not very auspicious aspect with regard to the credibility of the history in question, according to which the deluge certainly took place not only farther back than three but than *four* thousand years ago, and which, besides, refers to occurrences long anterior to that period, as undoubted matters of fact. Accordingly, it was on this ground that we had anticipated the next attack on the authority of Moses. Nor would the occurrence have been unprecedented; for nothing is new under the sun,—not even the grand innovations and prodigious inventions of the new philosophy. 'At first,' says our valuable antiquarian, Shuckford, 'the heathen writers endeavoured to pretend to antiquities beyond what the sacred writers could be thought to aim at; but when the falsity of this pretence was abundantly detected, then Porphyry thought he "could compass the end aimed at by another way; he endeavoured to shew that the heathen history did not reach so far back as has been imagined, but that the times which Moses treated of were really so much prior to the first rise of the most ancient kingdoms, that all possible accounts of them can at best be but fiction and fancy.'† Perhaps the circumstance that the *esprits forts* thus

* We quote from the review of La Place's System of the World in a contemporary journal.

† Connection of Sacred and Prophane History, Book VI.

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fluctuate between contrary extremes of chronological conjecture, may itself stand for an auxiliary confirmation of the correctness of the scriptural account; as the oscillations of a pendulum prove its natural tendency to rest in the middle point.

The second passage of M. Clavier, on which we would here offer a comment, is that with which he commences his history.

'Il nous importe assez peu de savoir si les peuples qui habitoient primitivement le Péloponnèse étoient *Autochthones*, c'est-à-dire, originaires du pays, ou s'ils y étoient venus d'ailleurs; on ne peut guères douter cependant, que cette contrée ne fût déjà peuplée lorsque les premières colonies orientales y vinrent; car ces colonies étoient peu nombreuses, et néanmoins, elles en envoyèrent elles-mêmes, six ou sept générations après, dans l'Asie mineure, dans la Thessalie, dans la Bœotie et dans l'Attique. Il est donc probable que les premiers chefs qui arrivèrent dans ce pays-là, y trouvèrent une population déjà formée, et qu'ils ne firent que la rassembler. On croit assez généralement que le premier qui y vint fut Inachus ou Phoronée; cependant il me semble qu'on aperçoit dans le Péloponnèse quelques traces d'une civilisation antérieure.'—Tom. I. p. 1.

It does not seem very necessary to agitate here the question, how far the popular claim of the Athenians to the title of *grasshoppers* was just; or, whether the Thebans really sprung from a dragon's teeth; or, whether the Arcadians actually existed, according to their own boast, before the moon was formed. These, or similar positions must, we presume, be adopted, unless it be admitted that the population of Greece was altogether derived from the east; for any other derivation of it from a foreign source, certainly stands on still feebler grounds, or rather, is wholly unsupported. The concurring opinions, however, of almost all the best writers, classical, christian, or unchristian, have outvoted the pretensions of the Greeks to the indigenous character; and we are not much disposed to revive the discussion of the subject. Our purpose in adverting to the observations just cited from our author, is not what we should consider as *slaying the slain*, but simply to remark that there is nothing in the Mosaic account, to negative the fact of the Helladian territory having been inhabited previously to the earliest westward migrations recorded in profane history. The fact itself, or rather, the statement of it, we assuredly cannot help regarding with infinite scepticism; and, indeed, must acknowledge that we are by no means very firm believers even in the stories, commonly given, of the Inachian or Phoronean migrations; but these are questions on which we do not conceive the credit of the sacred historian to be committed. For, considering that the first postdiluvians began their career in a state of civilization, and that the average length of human life was at that time at least five times as great as

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as at present, it becomes plain that population must then have increased with a rapidity totally beyond modern experience; and if to these considerations we add the opportunity which the greater length of life must have afforded for the accomplishment of enterprizes which, in our present span of existence, would be discouraging to all but the highest and most ardent spirit of adventure, we shall not think it improbable that, within four or five centuries from the deluge, the descendants of Noah may have extended themselves to the borders of the Adriatic sea.

The importance of some of the subjects which the chronological department of the present article has suggested to our consideration, may, we hope apologize for our having been so 'long detained in that obscure sojourn.' We now hasten to more popular ground; but it is necessary to observe that even the most strictly historical parts of the work before us are intermixed with disquisitions more learned than agreeable; for the cloven foot of the chronologer peeps out from time to time throughout. Nor is the author very studious of the decorations of style, or of descriptive excellence; and the truth is, that figures are always bad company for words. But, with all this, M. Clavier has much merit as a historian,—the merit of being sensible, candid, and very accurate.

The ancient writers he has perused for himself, and with great care; but, in estimating their authority, he seems to be occasionally misled by his chronological prejudices, and to value too lightly the general historic credit of such among them, as may not have made the chronology of the early times their particular study. Especially, we were surprised and displeased by the reflections which M. Clavier casts on the veracity of Herodotus. Whatever may be thought of the judgment of that historian, we had conceived that the suffrages of the learned world were now nearly unanimous in favour of his honesty; but, to speak our own sentiments, we are inclined to question whether any man has ever existed, who, either in making researches, or in reporting the result of them, was influenced by a more truly philosophical spirit. Living during the infancy of physical science, and, we may add, during the maturity of metaphysical ignorance, Herodotus very properly avoided every approach to a spirit of dogmatism and incredulity: but an attentive examination of his writings will shew that he was, generally speaking, a not more curious, than cautious and candid, enquirer. In spite, indeed, of his caution, the wonders which he relates are, as in such an age might have been expected, not a few; but he records them, usually with a direct advertence to the authorities for his statements, frequently with a distinct notice to the reader of scepticism on his own part. Where his means of in-

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formation were good, his credit is of a very high order; and it has been justly and judiciously remarked, that 'the simplicity of his manner detects itself, and with the assistance of circumstances collateral to the story, sufficiently indicates where he deserves credit, and where neglect.'

But, in dilating on the merits of Herodotus, we are forgetting an author who has more immediate claims on our courtesy. We shall now, therefore, proceed to submit to the reader a specimen of the performance of M. Clavier. It is extracted from his preliminary discourse, and affords a comprehensive philosophical sketch of the first ages of the Grecian history.

'La nation Grecque n'eut pas des commencemens très-brillans. Devant son origine à un établissement commercial, ce que nous nommons un comptoir, formé par des Phéniciens, elle se borna pendant long-temps à propager son commerce et celui de sa métropole par des établissemens pareils sur les côtes du Péloponnèse, de l'Attique, de la Beotie, de la Thessalie, sur celles de l'Asie mineure et dans quelques îles. Comme elle étoit très-peu puissante, et que les Phéniciens eux-mêmes n'avoient pas une population proportionnée à l'étendue de leurs entreprises, les moyens pacifiques durent être pendant long-temps les seuls dont on fît usage, et les Grecs en conservèrent toujours l'habitude; car ils eurent rarement recours aux armes pour s'établir dans les pays où ils allèrent. On sent, d'après cela, qu'il ne devoit rien y avoir d'aussi monotone que l'histoire des cinq premiers siècles de la Grèce, puisqu'elle n'offroit presque aucun de ces grands évènemens politiques ou militaires qui excitent si vivement la curiosité par l'intérêt qu'ils inspirent; elle dut donc être négligée par les poëtes, qui n'y trouvoient presque aucun de ces exploits qui se prêtoient si volontiers aux ornemens que leur fournissoit leur brillante imagination, et ils ne s'en occupèrent que pour retracer les généalogies des héros qu'ils chantoient; c'est ainsi qu'Homère, à propos d'Ænée, remonte jusqu'à Dardanus; et jusqu'à Sisyphe, à propos de Glaucus, et s'il a négligé les généalogies de la plupart des héros dont il parle dans le catalogue des vaisseaux, c'est parce qu'elles étoient le sujet principal d'un poëme d'Hésiode son contemporain, et qu'il avoit dû connoître dans ses voyages.

'Cet état de paix si stérile pour l'histoire est le plus favorable à la prospérité de l'espèce humaine et à l'accroissement de la population; aussi voyons-nous que dans le sixième siècle, ou environ soixante ans avant la guerre de Troie, la Grèce Européenne se trouva si peuplée qu'elle fut obligée de chercher des moyens pour remédier à l'excès de la population, et ce fut sans doute pour cela que les Argonautes entreprirent leur expédition, dont le but étoit de s'emparer du commerce du Pont-Euxin, et de fonder des colonies sur ses côtes, but qui fut manqué par la division qui se mit entre les chefs. Cette expédition fut le commencement d'une époque extrêmement brillante, mais très-malheureuse par ses suites, puisque la Grèce, affoiblie par les guerres continuelles auxquelles elle avoit été en proie, tomba dans un état de dépérissement dont elle ne put se relever qu'au bout de plusieurs siècles. C'est effectivement

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tivement entre le retour des Argonautes et la guerre de Troie qu'il faut placer la chasse du sanglier de Calydon, la guerre entre les Étoliens et les Calydoniens qui en fut la suite, celle entre les Lapithes et les Centaures : la prise et le pillage d'Iolcos par Pelée et les Dioscures, les deux guerres de Thèbes, et enfin les nombreuses expéditions d'Hercules tant dans le Péloponnèse qu'au dehors, expéditions auxquelles la Grèce dut cette union qui la mit à même de déployer de si grands moyens pour la guerre de Troie. Hercules fut en effet le premier qui réunit en un corps tous les peuples de la Grèce en leur faisant reconnoître la suprématie des rois d'Argos de la race de Persée; et lorsqu'Agamemnon, qui avoit succédé aux droits d'Eurysthée, eut résolu de porter la guerre dans l'Asie mineure, il ne lui fut pas difficile de décider les autres souverains à réunir leurs forces aux siennes et à lui confier le commandement général de l'armée. Il est assez vraisemblable que l'enlèvement d'Hélène ne fut que le prétexte de cette guerre, dont le but principal étoit de procurer de nouveaux établissemens aux Grecs de l'Europe qui se trouvoient encore en proie aux maux qu'entraîne après lui l'excès de la population dans un pays borné par la nature et en général peu fertile. C'est au moins la conséquence que nous pouvons tirer du récit par lequel Stasinus de Chypre avoit commencé son poëme sur la guerre de Troie, intitulé les vers Cypriens. Il supposoit que la naissance d'Hélène avoit été décidée dans un conseil tenu entre les dieux, qui savoient qu'elle occasionneroit entre l'Europe et l'Asie une guerre sanglante, mais malheureusement nécessaire pour faire cesser les plaintes de la Terre qui se trouvoit surchargée par l'excès de la population.* Tout le monde connoît l'histoire de cette expédition, qui finit par la prise et le pillage de Troie, après avoir également épuisé la Grèce Européenne par les efforts qu'elle fut obligée de faire pour mettre sur pied une armée de plus de cent mille hommes, et pour lui envoyer des renforts pendant la durée du siége, et la Grèce Asiatique livrée pendant dix ans aux ravages d'une aussi grande multitude, qui ne pouvant tirer des vivres de son pays ne pouvoit subsister que par le pillage. Aussi lorsque la guerre fut terminée, les Grecs de l'Europe ne se sentant pas en état de conserver leurs conquêtes, retournèrent-ils pour la plupart dans leurs patries, d'où beaucoup furent chassés, soit par des voisins puissans, soit par des factions qui s'étoient formées durant leur absence. Les Grecs alors s'isolèrent de nouveau, et chaque peuple ne songea plus qu'à défendre son territoire, ou à envahir celui de quelqu'autre s'il étoit plus à sa convenance. L'invasion des Doriens elle-même ne put pas déterminer les Péloponnésiens à se coaliser pour leur défense, et ceux qui croyoient n'avoir rien à craindre laissèrent subjuguer leurs voisins sans faire aucun mouvement.—Disc. Prel. pp. 14—20.

These specimens will convince the reader that M. Clavier is possessed of very good qualifications for historical criticism. Indeed, the account which the author has given of the effects produced by the Trojan war on the growing civilization of Greece, is,

* Scholies sur Homère, Iliade, Lib. I. v. 5.

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we think, essentially just, and affords the only satisfactory explanation of the darkness which overspread the annals of that country throughout the interval which elapsed between the times of Homer and those of Pisistratus. For, while the length of that interval is a matter of great controversy, no man disputes its obscurity. This piece of history, therefore, supplies a curious instance of the manner in which war, itself a relic of barbarism, and that not only in its principle, but in most of its details, tends to *rebarbarize* mankind, and to restore the confusion of chaos. The operation of the Trojan invasion on the native country of the invaders appears, in fact, only like an aggravated edition of the immediate operation of the crusades on the state of Europe; but it was, at the same time, unattended with most of those compensating circumstances which are thought by many philosophers to have ultimately rendered the crusades very signally beneficial to the western world.

But, acquiescing in this account, we cannot therefore accede to some of the speculations with which the author has judged fit to interweave it. We allude to the position that the Argonautic and Trojan expeditions originated in the necessity of finding some receptacle for the redundant population of early Greece, and to the inference that this redundance of population argues a previous state of considerable civilization and long tranquillity. On both points, especially on the former, M. Clavier expresses himself with a confidence, which, if we may judge from some occasional symptoms in his style, would not have been natural to him, were it not perfectly inseparable from the French character. '*Ce fut sans doute pour cela—*;' but we are not without great doubts, both on the one point and on the other. It does not appear proved, that the object of the expeditions in question was to remedy the excess of population, although the event of them was unquestionably such as would have proved a very effectual remedy for that evil. Still less does it appear proved that the previous condition of Greece was that of a considerably civilized and peaceable community of states, although, that the Trojan war operated as a strong check on civilization, we have already distinctly admitted. Our chief concern, however, is with the mode of reasoning by which M. Clavier infers the latter of these facts from the former; and, as the inference seems to us to involve an error in political philosophy, we shall venture to offer on it a few words.

It is certainly impossible to lay down an absolutely unvarying rule on this subject; but, in general, a deliberate, large, and embodied emigration, undertaken with the view of easing a territory of its inhabitants,—much more, if that emigration be *armed*,—so far from striking us as a satisfactory proof of civilization, appears to us the strongest presumptive evidence of barbarism. For, first,

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first, in a civilized country, the superabundance of consumers is seldom of that decisive and palpable kind which points out the expediency of emigration. Supply and consumption in such a country maintain a tolerably steady mutual proportion; and, even when the consumption tends to exceed the supply, yet, from the complex arrangement of society, which interposes an indefinite number of stages between the producer and the consumer, the evil comes to the latter confounded, or rather identified, with so many other evils, that it can scarcely be discerned, much less assigned. This is particularly the case with the vulgar, who are always the chief sufferers on such an emergency, but who, while they are perfectly ready to impute their sufferings to the pressure of the times, the weight of taxes, the dearth of employment, the lowness of wages, or to other causes of the same description, seldom guess that the blame should be laid on the increase of their own numbers. Secondly, in such a community, the remedy is scarcely a less grievance than the disease. The settled habits of civilized life bind men to a local residence with infinitely stronger ligaments than can be furnished by the most romantic attachments of barbarian patriotism. To all ranks of a civilized society, *expatriation* is a serious calamity; but to the vulgar, that is, to those who the most immediately feel the pressure of an excessive population, it is an almost intolerable burden, and will be endured only when the necessity is of the clearest and most cogent nature.

To this situation, that of a barbarian community presents, in almost every respect, a direct contrast. Its supplies are always precarious, and occasionally liable to the most alarming defalcations. When a great deficiency occurs, such is the simplicity of the social system, that the evil is seen as soon as it is felt, and such the equality, in point of comforts, at least, of the whole society, that it is felt almost as much by the chief as by his followers. At the same time, the disease is scarcely more apparent than the specific for it is obvious. By men of an uncertain and erratic mode of life, the resource of some new settlement, both as a help for the present and as a provision for the future, is contemplated without any peculiar horror; and perhaps, with the less, when the path to it must be opened by the sword. The consequence is, that a collective emigration takes place, and probably, an emigration in arms. The well-informed reader will recollect many examples in confirmation of these remarks; and it might easily be shewn that the history of the great Æolic and Ionic migrations from Greece, which occurred after the Trojan war, if not directly confirmatory of them, yet authorises no conclusion with which they are not in perfect consistence.

But we must proceed with our author; and the most interesting point

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point in his work, to which we can next direct the reader's attention, is that which respects the legislation of Lycurgus. On a subject involving all the most important principles of domestic polity and municipal law, we certainly were not so unreasonable as to expect a full and free discussion from a Frenchman writing in Paris, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, even though that Frenchman happened to be a judge in the *Cour de justice criminelle.* M. Clavier, however, has not been sparing of ingenious disquisition on some parts of this subject; especially, with regard to the influence of the constitution established by Lycurgus, on the *national* policy of Lacedemon. It is the opinion of the author, not merely, (which is the universal opinion,) that to the effect of this singular frame of laws must be traced that martial spirit and hardihood, which rendered the Spartan people so capacious of empire; but farther that the ascendency with which the legislator virtually endowed the Spartans, over the other inhabitants of Laconia, inevitably tended to embroil the former; in the first instance, with the latter, in the sequel, with the rest of Peloponnesus. Thus were they compelled to make proof of that greatness to which they were trained. On this topic, we shall leave the author to develope his own conceptions.

'Quoique les principaux états de la Grèce, comme Argos, Lacédæmone, l'Arcadie, Athènes, etc. eussent des souverains qui prenoient le titre de rois de toute la contrée, il paroit à peu-près certain que ces souverains n'avoient une autorité directe que dans la ville principale, et que chacune des autres avoit son roi et son gouvernement particulier. Aristote et Denys d'Halicarnasse le disent très positivement, et leur assertion se trouve confirmée par ce que nous voyons dans Homère. Les prétendans à la main de Pénélope étoient pour la plupart rois des petites îles voisines d'Ithaque et de quelques villes de cette île. Il en étoit de même des principaux Phéaciens rassemblés à la cour d'Alcinoüs, et à qui Homère donne le titre de rois. Il est probable qu'ils passoient une partie de leur temps dans la ville principale, où ils formoient le conseil du souverain, et qu'ils n'alloient dans leurs villes respectives que pour les sacrifices solennels qu'ils pouvoient seuls offrir, et pour rendre la justice, ce qui étoit une de leurs principales attributions; c'est pour cela qu'Homère les nomme δικασπόλους, *distributeurs de la justice*, et qu'Hésiode donne le titre de rois aux simples juges. Lorsqu'il y avoit quelque guerre, ils commandoient chacun les troupes de leur ville et marchoient sous les ordres du roi de la cité principale, mais ils étoient à peu-près indépendans en temps de paix. Les Héraclides en montant sur le trône, avoient succédé à l'autorité des descendans de Ménélas, et les autres rois de la Laconie avoient reconnu leur suprématie. Nous ne connoissons pas les noms de tous ces rois, mais il paroît qu'il y en avoit plusieurs; Philonomus l'étoit à Amycles, Patréus, fils de Préygénes, regnoit probablement dans quelque autre ville, car il ne quitta la Laconie que sous le règne d'Agis; et il y en

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y en avoit sans doute d'autres ailleurs. Peu-à-peu ces rois avoient perdu leur autorité, comme dans presque tout le reste de la Grèce, et les peuples s'étoient accoutumés à se gouverner par eux-mêmes, sans cependant chercher à se soustraire à la subordination qu'ils devoient aux rois de Sparte, ce qui se bornoit, comme nous l'avons dit, à les suivre à la guerre. Mais Lycurgue ayant ordonné que les lois proposées par le sénat, et adoptées par le peuple assemblé entre le Babyce et le Cnacion, fussent observées dans toute la Laconie, les habitans des villes un peu éloignées ne pouvant pas se rendre à ces assemblées, se trouvoient réellement asservis au peuple de Sparte et des environs; ils ne pouvoient pas non plus partager l'éducation publique qui ne se donnoit qu'à Sparte; enfin, cette ville étoit sans doute la seule où fussent établis les phidities ou repas communs; il y avoit donc une différence bien réelle entre les Spartiates et les Lacons; je crois cependant que ces derniers, lorsqu'ils venoient à Sparte, y jouissoient des mêmes droits que les Spartiates; c'est ainsi qu'à Rome, ville qui avoit emprunté de Sparte une grande partie de ses lois et de ses institutions, et dont la puissance s'est formée à-peu-près par les mêmes moyens; il n'y avoit eu pendant long-temps aucune différence entre les Latins, qui avoient quelque analogie avec les Lacons, et les Romains qu'on peut assimiler aux Spartiates; mais ces deux peuples devenus plus puissans, établirent une ligne de démarcation entre eux et les habitans des villes de leur territoire, sur lesquels ils usurpèrent l'autorité souveraine, quoique dans le principe leurs droits fussent les mêmes.'—Tom. ii. pp. 129—132.

After remarking that, on the final departure of Lycurgus, the subordinate towns of Laconia began to feel and to rebel against the yoke, and that, as auxiliaries to one of these refractory towns, the Tegeans were drawn into a war with Sparta, which they waged with some success,—the historian thus continues:

'Comme les Lacédæmoniens étoient fort affoiblis par l'échec qu'ils venoient d'éprouver dans la guerre contre les Tégéates, différentes villes de la Laconie crurent devoir saisir cette occasion pour s'affranchir du joug qu'on leur avoit imposé; ces villes étoient, Phares, Geranthres, Amycles et Hélos; il est probable qu'elles ne se révoltèrent pas toutes à la fois, car les Lacédæmoniens auroient eu beaucoup de peine à les soumettre, elles firent sans doute comme les villes voisines de Rome, qui se laissèrent toutes asservir successivement, sans presque jamais penser à combiner leurs forces, et à cet égard, les commencemens de la république de Sparte ressemblent beaucoup à ceux de la republique Romaine: n'ayant l'une et l'autre dans le principe, qu'un territoire extrêmement borné, elles parvinrent d'abord à se faire décerner le commandement par les villes environnantes, et elles les subjuguèrent ensuite successivement sous prétexte de leur désobéissance et de leur révolte. Ce ne sont pas là les seuls traits de conformité qu'il y ait entre ces deux républiques célèbres, dont la comparaison sera le sujet d'un examen plus approfondi, si je puis donner suite à cet ouvrage.—Tom. ii. pp. 141, 142.

Although we have not sufficiently informed ourselves to give a decisive

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decisive opinion on the matter of these extracts, we have been much gratified by them, and hope to derive great pleasure from the perusal of the promised comparison between the two republics. At the same time, were we stationed at the author's elbow during the execution of his purpose, our constant and earnest exhortation would be, *Beware of the spirit of system.*

The short discussion into which M. Clavier enters, on the causes that led to the migration of Phalanthus and the Parthenia from Sparta, we consider as absolutely a model of historical criticism; combining, exactly in the right degrees, a respect for established authorities with a wholesome scepticism. Indeed he has settled, in our judgment, the subject; but, as the subject itself is of no very great importance, we will not enlarge on it. The legislation of Solon he treats very concisely, and his reviewers may therefore be excused from touching on it at all. There is, however, a view of M. Clavier's work, which we have not yet pointed out, but in which it has not a little interested us; and, as we are willing to impart the interest thus inspired, we shall devote to that object the remainder of our critique.

Fifteen or twenty years ago, the democratical republics of the ancient world formed the favourite common-place of the republicans at Paris. Nothing was to be heard from the most unclassical throats of the 'Massacrers and Septembrizers,' but classical ravings about Brutus and Thrasybulus: and the Vergniauds and Brissots conceived themselves to be the transmigrated spirits of those famous orators who 'wielded at will the fierce democracies' of Greece and Rome. But these banditti had ill estimated the powers and properties of the terrible engine which they undertook to manage, and they fell victims to the force of its recoil. A new order of things has succeeded; Brutus and Thrasybulus have been remanded to the shades; and it is really interesting to observe the altered manner in which the French now express themselves on those classical subjects which formerly inflamed their revolutionary enthusiasm. The memory, indeed, of the regicide excesses, and of the reign of terror, as it may naturally have suggested, so it in some degree, certainly justifies, this change of tone; but there seems room for a shrewd suspicion, that the effect has been assisted by the operation of motives somewhat more pressing than the recollection of the past. We cannot forget how much out of his element the genius of Greek and Roman liberty must find himself—*ad prætoria regis*—in the levee-room of the *emperor of the west.*

In this view we have turned over with some curiosity the history of Greece, penned by a Parisian judge, in the year 1809; and have been watchful to observe in what manner he would handle certain

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certain awkward portions of that history. We are far, in the results, from coming to the conclusion that M. Clavier has been forward to rail at republicanism, and to parade the chains with which his unhappy country is bound. Besides that the real tendency to license and anarchy by which Grecian liberty was unquestionably characterised, gives it some claim to be regarded with disfavour by an imperial functionary, it must be remembered that personal gratitude, always an amiable motive, even when the object of it is a villain, must tend to prejudice this author on the same side. Still it is not the less curious to remark the effect of his prejudices struggling with an evidently honest purpose of executing his task faithfully; nor the less melancholy and humiliating to notice the manner in which, under the domination of the new dynasty, a man of sense and liberality is compelled to measure his syllables, that he may not be suspected of carrying either of those qualities to excess.

Almost in the outset of M. Clavier's preliminary discourse, we perceive a tinge of the fashionable French politics. After mentioning the darkness and ignorance of the middle ages,—'scarcely (he proceeds,) had the firm and wise reign of Charlemagne restored peace to the nations of the west, when they gave scope afresh to their inventive faculties, and the ages which succeeded, down to the revival of literature, were distinguished by many important discoveries, as those of the compass, gunpowder, paper, and printing.' This is exactly the orthodox national creed. Every true Frenchman is bound to be a firm believer in Charlemagne,—not merely as he believes in Mahomet, that is, that such a person once lived, cut an immense number of throats, and then died,—but he must believe in the greatness and glory of Charlemagne as a benefactor, and, as it were, renovator of the modern world;—must believe in his *mission*,—we do not know that we can exactly say, in his *divine* mission,—but certainly in his mission from some preternatural quarter or other;—and, above all, must believe in his *proleptic* or typical character, as the high and mighty forerunner of the head of the Corsican dynasty, happy and victorious. As belonging to a nation of heretics, we may be allowed, perhaps, to question a part of these pretensions, on condition of our full acquiescence in the rest. We are, then firmly persuaded that Charlemagne, by force of arms, subjugated a great part of Europe;—that his victories were not more brilliant than his massacres were horrible;—that he assassinated, as far as was in his power, all those who might dispute with him his title to any part of his possessions;—that he repudiated his first wife (the daughter of Desiderius,) on the ground of her having borne him no children;—that, having signally triumphed in Germany and Italy, and been

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been crowned emperor by the Pope, who, in fact, was his vassal, his pride, ambition, and military glory, received a mortifying and ever-memorable check from the gallant population of Spain. All this we believe; but, when we recollect the long, sanguinary, and desolating wars, which his reign entailed on harrassed Europe, and the intense moral and mental darkness, which was the direct consequence of those wars, when we call to mind the atrocities of which he was guilty, his enormous waste of human life and happiness, his cruel contempt for the independence of nations,—we must be tolerated in a considerable degree of scepticism respecting his claims to the dignity of the *grand pacificator and civilizer of the western world*, must be permitted to count for little his exertions, however laudable in themselves, in diffusing the light of science and letters, and to doubt the value of an illumination, which, reflected from the pages even of his own historian,

'Serves only to discover sights of woe:'

Very soon after this allusion to Charlemagne, we find M. Clavier hampered in the expression of a just and liberal sentiment by that unfortunate necessity which has chained up liberty of speech throughout France. In explanation of the dearth of historical records among the Asiatic nations, he observes, that those nations have generally been the victims of despotism, and that, to men so circumstanced, history is without interest. History, on the other hand, he says, 'is necessary to *a free people*,'—Here an Englishman would have stopped; for his reason and his heart would alike have told him, that no man could doubt under which class of governments he reckoned that of his own country, or would question the justice of the arrangement. The case of our neighbours is by no means quite so clear; and we were greatly amused by the dexterous alternative which M. Clavier has added to his free people. L'histoire 'est nécessaire aux peuples 'libres—*et—à ceux qui sont soumis a un gouvernement tempéré.*' Sincerely do we wish that the temperance of the government *dont il est question* were as clearly a matter of fact as the submission of its subjects.

In perfect consonance with the prepossessions which we have ascribed to him, our historian uniformly espouses the cause of those persons whom the Greeks designated by the appellation of *tyrants* or usurpers, and of whom the early annals of the Grecian republics commemorate not a few. It is remarkable that the very same disposition, though in a somewhat less degree, is manifested by our own learned and ingenious countryman, Mr. Mitford, who, composing the greater part of his history of Greece, as we believe, at a time when the enormities of the French revolution had inspired most moderate men with a deep horror of democracy, felt a natural alliance towards all those whom he found opposed to the popular interest in the Grecian states. That some of these tyrants,

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rants, as they are called, made an excellent use of power acquired by very questionable means, and that the memories of many of them have been hardly dealt with by the Greek writers, we are much disposed to believe. At the same time, and though we cannot pretend to the possession of any great share of democratical prejudice, we must acknowledge that, both in perusing the pages of Mr. Mitford and those of M. Clavier, we have been much fatigued by the perpetual recurrence of a defensive or a laudatory tone whenever a tyrant happened to appear on the ground. Both these authors, it is true, are too conscientious and too accurate, materially to warp facts; but it is not less true, that a strong predisposition will inevitably infect the mode of viewing an object, even where the intentions are the most honest.

While, however, the English and the French historian concur in a general leaning towards persons of the tyrannical profession, still, in the manner in which they respectively betray this inclination, there is a difference which strikes us as very curious; not because it is unaccountable, but, indeed, for exactly the contrary reason. Mr. Mitford, who is one of a *free people*, has too much of an English mind to look with favour on usurpation, by whatever motives or pretences sanctified. His usual tendency, therefore, with respect to the Greek tyrants, is to deny the fact of their having been usurpers. They were, according to the general tenour of his representations, simply the leaders of the party who happened to predominate in the state, and, in this sense only, leaders of the state itself.—Like all other governors, they occasionally abused their authority; even when this happened, however, it could not affect their title; but the fact, Mr. Mitford says, is that they very seldom thus offended, and that the brand of tyranny was only maliciously affixed to their names on the subsequent ascendancy of an opposite faction. M. Clavier, on the other hand, who resides under the protection of a *gouvernement temperé*, is very little troubled with the old fashioned scruples entertained by Mr. Mitford. He, for the most part, deliberately resolves the Greek tyrannies into as many usurpations; only, he defends these usurpations on the grounds of state necessity, and the subsequent choice of the people. What degree of weight, indeed, might remain in the title of one of these governors after the people chose to submit to his moderation no longer, or how it came to pass that the memory of governments, at once sanctioned by the popular choice, and worthy of that sanction, should have incurred, as M. Clavier himself often complains, the popular odium throughout Greece, we do not find that he has any where described. He hesitates not, however, to condemn the unreasonableness of those who exclaimed or rebelled against so rational a yoke, and seems to consider as exceedingly absurd the

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preference of the turbulent delights of liberty before the '*linked sweetness*' of subjection,—

For the sake of exemplifying, so far at least as M. Clavier is concerned, these remarks, we shall refer to his account of Phidon, tyrant of Argos, a sovereign who seems, from the imperfect notices that remain of him, to have lived a short time after Lycurgus, and to have been greatly distinguished by his ability and achievements. Herodotus, says our author, speaks of him 'comme d'un tyran violent et cruel;' but it behoves us, he continues, to be on our guard against the representations, on such matters, of Herodotus, the prevailing object of that author having been to flatter the Athenians, 'qui, livrés alors à tous les excès de la démocratie, regardoient comme des tyrans, tous les rois, quelque modérés qu'ils fussent: et, malgré tout ce qu'il dit, il paroît que Phidon fut un très-grand prince.' Whether, according to the modern conceptions of the French, a *roi modéré* is to be considered as synonimous with a *très-grand prince,* we confess ourselves not to know; but, from the continuation of M. Clavier's account, it appears that King Phidon gave pretty much the same proofs of his moderation and his greatness, which some more recent worthies have condescended to afford. He dexterously availed himself of the opportunity allowed him by the Lacedemonians, then deeply occupied in other quarters, to extend his dominion over almost the whole of the Peloponnesus. Proposing to himself, for a model, his renowned ancestor and predecessor Hercules, (the original Charlemagne, or *emperor of the west,*) he determined to establish his power over every people who had been subject to the government of that hero, and went far to accomplish his purpose. In imitation of Hercules, also, he resolved to take into his own hands the celebration of the Olympic games; and, with this view, forcibly possessed himself of the city and territory of Pisa, then regarded as sacred (or, in modern Europe it might be called, ecclesiastical) ground throughout Greece. Here, however, his triumphs received a check. The Lacedemonians were roused to arms by their jealousy of his growing greatness; and war, then more faithful to the cause of justice and humanity than unhappily it has proved on some later occasions, reduced the conqueror to limits consistent with the safety of his neighbours.

This story surely requires no comment; but we cannot help adding, that the censure with which our author has treated Herodotus on the subject, is, to say the least of it, much misplaced. The notice of Phidon in Herodotus is entirely incidental, and literally does not cost, in all, so much as half a dozen lines. He begins, indeed, with denominating him the tyrant of the Argives; but

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but it is only cursorily; and M. Clavier perfectly knows that *tyrannus* in Greek is not equivalent to *tyran* in French,—that it generally denotes merely the *possession* of kingly power, without any reference to the manner in which that power is exercised. The only expression, descriptive of character, which Herodotus applies to this person, is, that he was 'the most domineering man of all the Greeks of his time;'* clearly alluding to his foreign, not to his domestic policy; nor is there one syllable about his *cruelty*, or even his *violence*;—and the actual instances which Herodotus has briefly given of his ambition, fall much short of those which M. Clavier himself has collected from other authors. There seems, then, to have been very little demand, on this occasion, for so solemn a protest against the republicanism of the Greek historian.—

The case of Phidon does not furnish an opportunity for exemplifying that difference of colour which we have described as distinguishing the anti-democratic partialities of Mr. Mitford from those of the author before us; for the truth is, that Mr. Mitford has fairly given up his Argive Majesty, as an untractably ambitious and ill-conditioned character. For a complete example of the contrast in this respect between the two writers, we shall resort to the account of another personage, far more familiarly known to modern readers than King Phidon;—we mean, Pisistratus of Athens. In the pages of Mr. Mitford, this singular man appears only as the fortunate leader of a fortunate party; in the work of M. Clavier, he is ever represented as an amiable and blameless usurper.

The device by which Pisistratus, in the first instance, possessed himself of the chief authority in Athens, is, according to the common mode of relating the story, well known to our readers. Having wounded himself, he appeared bleeding in the forum, declared to the people that he had narrowly escaped assassination from those to whom his popular principles had rendered him obnoxious, and implored their protection. The people, to whom his affability and munificence had long endeared him, heard his complaints with the deepest sympathy, and, on the motion of one of his partisans, decreed him a body-guard, with which body-guard he seized the citadel, and rendered himself supreme.

Mr. Mitford accepts every part of this story, excepting that which charges Pisistratus with having inflicted on himself the wounds of which he complained. He inclines, on the contrary, to believe that the alleged attempt at assassination was really made; and at the same time asserts that the appointment of a guard for

* ἰσχύσαντα μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων. Lib. 6. 127.

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the person of a citizen, was a favour of the granting of which other instances occur in the history of the Grecian democracies.—The intended inference is, that Pisistratus has been, in this first stage at least, falsely loaded with the reproach of usurpation; and, in fact, 'the usurper, *if he was such*,' is the very hardest appellation affixed to that personage in Mr. Mitford's history. But why Pisistratus, after his escape from the daggers of his enemies, preferred his appeal to a tumultuous and exciteable populace, rather than to the proper judicatures of his country, then newly instituted or remodelled by Solon;—and whether it was some second attempt at assassination, even in the face of his life-guards, which convinced him that he could be safe only behind stone walls, and thus prompted him to the seizure of the citadel;—Mr. Mitford has not undertaken to explain.

The French historian, on the other hand, relates the story in question, without any departure from the current edition of it, and speaks of the craft, ambition, and usurpation, of Pisistratus, without any embarrassment or disguise. But to these plain, and, we fear, too faithful representations, his extravagant estimate of the benefits which the Athenians derived from the administration of the usurper,—and his censure on that people for the prejudices which led them to confer on him who had forcibly made himself their master the appellation of *tyrant*,—form a curious contrast. In this connection, the reader is tempted to view the machinations of Pisistratus against the liberties of his country nearly with the same eyes with which he regards the ingenious and well-directed rogueries of a Scapin;—as the ebullitions of a sort of virtuous waggishness, by means of which the surly and quizzical old guardians of the state are cheated, and the state itself united to the only individual worthy of such a bride and such a fortune. Indeed we have very little doubt that, in the modern court of the Tuilleries, craft, ambition, and usurpation, are by no means avoided to be mentioned as subjects too delicate for public discussion. We should rather conceive that these little *tours d'adresse* are openly spoken of with equal familiarity and sang-froid; that the old prejudices in favour of a *gouvernement tempéré* are more than revived; and that not only is he who saves the people the trouble of ruling themselves, thought to perform a great service, but that the merits of the service are supposed to be much enhanced when it is undertaken by an uninvited volunteer.

Pisistratus was, once and again, expelled from his government and from Athens; and it is notorious that his final re-instatement was effected by force of arms. His first military operation, on this occasion, was to possess himself of Marathon. Hither, says Herodotus,

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dotus, his partisans resorted out of the city, and also as many of the people as 'preferred tyranny to liberty.' This statement, distinguished by the simplicity so characteristic of the father of history, has been adopted by both the modern historians now under our eye, but with a *gloss* in either case, which it will be amusing to observe.

'Hither (says Mr. Mitford) his remaining partisans in Athens flocked to his standard; together with many other Athenians who, according to Herodotus's expression, "preferred tyranny to liberty;" that is, it should seem, those to whom that called, by the opposite faction, the tyranny of Pisistratus, would give freedom, whereas the administration of the Alcmæonids was real tyranny to them; for in no other acceptation does the expression appear intelligible.'

We must candidly confess that, to us, this comment on the expression appears considerably less intelligible than the text; but, so far as we comprehend it, it seems intended to convey that Pisistratus, instead of being, as by vulgar error he has been supposed, an usurper, was a sort of Thrasybulus or Pelopidas, and should be numbered among those glorious assertors of their country's freedom whom the admiration of mankind has enrolled in the very next column of fame to the noble army of martyrs. The context of Mr. Mitford seems to confirm this interpretation; for we there find the absolute power, which Pisistratus subsequently exercised over his countrymen, sketched out in the following very delicate strokes: '*As head of the prevailing party, he had of course the principal influence in the government.*' That the possession of the principal influence by Pisistratus was altogether a matter *of course*, we fully concur with this author in thinking.

'Hither (says M. Clavier,) hasted all those Athenians who were attached to the party of Pisistratus, and all those *qui préféroient la tranquillité dont ils jouissoient sous son règne, aux orages de la liberté.*'—What would have been thought of such an expression in Paris, in the year 1792! We certainly are no advocates for the turbulent liberty of the Athenian democracy; and we can forgive those who were personal and perhaps suffering witnesses of the fearful hurricane which shipwrecked the French monarchy, for being somewhat jealous of even the milder gales that blow from the same quarter. But, with respect to themselves, Englishmen must be allowed to have their own feelings on these subjects; and they certainly would not exchange, either physically or politically, their churlish and unquiet, but salubrious atmosphere, for climates whose unclouded suns parch up life, and whose fragrant breezes bear on their wings not balm but pestilence.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the mildness and judgment of the administration of Pisistratus, together with his princely patron-

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age of literature and the arts, sufficiently expiated the original sin of a bad title. To this notion, his many splendid and captivating qualities, acting on us even through the mere report of historians, naturally dispose the mind; and, in a degree, undoubtedly the notion is just; for Pisistratus was 'a combination and a form' nobly put together, and, if he reduced his country to servitude, yet never surely were mankind more elegantly or classically enslaved. If, however, we may trust the account given in the work before us, his situation seems to have compelled his nature to some acts of policy, not very dissimilar from those which have immortalized certain other eminent members of the same brotherhood. He took measures, as our author informs us, to consolidate his authority.—He introduced into Athens bodies of foreign mercenary troops, principally barbarians. He collected together all the children of the chiefs of the party who had opposed him, and *deported* them, as hostages, to Naxos. His great enemies, the Alcmæonidæ, he drove into exile. By a refined expedient, he deprived all the citizens of their arms. As the populace of cities, says M. Clavier, are always seditious and unmanageable, he set himself to diminish their number in Athens, by obliging all those who were not persons of substance, to betake themselves as labourers into the country. These proceedings, and others similar to these, does our historian report; and, after adding to them some very striking and amiable acts of personal liberality, he concludes his description of his hero with the following memorable observation, which we shall give unaccompanied by a single comment:

'*On ne voit donc rien dans toute sa conduite, par où il ait pu mériter la réputation de tyran,* que cherchèrent à lui donner les Athéniens, dont Hérodote a adopté tous les préjugés à son égard.' Tom. ii. p. 341.

In closing his history, which terminates with the short war waged by the Athenians against the Lacedemonians and the Bæotians, immediately after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, the author once more reverts to the object which we have been considering. As he began with Charlemagne, so he concludes with Pisistratus. Herodotus having asserted that the success of the Athenians in the war in question, was owing to the energy which the recent acquisition of liberty had infused into their minds, M. Clavier attacks this sentiment; we admit with plausibility, and in part also, though, as we think, only in part, with justice. We subjoin the passage.

'Mais à qui durent-ils cet avantage? n'est-ce pas à Pisistrate et à ses fils qui en en faisant un peuple agriculteur, les rendirent beaucoup plus capables de supporter la fatigue, et qui les assujettirent à une discipline militaire à laquelle les peuples libres de la Grèce avoient beaucoup de peine

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peine à se plier, et sans laquelle la bravoure est plutôt nuisible qu'utile. Au reste, il est certain qu'à dater de ce moment, la puissance des Athéniens prit un accroissement prodigieux, et ils se crurent bientôt en état de disputer le premier rang aux Lacédæmoniens, et cette rivalité fut une des principales causes des malheurs que la Grèce éprouva par la suite. Les Athéniens commencèrent aussi alors à sortir de la barbarie dans laquelle ils étoient plongés ainsi que tous les autres peuples de la Grèce européenne, et ils durent ce premier élan aux encouragements que Pisistrate et ses fils donnèrent aux lettres et aux arts, en formant à Athènes une bibliothèque, en y faisant connoître les poésies d'Homère, en y attirant des poëtes célébres, tels qu' Anacréon et Simonides de Céos, et enfin en y faisant construire plusieurs édifices publics. Ce premier mouvement une fois donné aux esprits, les progrès furent rapides, car les quatre-vingts ans qui s'écoulèrent entre la chute des Pisistratides et le commencement de la guerre du Péloponnèse, virent éclore et se former la plupart des grands talens qui illustrèrent le siècle de Périclès. C'est donc ici le commencement d'une nouvelle époque dont l'histoire est beaucoup plus connue et se trouve par conséquent exclue du plan que je me suis proposé, qui est uniquement de répandre quelque jour sur des temps dont on s'étoit, jusqu'à présent, occupé trop légèrement.' Tom. ii. pp. 358, 359.

Into the reflections which the doctrines contained in this passage might be calculated to excite, we will not enter; but we pretty clearly perceive the allusion which was in the mind of the writer, and allow its force. At the same time, we are not prepared to say that the analogy is perfect, or that the portrait of the polished and truly Attic usurper of Athens could with any suitableness be suspended in the imperial gallery of revolutionised France. Many a deep tint must be cast across his brow, many a ruffian furrow ploughed into his cheek, before his countenance would appear in unison with the grim character of that scene. We must add to the Pisistratus recorded in history, the extremes of ignoble passion, low pride, and brutality, a fierce vindictiveness, a contempt for the holiest obligations, a thousand forms of treasons, stratagems and spoils, innumerable varieties of battles, murders, and sudden deaths,—before a true Parisian could possibly recognise him for the god of his idolatry,—before the chaplet which seemed to be woven by Apollo and the Muses, could possibly be mistaken for the prototype of the iron crown. No, it is of other mould and sterner stuff that the despots of our day are composed.—'Cum illo ego te dominandi cupidine conferre possum, cæteris verò rebus nullo modo comparandus es.'*

But though we cannot allow that the Pisistratidæ of France are

* Philipp. ii. 45.

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at all worthy of the name, there yet is one trait, we confess, in which they discover a truly honourable resemblance to the race who originally bore it. We allude to the patronage which, in the instance before us, they have bestowed on a learned and ingenious man; a patronage justified on the whole by the work of which we are now taking our leave. And we shall consider it as one example of *good educed from evil*, if they should still farther exercise their liberality in the same quarter, and if that liberality should again be similarly justified,—*previously to their final expulsion.*

Art. II. *The Curse of Kehama.* By Robert Southey. 4to. pp. 592. London. Longman. 1810.

EVER since the revival of letters, the learned world has been agitated by dissensions between two of its most distinguished classes, the poets and the critics, and each has in its turn made a plausible appeal to the public. The poets have urged, and with much appearance of justice, that their peculiar talent being of a nature singularly capricious and evanescent, it is not in the power even of the possessors to prescribe its exertions. That for this reason it has almost in every language borne a name implying inspiration, as if poetry were less the work of the author in his ordinary and unperturbed state of mind, than the effusion of a moment of enthusiasm, when the ideas are sublimed, and the imagination kindled by an impulse which he can neither guide nor withstand. They have proceeded in pathetic strains to state the hardship of a profession in which their exertions, if successful, are uniformly dogged by calumny, and, if otherwise, by contempt and disgrace. It is but fair, they allege, that in so disadvantageous a combat they should be allowed to chuse their own ground, to make such experiments upon the public taste, and the principles of their own art, as change of times appears to demand; and that it is the height of injustice to confine their efforts to the subjects chosen by their predecessors which have now lost the gloss of novelty, and are become in a manner exhausted. They contend that themselves alone can be judges of the force and faculties of their own mind, and consequently of the most advantageous mode of employing their powers; and that urging them to a style of composition, which, however excellent in itself, is alien from their temper and studies, is as absurd as to compel David to use the armour which he had not proved, instead of his own pastoral stone and sling.—

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The object of poetry is pleasure; and if the old track has ceased to guide us towards it, fresh avenues must be opened. Nay, conceding that the stile of their predecessors is more pure and excellent than their own, modern authors still plead that, like a popular melody 'which the carmen whistle,' it has in some degree lost its effect by repeated and dull imitation. Let us, say they, yield to the usual revolutions of taste, and indulge the public with some variety in poetical composition. Those who succeed us, more fortunate than ourselves, may again resort to the imitation of purer models, and their efforts will not only have the renewed grace of novelty, but all the advantages which can be gained by a contrast with our own.

The critics are not without their answers to these charges. They plead that poetry, like all the other fine arts, has its general rules, which, though strictly observed, will still leave endless scope for variety. That as the musician consents that his notes shall be arranged by the general laws of harmony, it does not become the poet to assume the licence of framing his effusions according to the fantastic dictates of his own imagination. If, in a long succession of ages, the legitimate subjects of verse lose the charm of absolute novelty, the loss had better be supplied by an attempt to throw over them a polish and a grace to which the ancient models were strangers, than by capricious excursions into the realms of fancy. The form of a Grecian temple, they say, no longer boasts to our eyes the charm of novelty; yet that is no reason for supplying its place by the grotesque and puerile singularities of a Chinese pagoda. The plea of hardship they refute by an appeal to the experience of every other profession, where long study and early apprenticeship are as indispensable to success as genius and talent. To the personal objection against their judgment, they reply that the poet is seldom the best judge of his own compositions, or the most impartial arbiter of those of others; that in the glow of enthusiastic feeling he is apt to misuse his own talents and mislead the public taste; and that in all nations there has arisen, with the general diffusion of literature, a separate class of men neither professing to be poets themselves, nor to read poetry upon the usual motives of interest and amusement, but for the sake of justice to the dead and candour to the living, to mark the progress of the art itself, to correct the exuberances of its professors, to point out their excellencies, to whisper to them the advice which they can never collect from the thunder of applause.

Amid these contending pretensions, it appears to us that the critic rests too much upon usage and authority, and that the poet allows too little to the general principles of taste. The former would tie down an author to the rules of Scaliger and Bossu, the latter claims an indem-

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indemnity from all critical regulation whatsoever. It requires little acquaintance with poetry to know how few good epics have appeared; and we fear that of those which retain the greatest share of popularity, very few will be found to be written by poets who have left the beaten track, and endeavoured to produce something new and original. The ingenuity of critics has been strained to discover common rules, which should at once apply to the Iliad and Paradise Lost; but whoever will fairly take a view of the subject, must be satisfied that although the talents of the two authors did in many material points resemble each other, yet the nature of their themes, the object of their poetry, the rules upon which it is conducted, differ as widely as possible; and if they had not both been called epic poets, scarcely another point of resemblance would be found between them. Virgil, it is true, has followed Homer more closely, reducing however to line and measure the exuberances of his model, and thus presenting the graces of regularity instead of the bold front of originality. But although this attempt was crowned with success, and was in fact rather the introduction of a new species of writing, grounded upon the Grecian epic, than a strict imitation of Homer, the various bards who attempted to follow in the same path have been less fortunate.—Tasso indeed is an exception; but they who read him attentively will find they owe much of their pleasure to those passages in which the Æneid and Iliad are withdrawn from our recollection. The beautiful episode of Arminia is an incident of a pastoral nature, and the adventure of the enchanted forest a chapter in a metrical romance. To most Italians, and indeed to many other readers of poetry, Ariosto is more pleasing than Tasso; which certainly can only arise from the fatiguing corollary which the Jerusalem Delivered forms to the siege of Troy. Of later writers it is needless and would be invidious to speak. They load our shelves indeed, and are recorded in our catalogues; but who can say that the learned labours of Bossu, so admirably ridiculed by Pope, have added one readable poem to the literature of France or England? The harp of Mincio has made miserable music in the hands of Voltaire, Blackmore, and later worthies; and we may well use the expostulation of a living poet,—

> 'Must sleepy bards the flattering dream prolong,
> Mechanic echoes of the Mantuan song,
> From truth and nature shall we widely stray,
> Where Virgil not where fancy leads the way?'

Here therefore is one road to the temple of fame, not indeed blockaded, but broken up and rendered impassable by the numbers who have trodden it. Similar changes have happened in other professions; and as popularity is at present sought by varying from the

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the classic subjects of the ancients, by describing gothic castles, modern cottages, and, as we shall presently see, Indian pagodas; so the painter who can no longer succeed by imitations of Raphael and Guido, gains the public applause by groupes of peasants, fishers, and smugglers. This may cost the antiquary a sigh, and draw from the critic a stern rebuke: but, after all, it is but a specimen of the eternal operation of change, to which literature, like the globe itself, is necessarily subjected.

> 'What man that sees the ever-whirling wheel
> Of change, the which all mortal things doth sway,
> But that thereby doth find and plainly feel
> How mutability in them doth play
> Her cruel sports, to many men's decay?'

There are however, as the same poet proceeds to inform us, laws by which mutability herself is regulated in her various and capricious movements, and which therefore may supply the critic with a code independent of her influence. Such laws indeed are to be drawn, not from the mechanical jargon of French criticism, but from an accurate consideration of the springs and movements of the human heart. These doubtless are changed and modified in the different stages of society, as the outward figure is disguised or altered by the progressive change of dress: but the nature of the human mind in the one case, as the conformation of the limbs in the other, remains in fact unaltered; and (making allowance always for the particular stage of society) it is that to which we must finally appeal in censuring or approving poetical composition. The writings of the ancients may be then properly consulted, not as containing the authority by which their successors must be regulated, but as affording the happiest illustration of those general principles upon which poetry ought to be written. We can only slightly glance at this subject at present; but should we ever recur to it, it may not be difficult to prove that the elder critics, in their pedantic veneration for the ancients, totally overlooked the real advantage to be derived from studying them, and thus, to speak the language of the schools, confounding the accidental and formal qualities with those which were essential to their poetry, drew the canons of criticism from the former, instead of resorting to the latter, which it is no easy matter to analyze and define. Hence it has been laid down as a rule that a modern should imitate Homer and Virgil in the subject, incident, and conduct of the story, instead of requiring him to emulate their spirit upon a theme adapted to his own times, studies, and peculiar bent of genius.

We have been unavoidably led into this general line of reflection, by the volume before us. The verses prefixed announce a determination in the author to step out of the common road of compo-

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composition, and to put himself upon his country for the issue of his trespass, if there be one.

> 'For I will for no man's pleasure
> Change a syllable or measure.
> Pedants shall not tie my strains
> To our antique poets veins;
> Being born as free as these,
> I will sing as I shall please.'

This bold avowal is followed by a narrative poem, in twenty-four sections, of a nature powerfully interesting, and at the same time the most wild and uncommon which has hitherto fallen under our observation. The story is founded upon the Hindoo mythology, the most gigantic, cumbrous, and extravagant system of idolatry to which temples were ever erected.—The scene is alternately laid in the terrestrial paradise—under the sea—in the heaven of heavens, and in hell itself. The principal actors are a man who approaches almost to omnipotence, another labouring under a strange and fearful malediction, which exempts him from the ordinary laws of nature, a good genius, a sorceress, and a ghost, with several Hindostan deities of different ranks. The only being that retains the usual attributes of humanity is a female who is gifted with immortality at the close of the piece. That nothing in this extraordinary poem might resemble what had been written before, the measure is of a kind absolutely new in narrative poetry. It resembles that of Thalaba in structure; but being in rhyme, although the coincidences are of irregular occurrence, it may be best compared to the pindarics of Donne and Cowley, a measure which, if it sometimes disappoints the ear, does at others unexpectedly form the happiest and most beautiful combinations of harmony, and is, upon the whole, by its very wildness, excellently suited to the strange and irregular magnificence of the descriptions which it is employed to convey. But we hasten to give a sketch of the story.

It is necessary first to notice a peculiarity of the Hindoo religion, upon which Mr. Southey has founded his poem. It is thus described in the preface;

'Prayers, penances, and sacrifices, are supposed to possess an inherent and actual value, in no degree depending upon the disposition or motive of the person who performs them. They are drafts upon Heaven, for which the Gods cannot refuse payment. The worst men, bent upon the worst designs, have in this manner obtained power which has made them formidable to the Supreme Deities themselves, and rendered an *Avatar*, or Incarnation of Vishnoo the Preserver, necessary.' Pref. pp. vii. viii.

The reader then is to suppose that Kehama, a mighty rajah, had,

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had, by a course of austere penances and extraordinary sacrifices, extorted from the deities of Hindostan a power which upon earth was already equal to their own. Neither did he therefore cease his devotions, which although offered with the worst and most malignant designs, and accepted by the deities with reluctance and terror, did nevertheless authorize him to claim from them still farther accessions of power. The gods, who observed that he continued by new austerities and sacrifices to make daily encroachments on their prerogatives, anticipated with growing alarm the period of their final subjection to this inexorable aspirant. The dreaded moment seemed not far remote; for Kehama, having already acquired full power over the earth, was engaged in a series of mysterious sacrifices, the consummation of which would, by the conquest of Indra, subject the Swerga, (the heaven of our earthly system,) together with all its tenantry of gods, to his authority.—His next object of ambition is to be the conquest of the regions of Padalon, the Hindoo Tartarus, where the Amreeta or drink of immortality was deposited: when he shall have possessed himself of this divine liquor, it will only remain that he should scale the empyreum, and struggle for the full power of divinity with Bramah, Vishnoo, and Seeva, the Trimourtee of the Bramins. But though thus elevated in present power, and yet more by future prospect above the lot of humanity, this mighty being was not yet exempted from the evils which attend it. Arvalan, his only son, whom he had secured from steel and fire, was slain with a stake by a peasant whose daughter he was attempting to violate. The poem opens with the following rich and brilliant description of the young rajah's funeral rites.

Midnight, and yet no eye
Through all the Imperial City clos'd in sleep!
Behold her streets a-blaze
With light that seems to kindle the red sky,
Her myriads swarming through the crowded ways!
Master and slave, old age and infancy,
All, all abroad to gaze;
House-top and balcony
Clustered with women, who throw back their veils,
With unimpeded and insatiate sight
To view the funeral pomp which passes by,
As if the mournful rite
Were but to them a scene of joyance and delight.

Vainly, ye blessed twinklers of the night,
Your feeble beams ye shed,
Quench'd in the unnatural light which might out-stare
Even the broad eye of day;
And thou from thy celestial way

Pourest,

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Pourest, O Moon, an ineffectual ray!
For lo! ten thousand torches flame and flare
Upon the midnight air,
Blotting the lights of heaven
With one portentous glare.
Behold the fragrant smoke in many a fold,
Ascending floats along the fiery sky,
And hangeth visible on high,
A dark and waving canopy!
Hark! 'tis the funeral trumpet's breath!
'Tis the dirge of death!
At once ten thousand drums begin
With one long thunder-peal the ear assailing;
Ten thousand voices then join in,
And with one deep and general din
Pour their wild wailing.
The song of praise is drown'd
Amid that deafening sound;
You hear no more the trumpet's tone,
You hear no more the mourner's moan,
Though the trumpet's breath, and the dirge of death,
Mingle and swell the funeral yell.
But rising over all in one acclaim
Is heard the echoed and re-echoed name,
From all that countless rout:
Arvalan! Arvalan!
Arvalan! Arvalan!
Ten times ten thousand voices in one shout
Call Arvalan! The overpowering sound
From house to house repeated rings about,
From tower to tower rolls round.' pp. 1—3.

With equally glowing colours the author proceeds to describe the procession of the Bramins, and the appearance of the wives of Arvalan, who are doomed to share with him the funeral pile.—Their respective demeanour is marked with the masterly hand of genius, that loves to contrast the effects of the same fate upon different dispositions. Azla calmly takes her seat, while 'young Nealliny' loudly invokes the compassion of the attendants, until she is bound by force to the dead body of her husband. The pile is fired with a solemnity at once awful and pathetic, by the hand of Kehama himself, amid the noise of a thousand instruments of music, and the shouts of the immense multitude, which drown the cries of the living victims. When all is in one mass of flame, Kehama, moving towards the table of the dead, evokes the spirit of his slaughtered son. He appears, and a scene of recrimination takes place, in which they mutually reproach each other. At length Arvalan, after being endowed with all the attributes of which

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which his spirit could be made participant, demands the farther boon of exemplary and lasting vengeance. Kehama then turns again to the pile, raises his hand to command silence, and orders the peasant and his daughter, who had been dragged in the train of the funeral procession, to be brought forth. Kailyal, the female, flies for aid to a rude image of Marriataly, the protecting goddess of the poor, which stood on the banks of the Ganges, where the funeral rites were performed. A thousand hands strive to tear her from the sanctuary, but the offended deity at once displaces her idol, and plunges it with the suppliant maiden and the sacrilegious violators of her rights, into the broad and rapid torrent below. Kehama, nothing moved, turns the whole of his wrath against the father Ladurlad, upon whom he pronounces the doom which gives name to the poem. The pause which precedes his revenge is horribly sublime, as well as the curse itself.

'I charm thy life
From the weapons of strife,
From stone and from wood,
From fire and from flood,
From the serpent's tooth,
And the beasts of blood:
From Sickness I charm thee,
And Time shall not harm thee,
But Earth which is mine,
Its fruits shall deny thee;
And water shall hear me,
And know thee and fly thee;
And the Winds shall not touch thee
When they pass by thee,
And the Dews shall not wet thee,
When they fall nigh thee:
And thou shalt seek Death
To release thee, in vain;
Thou shalt live in thy pain,
While Kehama shall reign,
With a fire in thy heart,
And a fire in thy brain;
And Sleep shall obey me,
And visit thee never,
And the Curse shall be on thee
For ever and ever.' pp. 18, 19.

Under this anathema Ladurlad stands motionless, hearing the sounds which formerly rang in his ear, seeing the multitude dispersing, and the funeral solemnity almost concluded, yet feeling that his dreadful fate had already begun to operate. Devoted to inexpressible bodily torture, and deprived not only of hope during life, but of death itself, he staggers wildly from the spot, and losing sight

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sight of the decaying fires and the bands of priests and soldiers which surrounded them, he moves, in solitary contemplation of his misery, along the banks of the river. Here he spies an object borne down by the current—it is the image of Marriataly, to which his daughter still clings. Full of hope and joy he dashes into the waters, which obeyed Kehama, and retreated before him.—Blind to the miracle, he only thinks of Kailyal, and drags her to shore, where the sad developement of their lot forms the subject of some beautiful stanzas, replete with poetry and natural and affecionate feeling.

Repeated trials convince Ladurlad of the sad reality of his curse. The water avoids his hand—the wind, which waves every leaf around him, is unfelt:—sleep will doubtless know the Rajah's spell, and fly from his victim—even the grave, the last refuge of the wretched, is denied. Wandering yet farther into the forest, Kailyal and her father recline near a tyger's haunt. The scene which follows is as impressive and affecting as the subject is wild and extraordinary. Ladurlad, for his daughter's sake, silently mans himself to endure the raging pain which attended his singular destiny, while Kailyal almost persuades herself, from the regularity of his breathing, that heaven had lent some respite to his sorrow, and in this hope sinks to rest. Ladurlad, who was awake, and felt the whole effects of the curse, now resolved to withdraw from his daughter, and save her the sight of his misery. He had hardly executed his purpose ere she awoke, and pursued him with all the agony of filial affection driven to despair. Her path is crossed by the spectre of Arvalan, who gifted by his sire with power to execute the foul purpose, in attempting which he had perished, pursues his prey into the temple of Pollear. This potent deity, incensed at the sacrilegious intrusion, seizes Arvalan in his grasp, and whirls him to an immense distance. Kailyal, ignorant of the power who had saved her, continues her flight, till she stumbles at the roots of a manchineil, and lies like a corpse beneath its deadly shade. Here she must have perished: but a Glendoveer, or good genius, one of the most amiable of created intelligences, taking compassion on her forlorn state, bears her to Mount Himakoot, the abode of Casyapa, the Saturn of Hindostan, and father of all the inferior gods. The aged deity, who wants power to contend with Kehama, warns the Glendoveer of the risk of undertaking the protection of one persecuted by the tyrant, whose encroachments on the deities became every day more formidable. Charmed with the beauties and virtues which he has rescued, the Glendoveer determines not to abandon Kailyal, and conveys her in the 'ship of heaven,' one of the most aukward contrivances

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trivances of the poem, to the Swerga, or terrestrial paradise, the abode of Indra. Here also he meets a cold reception, for Indra trembles at Kehama. Kailyal prays to be returned to earth, that she may assuage, by participation, the lot of her father; and Indra, affected by her virtue, finally resolves to afford her and Ladurlad a temporary asylum.

'———Where Ganges has its birth,
Below our sphere and yet above the earth;
There may Ladurlad rest beyond the power
Of the dread Rajah till the fated hour.'

The hour apprehended by Indra was fast approaching. Ninety-nine steeds had already bled on Seeva's altar, and when another victim should complete the sacrifice, the power of Kehama must supersede that of the sovereign of the Swerga. The horse destined for this purpose was carefully guarded; but the troops watched him at a distance, because the touch of human hand would render him unfit for the altar. He is driven forward by the contracting bands of archers, who only leave him a passage to the temple. His terror at the unaccustomed objects, and the deep silence with which an immense crowd watched for the completion of the sacrifice, are described in thrilling language. As Kehama lifts the axe, a man springs from the crowd to seize the hallowed steed. A thousand archers at once discharge their shafts; but they fall harmless from the invulnerable stranger, who mounts the steed, gallops round the circle, and renders the victim thus profaned totally unfit for the purpose of the sacrificer. The intruder is dragged to the feet of Kehama, but on him (for it was Ladurlad) the Rajah had already exercised all his vengeance. He therefore turned his fury on the troops who did not prevent his intrusion; and a scene of blood ensues perfectly characteristic of Indian manners, and described with all the dreadful graces of poetry.

The consequences of this horrible massacre are painted with equal truth and sublimity.

'The steam of slaughter from that place of blood
Spread o'er the tainted sky.
Vultures for whom the Rajah's tyranny
So oft had furnished food, from far and nigh
Sped to the lure: aloft with joyful cry
Wheeling around, they hover'd over head;
Or, on the temple perch'd, with greedy eye,
Impatient watch'd the dead.
Far off the tygers, in the inmost wood,
Heard the death-shriek, and snuff'd the scent of blood.
They rose, and through the covert went their way,
Couch'd at the forest's edge, and waited for their prey.' p. 83.

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Ladurlad meanwhile had wandered from the scene of cruelty, and almost unwittingly reached the habitation of his earlier days. This is one of the most beautiful passages of the poem, and displays, in an eminent degree, the art with which Mr. Southey has contrived to unite the supernatural tone of his poem with the genuine feelings of humanity, and thus give the sufferings of Ladurlad an interest of which the utter impossibility of his case might otherwise seem to deprive him. The scene of former happiness, the recollection of his deceased wife and persecuted daughter, rush upon him with double force, at the sight of the desolation occasioned by his absence from what was once the spot of domestic peace. The distant mirth of his former neighbours, heard from the village market-place, is exquisitely described as acting upon the miserable man like an insult to his wretchedness, although he knew they were not aware of his presence. These sad reveries are interrupted by the apparition of Arvalan. This unrelenting spectre proceeds to new acts of insult, but is put to flight by Ereenia, the benevolent Glendoveer, who, in obedience to the commands of Indra, conveys Ladurlad to his daughter's temporary asylum at the holy source of the Ganges.

In the delicious groves which surround Mount Meru, the persecuted pair are joined by Yedillian, the deceased wife of Ladurlad, and mother of Kailyal; and the society thus strangely assembled, consisting of a genie, a ghost, and two mortals, continue a while in happiness, notwithstanding an attempt of the inveterate Arvalan, assisted by a potent enchantress, to intrude upon their place of refuge. But in the opening of the twelfth section they are disturbed by the intelligence that Kehama is about to renew the sacrifice which had been interrupted, and that there was no safety for them in Mount Meru. The mortals return, the fiery curse again occupies the heart and brain of Ladurlad, and hardly do they stand upon middle earth when the blow is struck, and the sacrifice completed.

'Around her Father's neck the Maiden lock'd
Her arms, when that portentous blow was given;
Clinging to him she heard the dread uproar,
And felt the shuddering shock which ran through Heaven.
Earth underneath them rock'd,
Her strong foundations heaving in commotion,
Such as wild winds upraise in raving Ocean,
As though the solid base were rent asunder.
And lo! where, storming the astonish'd sky,
Kehama and his evil host ascend!
Before them rolls the thunder,
Ten thousand thousand lightnings round them fly,
Upward the lengthening pageantries aspire,
Leaving from Earth to Heaven a widening wake of fire.' .p 131.

Neither

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Neither earth nor heaven was to afford Kailyal rest. A band of Yoguees or profligate priests seize her as a bride for Jaga-naut, in whose name they prosecute their infamous pleasures. Kailyal is led in a procession, which is described with magnificent luxuriance. She is imprisoned in the interior of the temple, and the chief Bramin approaches his prey, when he is anticipated by the spectre, who dashes him to earth, and occupies his dead body. The Glendoveer again appears, but is hurried off by the demons who attend the son of Kehama. Kailyal sets fire to the pagoda, and Arvalan, who was now sensible to the flames, flies in dismay; while Ladurlad, fenced by his enemy's curse against the rage of every element, rushes through the conflagration, and rescues his daughter from its fury.

In the next section, the father and daughter proceed to the release of the benevolent Glendoveer. Kailyal had learned from the exulting expressions of Arvalan, that he had imprisoned his rival in the sepulchre of an ancient monarch, Baly by name, whose capital had been overwhelmed by the ocean. The obscure yet wondrous remains of this sub-marine city are displayed in the most glowing and romantic colours. Ladurlad, over whom the sea had no power, enters gardens where earthly vegetation was replaced by a thousand marine productions which emulated all the splendours of Flora, and penetrated to the caverns where the race of the mighty Baly were deposited in death.

> 'Deep in the marble rock, the Hall
> Of Death was hollowed out, a chamber wide,
> Low-roof'd, and long; on either side,
> Each in his own alcove, and on his throne,
> The Kings of old were seated: in his hand
> Each held the sceptre of command,
> From whence, across that scene of endless night,
> A carbuncle diffused its everlasting light.' p. 176.

At the extremity of this awful range of sepulchres he beholds Ereenia chained to the rock, and guarded by a huge sea monster, whose conflict with Ladurlad is one of the most (unnatural we cannot say) but unpleasing and useless prodigies in the poem. They struggle for a whole week, the one secured by the anathema of Kehama, the other by his invulnerable scales. The contest finds a singular termination: 'the beast must sleep or die;' and as Ladurlad presses too closely on him to admit of repose, the latter alternative becomes inevitable. Ladurlad now frees the Glendoveer, and they joyously ascend to the earth, where Kailyal awaited their return on the shore. The pleasure of their meeting is checked by the re-appearance of the eternal Arvalan, on whom all former correction had been thrown away. At this nice moment Baly, who, in consequence

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sequence of his virtues, had been constituted judge of Padalon, (the Hindoo hell,) happened to be taking his yearly walk upon earth, and, espying his advantage, seized upon Arvalan, his confederate enchantress, and their assistants; and without waiting for Kehama, who was hastening to the rescue of his son, regained the infernal territories, yet inaccessible to the Rajah's power, and secured his prisoners. Kehama, thus anticipated, meditates new persecutions for the unhappy Kailyal, whose hand he now demands for himself, alleging that he and she alone were destined to partake of the amreeta, or cup of immortality, which he speedily hoped to compel Yamen, the Pluto of the Bramin Tartarus, to deliver.—The description of Kehama, when he softened his terrors, reminds us of the Satan of Milton, yet stands the comparison.

'Pride could not quit his eye,
Nor that remorseless nature from his front
Depart: yet whoso had beheld him then
Had felt some admiration mix'd with dread,
And might have said
That sure he seem'd to be the King of Men;
Less than the greatest that he could not be,
Who carried in his port such might and majesty.' p. 197.

His suit, though backed by the proffered recal of the fatal curse, is steadily rejected by Ladurlad and Kailyal, and he leaves them with an aggravated anathema.

The daring Glendoveer meanwhile had scaled Mount Calasay, the empyreum where Bramah, Vishnoo, and Seeva dwell in an abyss of light. Here he is directed to descend to the kingdom of Yamen, and await the unravelling of the will of destiny. Though this seemed but indifferent consolation, the Glendoveer, with Kailyal and her father, undertakes the melancholy journey. They cross the sea which divides middle earth from the realms of Yamen, and find upon the opposite shore the crowds who wait admittance into his dreary kingdom. Padalon was encircled by an icy mound. Eight gates gave access to this region of punishment, and at each the warders mounted double guard, apprehensive of the invasion of Kehama, who, having conquered earth and sky, now threatened hell itself. The visitors enter Padalon in a chariot, which hung self-balanced on a single wheel. Here the scene was altered.

'Far other light than that of day there shone
Upon the travellers, entering Padalon.
They, too, in darkness entered on their way,
But, far before the Car,
A glow, as of a fiery furnace light,
Fill'd all before them. 'Twas a light which made
Darkness

Darkness itself appear
A thing of comfort, and the sight, dismay'd,
Shrunk inward from the molten atmosphere.
Their way was through the adamantine rock
Which girt the World of Woe; on either side
Its massive walls arose, and overhead
Arch'd the long passage; onward as they ride,
With stronger glare the light around them spread,
And lo! the regions dread,
The World of Woe before them, opening wide.' pp. 240, 241.

The single-wheeled car crosses the fiery flood on a 'rib of steel,' sharp as the edge of a sabre, while the screams and torments of the damned in the gulph beneath are described with all the gloomy power of Dante. Even a new feature of terror is afforded to these accursed regions by the apprehended insurrection of their inhabitants, who, expecting the descent of Kehama, their deliverer, are with difficulty retained in subjection by multiplied guards and additional tortures. Through such sounds and sights of terror, the suppliants at length reach the judgment-seat of Yamen. His golden throne is propped at the three corners by three figures red-hot, yet retaining the form and sensations of humanity: the fourth corner is unsupported. As in this tottering state it could not afford a secure seat for the monarch of Padalon, Yamen had placed himself upon a huge marble sepulchre, the abode of his consort Azyoruca, who received into her hundred arms the souls whose doom her husband pronounced.

Yamen had scarcely welcomed the fugitives, when the approach of Kehama to storm his realms became manifest, and the tumult of hell, the clang of the tormentors scourges, and the shrieks of the sufferers, were lost in a dreadful interval of suspense.

'The voice of lamentation ceased in Hell,
And sudden silence all around them fell,
Silence more wild and terrible
Than all the infernal dissonance before:
Through that portentous stillness, far away,
Unwonted sounds were heard advancing on
And deepening on their way.'

This sublime passage announces the Rajah, and we could have wished that it had altogether superseded the account of his actual assault; which, though perfectly consonant to Hindoo superstition, is far too extravagant for a serious poem. Kehama, self-multiplied by the attribute of divine power which he had extorted from heaven, stood at the self-same moment before the eight gates of hell, stormed each of them at the same instant, and advanced, as it were,

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in eight columns over the eight causeways which led to the throne of Yamen. The penal fires grew pale before the lightnings which attended his career, and the thunders of hell were drowned in the louder terrors which proclaimed his march. The gates of the Hindoo pandæmonium are burst open, and the Rajah in all his forms surrounds its monarch.—The strife is judiciously veiled by darkness, but the issue is not long dubious. Kehama, having resumed his individuality, is discovered seated on the marble tomb, with Yamen under his feet. He demands of the three living statues who prop the golden throne, what they are, and for whom the fourth place is reserved. They answer by a description of their vices, and declare in chorus that the vacant corner is destined for one equal in guilt to themselves, and that they had long looked for that one in Kehama. The Rajah smiled contemptuously, and ordered the amreeta to be brought forth: obedient to his voice, the marble sepulchre opened, and 'a huge anatomy within its womb' presented the 'cup of immortality.'

The Rajah again invites Kailyal to partake his power, accompanied by a threat that if she refuses, her father shall supply the vacant place under the judgment seat of Yamen. Both remain unmoved: 'the resolute heart and virtuous will' oppose the tyrant even in the plenitude of his triumph over death and fate. Kehama had no sooner quaffed the amreeta, than he experienced the doom of his impious ambition:—immortality, happy immortality at least, could not be the meed of evil; the liquor ran through his veins in a stream of molten fire, torturing but not destroying his frame; and the Rajah, maugre his omnipotence, feels himself compelled to assume his place, the fourth burning column of the infernal throne. Kailyal now drinks; but the amreeta, of which the qualities were beneficent or malignant according to the properties of those who partook of it, did but consume the dross of humanity, and qualify her to enjoy immortal happiness with her beloved Ereenia. The god of death then casts his eye upon Ladurlad, who sinks at the glance into his last mortal slumber.

> 'Blessed that sleep, more blessed was the waking,
> For on that night a heavenly morning broke;
> The light of heaven was round him when he woke,
> And in the Swerga in Yedillian's bower,
> All whom he loved he met to part no more.'

Such is the termination of this singular poem, which, notwithstanding its wild and extravagant tenor, rivetted our attention more powerfully than any thing which we have lately perused. It is difficult to adopt any certain rule of criticism with respect to a production so anomalous. In other cases we perceive the mark at which the author has aimed, and can therefore judge whether he has fallen

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fallen short of it: but Mr. Southey resembles Acestes, who shot merely to shew the strength of his bow, and the height to which he could send his arrow.

> '—— Volans liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo
> Signavitque viam flammis.'

In this point of view, it is impossible to read the Curse of Kehama without conceiving the highest opinion of the author's force of imagination and power of expression. The passages which we have quoted will bear us out in asserting that no bard of modern days possesses a more abundant share of imagination, the highest of poetic qualities. There is a glow, an exuberancy even in his descriptions, indicating a richness of fancy adequate to supply the waste not of use only, but of extravagance: and perhaps it is a natural consequence of such attributes, that, like Collins, 'he loves fairies, genii, giants and monsters; delights to rove through the meanders of enchantment, to gaze on the magnificence of golden palaces, and to repose by the water-falls of Elysian gardens.' To this taste we owe the 'wild and wondrous tale' of Thalaba, and the still more wild and wondrous Curse of Kehama. If we compare these extraordinary poems, we shall find that though they bear the same relation to each other as those paintings which are termed companions, their leading features are nevertheless different. The mythology of Thalaba is drawn from a source with which we became early acquainted. Turbans and scymitars, caliphs and visirs, dervises and calendars, mosques and minarets, the practice and almost the theory of the Moslem religion, are familiar to us, from those delightful days when awakening fancy first rioted on the banquet of fictitious narrative. But what the Curse of Kehama wants in the charm of early prepossession, it enjoys in the more important quality of edification. The Hindoo religion, of which Europeans, nay Indo-Europeans, know little, excepting from the ponderous labours of a few literati, is not only curious, as one of the most ancient existing superstitions, but particularly interesting, as regulating the religious belief and moral practice of millions whom treaty or conquest has united to the British empire.

But it must not be understood, while we are thus expressing our thanks for the form in which so much instruction is conveyed to us, that we consider Mr. Southey as having employed the energies of his genius, and the treasures of his knowledge, in constructing a tale which should have no higher object than to introduce to the world, *The Hindoo mythology made plain and easy to the meanest capacity*. The poet, we apprehend, had discovered that on this mythology he could raise such a fabric as he now presents to us—that he could reduce its unwieldy and disjointed parts into some

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kind of form; and divesting of extravagance what he found in it of sublimity, employ the means which a particular superstition offered to his hands, in the production of a work which should excite an interest as universal as that of the most probable fable. And here we feel that our highest tribute of praise is due to Mr. Southey as a poet and a man. In whatever degree the cause of virtue and of morals (and we must be blind indeed not to discover his uniform exertions on their side) has been indebted to him heretofore, it has now to acknowledge far more splendid services. His heroine does not owe her triumph to supernatural interpositions, founded on principles of which the developement can neither increase our interest nor admiration. From the gods she could derive but little assistance; for till the final incident of the poem takes place, the *victrix causa* seems to be that of their enemy. Heaven itself stands in need of Ladurlad; and, together with him, she is identified with the interests of its inhabitants. Whence, then, springs this union ultimately so effectual in baffling the ambitious purposes of Kehama? The answer is obvious: from the moral character of Kailyal, which is perpetually opposed to the inordinate attempts, and almost omnipotent wickedness of the Rajah. His persecutions serve only to increase her patience and piety, and to turn her mind into itself in search of means of defence against her singular calamities. To the moral agency of this principle the poem owes its grandeur, at once splendid and severe.

A work which combines with circumstances of this nature a powerful imaginative character, has certainly advanced far towards perfection in one of the chief objects of poetry—the elevation of the human mind; which is thus for a time lifted above the sphere of common life, its low pursuits and passions, and carried into an empyreum of fancy, where it may rove at will through blissful regions of its own creation. It is impossible for a reader of feeling to rise from such a poem without being sensible of this abstraction; without a consciousness that he has at least enjoyed a glimpse of virtue, that his heart has been warmed by her influence; and, that, however transient this influence might be, it brought with it a conviction of the existence of that divine original from which it sprung. Poetry, indeed, cannot create a soil for virtue to take root in; but whenever it appears in its loftier character, it seldom fails to invigorate and enrich that in which it is already implanted.

Some remarks upon the conduct of the work will naturally be expected from us. In this Mr. Southey had to struggle with two great difficulties. The poem being entirely mythological, and the agents, generally speaking, having little in common with humanity, it must at first sight seem difficult to preserve that interest in the action of the piece which forms the principal charm of nar-

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narrative. The poet, whose heart is always true to moral feeling, has overcome this disadvantage by the beautiful picture of filial affection exhibited in the amiable and virtuous Kailyal. It is this secret charm which gives interest to the adventures of the persecuted pair, remote as they are from all resemblance to possibility. The purity, simplicity, and self-devotion of this injured female sanctify her, as it were, in our fancy; nor can we consider as overstrained the beautiful passage in which her virtue like that of Spencer's Una, is described as subjugating brute ferocity.

'A charm was on the Leopard when he came
Within the circle of that mystic glade;
Submiss he crouch'd before the heavenly Maid,
And offered to her touch his speckled side;
Or with arch'd back erect, and bending head,
And eyes half-clos'd for pleasure, would he stand,
Courting the pressure of her gentle hand.' p. 138.

The portrait of Ladurlad is also interesting, though in a less degree. The imagination is unable to receive the idea of intolerable torture existing for such a length of time; and although the poet has judiciously broken the spell by intervals of repose, yet when we consider the exertions made in the delivery of the Glendoveer, we are led to suspect that the pain had become sufferable by endurance. The love of the Glendoveer reminded us of the Compte de Gabalis, and of Pope, who adapted to comic machinery the attachment of his airy beings. It is, perhaps, less fitted to serious poetry; for so inseparable are our ideas even of sentimental affection, from the pangs of jealousy and the tumults of desire, that we can hardly conceive love, in the sense usually affixed to the word, existing between two beings of different natures, any more than between two persons of the same sex. But as Satan is the hero of Paradise Lost, so Kehama, partaking of his haughty and ambitious character, and exceeding him in power, is far the most prominent figure in the poem. Mr. Southey has happily embodied his conception of an human being approaching in power to a divinity, in malignity to the evil principle. Severer critics may however censure the passage in the seventeenth section, where Baly carries off Arvalan; and where the Rajah, instead of attempting his rescue, proposes himself as a suitor to Kailyal, and thus altogether changes the motive of her persecution. Even when Kehama had subdued the God of hell, we hear nothing of his releasing Arvalan, although his affection for him is the main cause of the curse of Ladurlad. But we are more inclined to censure the conclusion of Kehama's career, as inconsistent with the dignity of his character and the extent of his powers. Something like the same incident is to be found in one of the tales of the Genii, where the waters of oblivion prove the waters of death: but this is more ingenious than the expedient

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by which Seeva humbles Kehama in the very height of his triumph. After all, a similar objection would probably have occurred to any manner in which the tale could be concluded: for as Kehama had been almost raised to a level with Omnipotence, it would not be easy to devise any adequate mode of accomplishing his overthrow.

A second difficulty which Mr. Southey had to encounter, is that of adapting the vast and clumsy fabric of Indian mythology to the purposes of English poetry. We have observed the advantages which this presented; and the inconveniences are pointed out by the poet himself, when he acknowleges the anti-picturesque exterior of the Hindoo deities, and the frantic extravagance of the fables in which they are agents. Neither does he disguise the obvious objection, that the English reader may be startled by being plunged at once into a new and unknown system. The last difficulty Mr. Southey has removed by a list of those deities who occupy a place among his dramatis personæ, and by distinguishing the character and functions of each. The other inconvenience was not so easily parried. Mr. Southey has indeed, generally speaking, chosen the most pleasing of the Hindoo traditions. But while plunging into such an abyss of monstrous and outrageous fictions, the poet, perhaps, became more familiarized with the eastern stile than was quite consistent with the necessary severity of selection, and we have been not a little startled at some of the topics which he has chosen to celebrate. We have already stated our objections to the eight-days combat of Ladurlad with the sea-monster, and to the self-multiplication of Kehama, on his storming Padalon. We would have included in our expurganda, Indra's elemental palace, built partly of fire, partly of water, had not the poetry been so exquisitely beautiful as to excuse extravagance itself: but a globe which the sorceress Lorrinite composed of the pupils of human eyes, we must condemn without mercy. We would also send to the Remise a certain infernal car, which as it only moved on one wheel, must have been a precarious vehicle, even if it had traversed a road broader than the edge of a scymetar. The description of Mount Calasay, a silver hill, with seven silver ladders, is too much like a tale of Madam D'aunois; and we cannot help remarking, that Yamen-pur, the metropolis of the infernal regions, being made of a single diamond, is the more brilliant habitation of the two. Accustomed as we are to the Grecian Cupid, we cannot reconcile ourselves to Camdeo's bowstring, which being composed of live bees, must have been singularly ill adapted to the purposes of archery; nor are we at all pleased with the bees breaking off upon one occasion, and hiving upon Kailyal's head. These and similar imperfections, however, were almost inseparable from a plan laid in the wildest regions of fiction. The Greeks alone have

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have contrived to reconcile to grace, and to a decent probability, their mythological fables, while the Hindoos have, of all nations, run farthest into the extremes of tumid and unimaginable absurdity.

We can the more readily pardon Mr. Southey for following, in a few instances, the bad taste of his model; because one of his principal beauties is derived from the uncommon art with which he has maintained the character of a poet of Hindostan. We have scarcely been able to find a passage, in which we are reminded that the bard is an European. The ornaments, the landscape, the animals, the similies, the language, the sentiments, are oriental; selected, indeed, and arranged with more art than any eastern poet could have displayed; but still composed of the very materials which he must necessarily have employed. This observation of manners and costume, is carried still farther than in Madoc. There the poet established among his imaginary Atzeucas, various rites observed in different parts of America; but here, where materials were more amply supplied, his manners and sentiments are not merely oriental, but so distinctly and exclusively Hindoo, that they could be properly ascribed to no other Indian faith, and would be misplaced, had the story respected Mahometans, Thibetians, or Parsees. The genius and moral feeling of the author are, indeed, visibly superior to the colours with which he works; yet this superiority cannot be perceived from the Englishman breaking forth in any particular passage; but from the general light diffused over the whole picture, like that communicated by the sun to nature upon those days in which his orb is not visible.

Weighing, therefore, the beauties, and the imperfections connected with the author's plan, the former will be found to preponderate in a very great degree. But could not Mr. Southey have selected some subject, admitting all that is excellent, and excluding all that is extravagant in his poem? We should be deficient indeed in our art, if we could not answer in the affirmative. As Mr. Southey himself, however, was to write the poem, it is only reverence for the reader's leisure, which prevents our demanding that he shall chuse for his next theme, one which will allow him to display the sublimity of Homer, the majesty of Virgil, the fancy of Ariosto, the chaste taste of Tasso, the solemnity of Dante, and all the attributes of all the first poets. But would our advice be reasonable? Or rather would it not resemble the resolution of the mad monarch, the execution of which he wisely commits to his ministers?

> 'He shall have chariots easier than air,
> *Which I will have invented*——
> And thou shalt ride before him, on a horse
> Cut out of an entire diamond,

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That shall be made to go with golden wheels
I know not how yet.'————

This is the false gallop of criticism—it is not pointing out to an author any reasonable object to be attained; but insidiously hinting at some unknown point of excellence, with whose bearings we doubtless are acquainted, though we kindly leave the poet to find them out as he can. In this we see neither wit nor wisdom: and shame on our craft if this finesse be its excellence! In judging of every human production, we can only estimate how far it exceeds or falls short of the common exertions of humanity; and it shews equal ignorance and injustice to attempt reducing it to the imaginary standard of some *beau ideal*, of which neither the author nor the critic has any distinct or accurate perception.

We have already noticed the singular stile of versification employed in this poem, which resembles the Pindarics of the seventeenth century. In the construction and return of his language, and even of his modulations, we observe a marked imitation of Milton, and there are passages in which the sense also approaches very nearly to that of our great classic. The flight of Arvalan, when

'Thrice through the vulnerable shade
The Glendoveer impels the griding blade, &c.'

inevitably recals the *griding* sword of Michael. The beautiful retreat of the celestial inhabitants from the profaned Swerga, reminded us of the secession of the Hamadryads in the hymn to the Nativity. But Mr. Southey, though we can discern that Milton is his favourite poet, is in no respect a servile imitator of his sublime model. His picture of the infernal regions may stand comparison with any poetic vision of those penal fires, from the days of Homer to those of Klopstock. The description hovers between that of Dante and Milton; not exhibiting the tedious particularity of the former, yet more detailed than that of the latter. The approach of the mortals to Padalon seems to us equal in grandeur to any passage which we ever perused. We will quote a few lines and close our criticism, though our subject is far from being exhausted.

'Far other light than that of day there shone
Upon the travellers entering Padalon.
They, too, in darkness entered on their way,
But, far before the Car,
A glow, as of a fiery furnace light,
Fill'd all before them. 'Twas a light which made
Darkness itself appear
A thing of comfort, and the sight, dismay'd,
Shrunk inward from the molten atmosphere.
Their way was through the adamantine rock
Which girt the World of Woe; on either side

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Its massive walls arose, and overhead
Arch'd the long passage; onward as they ride,
With stronger glare, the light around them spread,
And lo! the regions dread,
The World of Woe before them, opening wide.

There rolls the fiery flood,
Girding the realms of Padalon around.
A sea of flame it seem'd to be,
Sea without bound;
For neither mortal, nor immortal sight,
Could pierce across through that intensest light.' pp. 240, 241.

The notes contain a profusion of eastern learning, and the massive blocks which Mr. Southey has selected as specimens of Bramanical poetry and mythology, give us at once an idea of the immense quarries, in which the author must have laboured, and of the taste, skill, and labour necessary to fashion such unwieldy materials into the beautiful forms which they exhibit in the text.

Every theme, however pleasing, has its bounds, and we must bid farewell to Mr. Southey, grateful for the pleasure afforded us. We can presage nothing as to the popularity of the present poem. Its faults lie on the surface, and are of a kind obnoxious to sarcasm and malicious ridicule. But its beauties are infinite, and it possesses that high qualification for popularity, the power of exciting a painful and sustained interest. There are still, surely, among us those who will tolerate the excentricities of genius, in consideration of its lofty properties—properties, which distinguish all the works of the poet; but which shine forth with transcendant lustre, in the Curse of Kehama.

Before we quit the poem, we are bound to notice the novel and beautiful manner in which it is printed. In general a page of poetry is displeasing to fastidious eyes, from the irregular terminations of the lines; this deformity is not only obviated, but a remarkable elegance in the typographic art is introduced in its stead. The centre of every verse is so placed, as to preserve an equal breadth of margin on each side, and to give the page a kind of lapidary appearance, which is singularly striking and agreeable, even before the cause of it is discovered. We hope that every 'wire wove, hot pressed' poem, composed upon this model, will be printed with the same attention to picturesque beauty, as the Curse of Kehama, which has led the way to the only improvement of which the art of printing, in its present advanced state, is, perhaps, susceptible.

ART.

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ART. III. *Brief Remarks on the Character and Composition of the Russian Army, and a Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland in the Years* 1806 and 1807. 4to. pp. xxviii. 276. London. Egerton. 1811.

THERE is not a more certain prognostic of the downfall of a nation, than a conviction on the part of the government and the people, that their utmost efforts are inadequate to resist the enemy with whom they may be engaged in war. There is something in this feeling which palsies every nerve, and produces an effect upon a nation, which may be said to resemble the langnor of a confirmed melancholy, operating upon individuals. It oppresses those whom it attacks with a listless debility, and whilst the power of the disorder becomes gradually more decided, and its cure more remote, it leaves its unfortunate victims to sink beneath their fate, without effort and without hope.

It is therefore with great regret, and not without some alarm, that we observe in any part of this country a tendency to this disorder; and we consider as no equivocal symptom of its approach, a disposition to represent every extensive application of the great military resources of these islands, as utterly vain and ineffectual. We confess that it has given us peculiar pain to remark, that this doctrine (which appears pregnant with fatal consequences) has been propagated by persons who, from their situation, character, and talents, have considerable weight in the country; and who might, if they thought fit, excite spirit and vigour in the same degree as they now create despondency and fear. They do not, it is true, extend their doubts of the ability of this country to contend with France, to our maritime means; but they entertain such an opinion of the supereminent military genius of Buonaparte, and of the overwhelming strength of the military resources of France, as to look upon the British army (the bravest and the finest undoubtedly in the world) as fit only to wage a petty colonial war, or to wait in trembling apprehension at home for the moment when the enemy, having consolidated all his means and collected all his might, shall attempt to number the British empire amongst his dependent provinces. For ourselves, we confess that these maxims are by no means congenial to our feelings, or consistent with our notions of British policy. We cannot very readily understand what benefit, and particularly what security, is to follow from a mode of conducting a war purely and systematically defensive. In the operations of an individual campaign, such a mode of warfare may be prudent and advantageous; but it appears to us that the adoption of it, as a fixed principle, would give to the enemy every advantage which

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which he could desire, and deprive ourselves of every chance of terminating hostilities with safety or honour. Far from considering the state of Europe at the present moment as one which calls upon us to abandon all idea of vigorously resisting Buonaparte upon the continent, we see in the struggles which have ennobled some, and in the reverses which have overturned others of the continental powers, an additional motive for energy and perseverance on our own part: and from an attentive examination of the great military events of the last eighteen years, we are persuaded that by a manly and *honest* resistance, even the genius of Buonaparte may be foiled, and the spell of French invincibility dissolved.

It is on these accounts that we view with pleasure the work before us; and we think that Sir Robert Wilson has rendered an eminent service to his country, to Europe, and the world, by exhibiting an authentic narrative of the campaigns in Poland, and by thus assisting in tearing away the mask with which exaggeration on the one hand, and pusillanimity on the other, have disguised much of the true character of Buonaparte's strength. That Sir Robert Wilson was well qualified to give these details to the public cannot be doubted, whether we consider the talents which he is known to possess, or the opportunities which he enjoyed of witnessing what he describes. The motives too which he states as having urged him to this undertaking, are highly creditable to his feelings; and he very naturally represents them to have been awakened 'by the perusal of a French extra-official narrative of the campaigns of 1806 and 1807, and by a late British publication on the character, customs, and manners of Russia, with a Review of that work.'—With regard to the two latter publications, we entirely concur with Sir Robert Wilson in the view which he entertains of their tendency, and of the injudicious tone of asperity in which they are expressed—a tone which many circumstances recorded in the book itself, pointed out by Sir Robert Wilson, render not only imprudent, but unjustifiable. In fact, we are not without suspicion, that if our travellers do not experience in Russia that attention and hospitality to which they conceive themselves entitled, the Russians *alone* are not to blame.—We assert, however, in common with Sir Robert Wilson, (and we have no unsubstantial grounds for the assertion,) that the charge brought against Russia is totally unfounded; and we could add many names to the list which he has given of those to whom he could refer for a confirmation of his opinion. We do not indeed pretend to say that there are no defects in the Russian character; but we are disposed to make great allowances in favour of a people, who little more than a century ago were hardly to be considered as forming part of the European commonwealth, and whose comparative backwardness in many points of civilization, may rather be attri-

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attributed to the general slowness with which improvement advances, than to any insuperable obstacles arising from the native character of those amongst whom its influence is extended. Be this however as it may, we think with Sir Robert Wilson, 'that the interests of Russia and of England are inseparably united;' and we should consider it almost miraculous if the late selection of Bernadotte to be Crown Prince of Sweden, and the extension of the French empire to the Hanse Towns, did not excite a degree of jealousy between Russia and France, which may, at no remote period, be attended with very important consequences.

Looking therefore to the prospect of a return of that harmony which formerly subsisted between England and Russia, we are happy to deduce from the work before us the following inferences: first, that experience will have taught Russia those causes of her former failure which depended upon herself; and, secondly, that with the benefit of that experience, she may acquire the means of contending successfully with France. It is not for us to say how soon she may become sensible of the impolicy and danger of her present union with that power, or how soon (supposing that sense of danger to be created) she may feel herself in a condition to break the bonds by which she is at present fettered. We cannot but admit that if the marriage of Buonaparte with a Princess of Austria should give him such a commanding influence in the Cabinet of Vienna, as to compel that power to active co-operation with France against Russia, the difficulties of the latter country would be very materially increased. But the experience of all history teaches us, that the connexions which such marriages form between States, naturally jealous of each other, are frail and fleeting. Can we suppose that Austria will not look with increasing anxiety to the recovery of those portions of her territory which have been wrested from her, and which, from their position and internal resources, are, in a commercial, political, and military sense, of such vast importance to the prosperity and strength of the Austrian empire? Nothing which she can acquire on the side of Turkey or of Poland, can, as it strikes us, compensate, in point of feeling and interest, for the loss of the Venetian States; for the dismemberment of her hereditary dominions on the side of Carinthia and Carniola; and, above all, for the sacrifice of the Tyrol, that gem in the Austrian crown, torn from her after a struggle, which, whilst it excited the admiration, and kindled the enthusiasm of surrounding nations, must have taught Austria herself the intrinsic value of so inestimable a possession. She may indeed be indignant at the conduct of Russia in the war of 1809; but she will recollect that the hostilities of that power were languid and evidently reluctant; and although at the peace of Vienna she was compelled to abandon

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don a portion of her Polish territory to Russia, she will feel that her real enemy and spoiler is France, and that with France is her true and genuine quarrel. Admitting, therefore, that the conduct of Buonaparte towards Austria at the peace of Vienna, was a stroke of policy well calculated to forward his immediate views, we may still venture to doubt the permanency of its effects; and, without following this course of reasoning into detail, we do not think that there is any thing in the present state of Europe which renders it improbable that Russia will sooner or later throw off the yoke of Buonaparte, and assert her native strength with vigour and success. That strength may indeed have been shaken, and even for a time impaired, in the late tempestuous struggle: but is it therefore gone for ever, or has it necessarily been followed by irremediable debility and decay? The branches of the tree may have been shattered, but the trunk and the root remain uninjured, and the sap still moves on in its regular course with healthy and undiminished circulation.

We will now endeavour to lay before our readers a view of the work itself. It is divided into two parts; viz., remarks upon the character and composition of the Russian army, and a detailed account of the campaigns in which it was engaged. These divisions are however preceded by a preface, which contains some matter not to be passed over without notice. We have already expressed our approbation of the motives which led Sir Robert Wilson to undertake this publication, and our general coincidence in the vindication of the Russian character; but there is one part of the preface which we cannot look upon as entitled to the same assent: we mean that which relates to the partition of Poland, and in which Sir Robert endeavours, as it appears to us, to palliate that atrocious transaction. We really do not think that it was at all necessary, with a view to defend the present state of Russia from the aspersions thrown upon it by Dr. Clarke and others, to advert to this subject; nor does the author appear to have succeeded in his attempt. Our readers, however, shall judge for themselves. After quoting various state papers in order to show that Russia was not only not guilty of religious persecution in Poland, but that, on the contrary, her object was to secure the most perfect toleration, he adds,—

'Persecution (speaking here of the persecution exercised by the *Polish* government against the Dissidents) went on, and Poland was partitioned, so as to render her *a less formidable agitator to the neighbouring States.* The erasure of Poland from the list of States has ever been deemed an atrocious outrage, *but certainly Poland had abused her independence.* For nine hundred years this fine country (with very little intermission) had been the prey of factions and disorder, *which had kept*

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the bordering States in continual inquietude, whilst they desolated and degraded the people.'

And again—

'If the government of Poland had not been vicious, if the state of society had not been depraved, twelve millions of people would have found means to preserve their independence, when the inclination to become a nation was so prevalent; nor would ambition have projected the subjugation, or could Catherine have been enabled before the last partition to reply to a prelate of Poland, who was endeavouring to convince her that his country was a Sovereign State, independent of all other earthly power, and that there was an injustice in her Majesty's proceeding towards it—"Reverend Father, if Poland was an independent State, you would not have been here to intercede for it; as it is, you can give me no security that your country will not fall under the dominion of those who may one day attempt to disturb the happiness of my people. To care for the present, and provide for the future safety of this empire, the Almighty has imposed on me the heavy duty of a Sovereign: and to the accomplishment of our divine mission all earthly considerations must give place."'

Now upon these passages we have to remark, that admitting (as we do) the accuracy of Sir Robert Wilson's account of the government and institutions of Poland, we cannot see in them any justification of the partitioning powers. They had not a right even to interfere with, much less to dismember, the territories of Poland, unless they could clearly and distinctly show that the anarchy which prevailed in that country was dangerous to the security of their own States. They did indeed pretend to justify their conduct upon this principle; but to us it is manifest that the radical vices of the Polish constitution, and the perpetual confusion which they introduced into every part of the country, so far from being a cause of jealousy and alarm, were guarantees to the neighbouring States of her inability to do them mischief; and Sir Robert Wilson himself confirms this opinion, when he says in the preceding extract, 'that if the government of Poland had not been vicious, if the state of society had not been depraved, twelve millions of people would have found means to preserve their independence;' for if these causes rendered them incapable of defending themselves, how could they give them the means of endangering the safety of others? If they were so weak at home, what strength could they display abroad? Upon the ground therefore of self-defence, we think the palliation fails entirely; and we are really surprized that the author should have introduced into this justificatory part of his preface the speech of Catherine, in which she affects to consider her career of injustice towards Poland, as a duty imposed upon her by Providence for the security of her own subjects. She did indeed

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indeed make 'all earthly considerations give way' upon this occasion; but they gave way not to the mandates of heaven, but to the violence of inflamed ambition. In short, if there existed no other records of the partitions of Poland, than the manifestos by which it was attempted to justify them, we should still say that they were conceived in injustice, and executed with every mark of insult, and in defiance of every principle of generosity or honour.

With regard to what Sir Robert Wilson says of the general conciliatory disposition of the Russian government towards its subjects, we are disposed to allow due weight to the following statement.

'Public documents will authenticate, that so far from any existing desire to impose the shackles of slavery, extraordinary encouragements are given to the progress of freedom; and that the total abolition of slavery is the principle of the Russian government, which indefatigably pursues this difficult but noble object, and for which purpose a committee is at this very time sitting, under the superintendence of the Emperor.'

This undoubtedly is highly satisfactory, and most gratifying to every lover of rational liberty; and we certainly think that the tranquillity which Sir Robert afterwards represents as having prevailed in the distant and conquered provinces during the late war, when no troops were left to overawe them, may fairly be viewed as tending still farther to establish the general fact of the conciliatory character of the Russian government. We are at the same time not without our fears, that in a country of such vast extent, and still labouring under so many defects in its political institutions, there must be, at least in its extremities, many instances of individual oppression.

We cannot conclude our comments upon Sir Robert Wilson's preface, without referring to his charge against Buonaparte for having poisoned his sick soldiers in Egypt, which he there renews. We shall however only observe, that we have not the smallest suspicion that he would have brought forward so grave an accusation without being himself thoroughly persuaded of the truth of the facts which he alledged; and that if he has hitherto failed in substantiating the charge, it is not so much from any improbability in the thing itself, as from the difficulty and danger of producing such testimony as would constitute a decisive proof.

We have detained our readers somewhat too long from a view of the main body of the work. It commences with a description of the Russian army, and Sir Robert points out with great minuteness and in a very interesting manner, the characteristics which mark the different parts of which it is composed. In his account of the infantry he represents them as possessing all the materials

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requisite for forming complete soldiers; and he records a variety of anecdotes which confirm in a striking manner his general description of their character. We were particularly struck with the following instances of devoted intrepidity, one where the error of a commander had exposed his troops to inevitable destruction, and the other where the idea of gratifying their sovereign, and fulfilling his expectations, overpowered every other feeling.

'"Comrades, go not forwards into the trenches," cried out a retiring party to an advancing detachment, "retreat with us, or you will be lost, for the enemy are already in possession."—"Prince Potemkin must look to that," replied the commander, "for it was he who gave us the order.—Come on Russians!" and he and his men marched forward and perished.'

The other instance occurred at Eylau.

'General Benningsen ordered the village of Eylau, which had been abandoned by mistake, to be recovered, and the columns were in motion, animated by an expression in the command, that the Emperor expected his troops to execute the orders; but afterwards thinking it advisable, as the enemy was greatly reinforced, to desist from the enterprize, he sent to countermand the service. "No, no," exclaimed every voice, "the Emperor must not be disappointed."'

These are noble sentiments, and the nation which is actuated by them, can hardly fail to be eminently distinguished in war. But we cannot forbear laying before our readers another trait which Sir Robert mentions, because it gives rise to some reflections not inapplicable to our own country.

'The Russian, nurtured from earliest infancy to consider Russia as the supreme nation of the world, always regards himself as a component part of the irresistible mass. Suwarrow professed the principle, and profiting of the prejudice, achieved with most inadequate means the most splendid success. The love of country is pre-eminent, and inseparable from the Russian soldier. This feeling is paramount, and in the very last hour his gaze is directed to its nearest confines.'

We have noticed this, because we think the feelings here described, are most worthy of our approbation, and because we have observed in some of our politicians, and in a certain class of writers who would sink all high-toned feeling in metaphysical refinement, a disposition to represent the love of country, (considered as a mere sentiment, and independent of the peculiar benefits which the institutions of a particular country may confer upon its inhabitants,) to be a sentiment worthy only of former barbarism and antiquated prejudice. Now we are thoroughly persuaded that this feeling is essential to the maintenance of national independence, and that those who calculate the value of their country, as they would the value of their estate, according to the degree of personal profit or enjoyment which they derive from it, will never be found firm and constant

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constant in its support. We appeal, in justification of this opinion, to the unyielding courage which marked the conduct of the Russian soldiery, and to the splendid and sublime heroism, which has prompted the persevering resistance of Spain and Portugal. These countries, particularly the two latter, were not blessed with a free government; they laboured under numberless abuses, and felt in every quarter the chilling influence of misguided despotism: but the people loved their country because it was their country, they fought for it because they loved it, and thousands of them have sealed by their death the sincerity and warmth of their affection. This may be romantic and unphilosophical, but it is generous, it is noble.

The account of the light infantry, the imperial guard, the cavalry and artillery, is well drawn up, and coincides in most particulars with other accounts which we have heard of them, although it may perhaps be thought that the partiality which gratitude excites in Sir Robert Wilson towards the Russians, has rendered the panegyric passed upon their military establishments in general, rather more warm than in strictness might be warrantable.—We think however that the reader will be particularly interested with his account of the Cossaques and their mode of fighting, of which we have reason to believe the gallant officer was not an idle spectator. It is impossible indeed to peruse this detail without feeling the highest admiration for this singular race of people; singular at least in the present state of the world, whether we consider their form of government, their modes of life, their various virtues, although clouded by a certain degree of ferocity and a disposition to plunder when removed from their own country, or their activity and enterprize in war. The following extract will illustrate some points of this general description:

'When a British officer was observing the retreat of Marshal Ney from Güttstadt, his dress and telescope attracted the attention of the enemy, who directed some cannon at him: the first ball struck the earth under his horse, and covered the animal and his rider with sods: a second ball was fired with similar accuracy, when the attendant Cossaque rushed up to him with resentment in his features, and pointing at his helmet, desired him to change it with his cap; and on the officer's refusal, he attempted to snatch it from his head and substitute his own: during this contest a shower of musket balls rendered the horses wild, and they flew apart. When the Cossaque was afterwards asked by the Attaman, with feigned anger, for his own explanation of such disrespectful conduct, he replied, "I saw that the enemy directed their fire at the English officer on account of his casque and plume; I was appointed by you to protect him, I knew you had marched with many Cossaques, but only one stranger; it was therefore my duty to avert mischief from him by attracting it to myself, and by so doing preventing

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venting the sorrow you and every Cossaque would feel at the loss of a guest perishing in your service."'

This is a specimen of the sentiments and conduct of a people, of whom the 44th Bulletin of the French army, dated Warsaw, December 21, 1806, does not scruple to speak in the following terms:

'There are no men so wretched and cowardly as the Cossaques: they are a scandal to human nature. They pass the Bug, and violate the Austrian neutrality every day, merely to plunder a house in Gallicia, or to compel the inhabitants to give them brandy, which they drink with great avidity. But since the late campaign, our cavalry is accustomed to the mode of attack made use of by these wretches; and notwithstanding their numbers and their hideous cry upon these occasions, they await them without alarm; and it is well known that 2000 of these wretches are not equal to the attack of a squadron of our cavalry.'

Those who know any thing of the French cavalry, will be well able to appreciate the truth of the latter observation: and we wish we could bring before the eyes of Buonaparte the following passage:

'Terror preceded the charge, and in vain discipline endeavoured to present an impediment to the protruding pikes. The Cuirassiers alone preserved some confidence, and appeared to baffle the arm and the skill of the Cossaque: but in the battle of Preuss Eylau, when the Cuirassiers made their desperate charge on the Russian centre, and passed through an interval, the Cossaques bore down on them, speared them, unhorsed them, and in a few moments 530 Cossaques re-appeared in the field, equipped with the spoil of the slain.'—p. 27.

Many other instances of similar courage and superiority are recorded in this volume, and we have no hesitation in saying, that the testimony of Sir Robert Wilson is at least as valuable as the bulletins of the French Emperor. Indeed the coarse language in which Buonaparte speaks of the Cossaques, is with us a strong proof of the injury which they did to him; for we have observed that he is abusive and contemptuous in proportion as he has reason to hate or fear; whether the object be the beautiful and high-minded Queen of Prussia, the daring Cossaque, the enthusiastic resistance of Spain and Portugal, the skill and judgment of Lord Wellington, the vigorous exertions of the British government, or the freedom of the British people, which gives them a spirit to despise his menaces, and an arm to retaliate his aggressions.

Sir Robert introduces many curious traits of the Cossaques in general, and, in describing their Attaman Platow, draws a most striking picture of that noble and distinguished chief. He appears to have risen from the ranks, and the detail of his services fully

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justifies the author's observation—'Proud and happy may his country be, if she always finds a chief with equal mind and virtues.' If indeed the most undaunted courage, the most incessant activity and perseverance, and the most consummate coolness in the midst of difficulty and danger, are characteristics of an eminent warrior, Platow will not shrink from a comparison with the most distinguished of his rivals.

'It was in this retreat (after the opening of the campaign of 1807) that Platow evinced a trait of that superior mind which attained his station, and which, if he had received a liberal education, would have rendered him one of the first men of the age, as indisputably he is one of the most eminent warriors. After Buonaparte had brought up a second corps of his army (the brigades of Pajol, Durosnel and Bruyères, and the division of heavy cavalry under the orders of General Nansouty) supported by the whole body he advanced with rapidity, resolved to overwhelm the rear-guards of Platow and Bragration, before they passed the bridges of the river which flowed behind them, and to which they had to descend. The Cossaques saw the impending danger, and began to press back in confusion. Platow checked, but found the disorder increasing: he immediately sprang from his horse, exclaiming to the Cossaques, "Let those who are base enough, abandon their Attaman." The corrected lines paused. He gradually moved, and with a waving hand kept back those who had trespassed, sent his orders with calmness, reached the town in order, halted at the bridge until every man had passed, destroyed it, and (still on foot) proceeded on the other side of the town, struggling above ancle deep through the heavy sand: nor could the most tremendous cannonade, and the incessant fire of the French battalions, crowning the opposite heights, and who commenced their vollies as they formed successively, accelerate his pace, or induce him to mount his horse, until the object was attained, and superior duty obliged him, for the direction of other operations. His mien, his venerable and soldier-like appearance, his solemn dignity of manner, combined with the awful incidents of the scene to render this one of the most imposing and interesting sights that could be witnessed.' It is afterwards stated of him, that 'at Tilsitz, when the French generals sent to request leave to present their compliments to him in person, he answered "There might be peace between his Sovereign and Buonaparte, but no civilities between him and them," and he ordered his sentries to admit no French whatever in their circle.'

We confess that we are oldfashioned enough to admire the proud refusal of this sturdy veteran to share in the contaminating connexion which had infected many of those around him; and we are happy to believe that there were other noble minds, besides Platow, which deeply felt the degradation that had fallen upon their Sovereign and their country. Sternness and severity, however, are not the only features in the Attaman's character: he appears upon the following occasion, to have graced the ruggedness of military

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litary heroism, with all the tenderness of friendship and affection; at the funeral of Colonel Karpow, a distinguished Cossaque officer, who had been killed in a most gallant affair with a body of Polish infantry at Omilow.

'Platow reproached the Colonel's party for not having revenged his death and devoted themselves to sacrifice the enemy; and when he kissed the forehead (according to custom) previous to the lid of the coffin being closed, he could not refrain from tears: wiping them away, he observed "that he did not weep for the lot of mortality, but that friends could not go together out of the world."

We could dwell with pleasure upon the good qualities of the Cossaque nation and their Attaman; but we must hasten to the consideration of other subjects; and we have still a few observations to make upon the remainder of what relates to the component parts of the Russian army.

After some account of the Basquiers, the author proceeds to describe the officers, the staff, the commissariat, and the hospitals of the Russian army, and concludes this division with some general remarks. It is in these particulars that we discover the great and leading defects of their military system. Sir Robert observes that 'with partial exceptions, the inferior officers of the infantry are disqualified by the neglect of education, and the absence of those accomplishments which should distinguish officers, as well as the sash and gorget. If the Russian troops had better regimental aids, they would, from their disposition to obedience, and habits of temperance, be as distinguished for their discipline, as they are for their courage.' On the artillery officers, he observes 'that those of inferior rank have not the same title to estimation as in the other European services, for their education is not formed with the same care, and their service does not receive the same encouragement.'

No mention, we remark, is made of the engineers; nor does it appear throughout the course of the narrative, that this branch, so eminently essential in a defensive war, was ever brought much into play, except, perhaps, at the battle of Heilsberg; we doubt, indeed, whether during any part of the campaign any precautions were taken for covering the passage of rivers by têtes-de-pont, and other defences, of which Buonaparte knows so well how to avail himself, and by which he is always careful to provide for the security of his retreat. The insufficiency of the Russian staff is a most serious evil in their army, and we are not surprized at the anxiety which Sir Robert represents them to have expressed for the services of General Anstruther, an officer of distinguished merit, who fell a victim to his zeal and exertions with the army in Spain, under the command of the late Sir John Moore. We apprehend,

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apprehend, indeed, that the Russians have always felt their deficiency in this respect; for we believe that under Suwarrow, in Italy, their Quarter Master General was an Austrian; and in the campaign of 1805, the duties of that station were discharged by Austrian officers: first by General Schmidt, who was unfortunately killed in an action near Crems on the Danube; and afterwards, at Austerlitz, by General Weyrother.

The Commissariat and Hospital Departments also appear to labour under many defects; and it is obvious how such deficiencies must tend to cripple the operations of an army, and that whilst they render victory more doubtful, they greatly increase the difficulty of following it up, when courage and perseverance have obtained it. It is, however, but just to remark, that these are not insurmountable evils; and if we may judge by the improvements which have been made in the British army of late years in these essential branches, there can be no reason to suppose that those who direct the military councils of Russia, will be slow to take advantage of their late experience, and to extract from former failure the means of future success: indeed we have heard that their attention has for some time been particularly directed to improvements in these important objects.

We are now brought to the account of the campaigns of 1806 and 1807, in which the prowess and patience of the Russian troops were put to a most severe trial, and in which, notwithstanding the eventual want of success, these qualities were exhibited with peculiar lustre. We are ready, in the outset, to do justice to the clear detail which Sir Robert Wilson has given of these operations, and to the interesting, and in many respects new point of view, in which he has placed them. We were prepared to find that the conduct of the Russians had been highly creditable to their steadiness and courage; but we were not altogether aware how much their activity and enterprize had annoyed the enemy, and, in some degree at least, compensated for their inferiority of numbers. It is due also to General Lestoque, and the Prussian corps under his command, to point the attention of the reader to the useful and honourable part which they performed in these campaigns, and to the proofs which they exhibited (under circumstances the most discouraging) of that spirit which had been created by the genius, and kept alive by the example of the great Frederick; a spirit indeed which was not confined to General Lestoque and those who shared in the operations described by Sir Robert Wilson, but which had been previously manifested by General Blucher, and the brave men who accompanied his glorious retreat, after the battle of Jena.

The first striking feature in these campaigns was the battle of Pultusk.

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Pultusk. Various affairs of more or less consequence had previously taken place, but this was the first occasion on which the main bodies of the contending armies came in contact with each other. Upon perusing Sir Robert's account of this affair, together with the more minute details of it, which are contained in the Appendix, and illustrated with plans, and comparing them with the statements of the French Bulletins, it is, we think, quite obvious that the victory *on that day* was with the Russians: and although a variety of unfortunate circumstances concurred in rendering it impossible for General Benningsen to take advantage of his success, yet we entirely agree in the opinion expressed by Sir Robert of the consequences of the battle, and which we lay before the reader in his own words.

'The result of this affair made a very favourable impression for the character of General Benningsen, and on the Russians. It was the first check which Buonaparte had experienced on the continent, a charm was broken, and the French army foresaw that their future combats would be no longer chaces of pleasure. The Russian Generals resumed confidence. The stain of Austerlitz was effaced from their escutcheons, and the soldiers recognised themselves as not unworthy of the companions of Suwarrow. It was in vain that Buonaparte denied the victory. It was in vain that he boasted the trophy of some cannon which the Russians had abandoned, in consequence of the state of the roads, on their subsequent march: he could not deceive the army. He was not able even to rally his interrupted operations, so as to pursue the offensive, until he had possessed himself of what yet remained of Prussia; and thus, if he could not render the battle equivocal in history, diminish the mischievous consequences of its loss. It was in vain that he announced the entire destruction of the Russian army, and his consequent return to Warsaw, and here to repose until he chose to renew the campaign. His march had been arrested, all his enterprizes discomfited, and he had scarcely proclaimed that he had repelled the Russians eighty leagues, when the same Russians re-appeared in the field, to assure him with terrible evidence of their existence.'

After this battle, the French army went into winter quarters; but we find that the Russians, 'instead of wandering with the hope of saving themselves behind their frontier, defeated, disgraced, and fugitives, without artillery, means of transport, or baggage, and with the loss of 30,000 men,' as represented in the French Bulletins, undertook what Sir Robert Wilson justly calls, 'a hardy and active movement;' beat up the cantonments of the French left, and having gained various advantages in the field, and relieved the important fortress of Graudentz, compelled Buonaparte to abandon his winter quarters, and assemble his whole forces for offensive operations. In referring to this part of the campaign, we

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we request the attention of our readers to the following circumstance, p. 85.

'In General Bernadotte's baggage (taken at Möhrungen) the money seized in the town of Elbing for his own private use, 10,000 ducats, exclusive of 2500 for his staff, was recovered; and there were found, to a great amount, various pieces of plate, candlesticks, &c. bearing the arms of almost all the States of Germany. The marshal's servant was so ashamed of this plunder, that he would not claim it, when purposely desired to point out his master's property; but as the articles were taken in the marshal's own quarters, and in his trunks, and were in such quantity, they must have been there with his knowledge. There was likewise found an order for the reception of Buonaparte at Warsaw, directing where he was to be hailed with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, together with official accounts of actions prepared for publication, and private duplicates with the real facts stated for Buonaparte's own perusal.—General Benningsen has the papers.'

Bernadotte is not the only general in the French service, who has adopted this mode of rendering war a source of profit as well as glory. The baggage of Dupont, when he surrendered to Castanos in Andalusia, after the battle of Baylen, contained abundance of the same ill-gotten wealth. We fear, indeed, that unless the high situation which the Swedes have lately thought fit to confer upon Bernadotte, should have changed his character and disposition, that nation will soon have cause to execrate his rapacity, and deplore their own imprudence. It is, however, to the latter part of the preceding extract, that we attach the greatest importance; and we are glad that the circumstance is announced in such an authentic shape: it proves undeniably to what a regular and well combined system of artifice Buonaparte has recourse, in order to throw around his actions that dazzling but fictitious lustre, which, having deluded nations almost into a belief of his supernatural powers, has made them accessary to their own destruction. We will take the liberty of producing a later instance of this system. Our readers may, perhaps, recollect, that in the Moniteur of November 23, 1810, there appeared a letter, purporting to be written by Massena, and dated Alenquer, November 3d. It is stated to have been brought to Paris by General Foix, and amongst other things it represents Massena as denying the truth of the accounts which he professes to have read in the English newspapers, respecting the condition of his army.

Now, not to observe, that it is next to impossible that General Foix could have marched from Alenquer to Paris, even if he had been altogether free from interruption, within the period in question; we assert, upon no slight grounds, that he actually left the French army on the 7th of October. As to what Massena is made to say about the accounts in the English newspapers, this

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again is evidently false; for the paragraphs referred to appeared in this country after the receipt of letters from Portugal, of the 14th of October, and consequently no newspaper containing them could have reached the French army by the 3d of November. We think it therefore obvious, that no letter, bearing that date, conveyed under those circumstances, and containing those passages, was ever received at Paris, and that pure fiction was resorted to, in order to tranquillise the minds of the people, in regard to the state of the army in Portugal. So deeply laid is this plan of deceit, and so essential does it appear to the operations of the French government, that it is extended not merely to the details of military operations, but to every department of literature, which has any (even the most remote) reference to political questions. It is not for us to determine how long these deceptions may continue to produce the consequences which we conceive to flow from them; we nevertheless think it a matter of no small importance, that the imposture should be detected, and the world know that documents, stamped with the authority of Buonaparte himself, are intentionally false and fraudulent. We return to the progress of the compaign.

As soon as it was ascertained that the whole French army was in motion to attack the Russians, General Benningsen felt the necessity of retiring; and after having experienced great difficulties, and no small loss during the retreat, (which appears to have been most ably and gallantly protected by Prince Bragration,) the Russian army took up its position in the rear of Preuss Eylau, and prepared for the conflict which was obviously about to ensue. If it would not greatly exceed our limits, we would gladly present our readers with the whole of Sir Robert's able account of the important events of the 7th and 8th of February; but we must content ourselves with recommending an attentive perusal of it, and with giving the following extract, explanatory of the grounds which determined General Benningsen to retire upon Kœnigsberg.

'About eleven o'clock, (on the night of the 8th,) the Russian generals assembled, still on horseback, when General Benningsen informed the circle, that he had determined, notwithstanding his success, to fall back upon Kœnigsberg, for he had no bread to give the troops, and their ammunition was expended; but by a position in the neighbourhood of such a city, his army would be certain of every necessary supply, and be assured of the means of re-equipping itself, so to appear again in the field, before the enemy could repair his losses.

'All the Russian generals entreated General Benningsen to keep the field, and not to render nugatory a victory so dearly bought. They assured him that the enemy was in retreat, that his own army was ready to advance at the moment; and General Knoring, and Genera Tolstoy

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Tolstoy (the Quarter Master General, and second in command) offered to move forward, and attack whatever troops Buonaparte might have rallied, and thus complete their victory: and at all events they pledged their lives, that if he but remained on his ground, the enemy would retire altogether. General Lestoque also urged the same arguments; but General Benningsen thought it his duty not to incur the hazard of a reinforcement of fresh troops, enabling the enemy to cut off his communications with Kœnigsberg. He found the privations of his army pressing heavily upon their physical powers. He knew his own loss was not less than 20,000 men, and he was not then aware of the full extent of the enemy's disorganization and loss, which was afterwards found to exceed 40,000 men, including 10,000 who had quitted their colours, under pretence of escorting wounded, &c. he therefore persevered in his original determination, directed the order of his march, and after thirty-six hours passed on horseback, without any food, and being almost exhausted, placed himself in a house, filled with hundreds of dead and dying, to obtain an hour's repose.'

The retreat of the army was unmolested; nor was it till two days after the battle that the French advanced in pursuit: their forward movements, however, were attended with very bad success, and the author mentions a variety of serious affairs of cavalry, in which the enemy suffered considerable loss, and which are altogether sunk in the French Bulletins, or very slightly noticed. In the mean time Buonaparte tried the effect of a proposition for an armistice with Prussia, which the King had the courage and magnanimity to refuse; and finally, on the 19th of February, the whole French army retired (not without much molestation and loss) into their cantonments in front of the Vistula.

The battle of Eylau was one of the most sanguinary and desperate that has occurred in modern times; and was attended by consequences which materially affected the relative situation of the two armies. It appears by an intercepted dispatch, addressed to Bernadotte, which fell into the hands of General Benningsen at the end of January, that when Buonaparte broke up his first winter quarters, his object was to cut off the Russian army from their frontiers. The accidental knowledge of this intention, rendered the project abortive, at least in its full extent; but Buonaparte felt the necessity of driving back the Russians beyond the Pregel, and of obtaining possession of Kœnigsberg, to be so strong, that he pressed the Russian army with considerable vigor: and so confident was the expectation of securing Kœnigsberg, and the supplies of all sorts which were collected in that town, that Berthier wrote to the Empress Josephine, on the 7th of February,

'We shall be at Kœnigsberg to-morrow:' and he adds,—'Since leaving winter quarters we have made about 10,000 prisoners, taken twenty-seven pieces of cannon, and killed and wounded a great number, without

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without taking into account the advantages which must result from the whole, and ultimately prove fatal to the enemy.'

These objects, however, were frustrated by the battle of Eylau, which nevertheless Buonaparte represented as a decisive victory on his part.

'He gains the victory,' says Sir Robert Wilson, 'according to his own account; but what are the results of this most sanguinary battle? What are the advantages that he obtains?—The maintenance of his position in the field, and the occupation on the succeeding day of the Russian ground; a state of inaction for eight days, except with his cavalry, which is disgraced and defeated with heavy loss in every rencontre; the retreat of his army on the tenth day, after having endured the greatest distress from famine and pestilence, and the abandonment of a great part of his wounded, tumbrils, &c.'

We consider these facts as abundantly sufficient to show that the French had not much to boast of at Eylau; and nothing can be more contemptible than the mode by which Buonaparte attempted in a subsequent bulletin, to account for not having taken possession of Kœnigsberg. 'It was fortunate,' he says, 'for that town, *that it did not come within the plan of the French Generals to drive the Russians from the position which they occupied in its neighbourhood.*' This statement our readers will observe, is directly at variance with the letter of Berthier, to which we have already referred. Sir Robert informs us,

'That the corps of the French army were (upon returning into winter quarters) extremely weak, and that in addition to the casualties of the field, sickness was so prevalent, that in Warsaw alone, there were 25,000 men in the hospitals, and that the French cavalry were entirely unfit for active service. To repair these losses, Buonaparte raised the siege of Colberg, nearly evacuated Silesia, ordered under the severest penalties, a new levy in Switzerland; marched troops from Dalmatia, Calabria, Italy, and the very invalids of Paris, to recruit his army in Poland: and in a message to the Senate, dated Osterode, March the 10th, demanded a new Conscription of the year 1808.'

In the interim the main bodies of the respective armies continued inactive in their cantonments; but Buonaparte, feeling the vast importance of obtaining Dantzic, and thus securing the line of the Vistula, determined to press the siege of that fortress; the investment of which, we find by one of the bulletins, was completed on the 14th of March. Many interesting events occurred during the siege, and different attempts were made, but without success, to relieve the place. The last was on the 18th of May, when an English vessel of twenty-two guns, endeavoured to force her way up the Vistula, in order to introduce a supply of powder into the garrison. This attempt however failed, like the rest, and

'Dantzic,' says Sir Robert Wilson, 'was reduced to the last extremity;

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tremity; General Kalkreuth had protracted the defence to a most extraordinary length (fifty-two days open trenches.) He had done all that ability and loyalty could effect; he had applied, he had exhausted every resource, and could entertain no hope of succour. Therefore as the enemy were preparing to storm the Hacklesberg, he proposed to capitulate, if allowed to retire with his garrison and arms, on condition of not serving, without being regularly exchanged, for one year, against France or her allies.'

The garrison had originally consisted of 16,000 men; besides two Russian battalions, and some Cossaques: it had suffered, however, severe losses during the siege, and when, on the 27th of May, it marched out for Kœnigsberg, did not exceed 9000 men.

As the war was concluded within a very few days after the fall of Dantzic, we will finish our sketch of the principal events of the campaign, before we enter upon the considerations which press upon our minds in tracing the progress of this important contest.

'On the third of June, notwithstanding the surrender of Dantzic had disengaged 30,000 of the enemy's troops; notwithstanding the Russian means had not been subsequently augmented, General Benningsen proposed a plan of operations, by which he hoped to cut off Marshal Ney; and, if successful, to fall on Marshal D'Avoust at Allenstein. Circumstances retarded the march until the 5th; when the Prussians, 10,000 strong, and the Russians 75,000 strong, (exclusive of 17,000, under General Tolstoy on the Narew,) immediately under the command of General Benningsen, opened the campaign against an enemy, who could oppose to that force 130,000 men, and who had re-collected between the Vistula and the Memel, by the most vigorous exertions that Buonaparte had ever occasion to make (exertions unparalleled in the history of Europe) 190,000 men, including the garrison of Dantzic, whilst his cavalry had been reinstated, almost renewed, by considerable remounts drawn from Silesia, and the country about Elbing.'

The first operations of the Russians, being directed principally against the single corps of Marshal Ney, were attended with some success, and the enemy was driven back from his advanced position with considerable loss. On the 8th of June, 'in consequence of some information from prisoners, General Benningsen determined to fall back with his army upon Heilsberg, leaving Prince Bragration to cover the retreat of his left, and General Platow the right.' The conduct of these two officers during this arduous operation was highly meritorious; for although Prince Bragration had only 1500 cavalry, and 5000 infantry, and General Platow only 2000 Cossaques, and a regiment of Hussars, they not only succeeded in protecting the retiring army from insult, but upon different occasions resumed the offensive with great vigour and effect.

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'On the 10th, the French, being now concentrated, (except the corps of Victor, which was manœuvring on the left,) and composed of the corps of Marshals Ney, Lasnes, D'Avoust, Mortier, Oudinot's division, the Imperial Guard, the Cavalry under Murat, advanced upon Heilsberg, and drove in the advanced posts of the troops stationed to observe their approach.'

This movement was followed by a most desperate and bloody action, in which the Russians maintained their position; their loss however was very severe; and General Benningsen, conceiving in the course of the ensuing day, that the enemy were marching upon Kœnigsberg, detached General Kaminskoy with 9000 men, to support General Lestoque, in his defence of that place, and moved himself in the night of the 11th of June, across the Aller, in order to march upon Wehlau, and maintain the line of the Pregel. On the 13th, in the evening, the army reached Friedland, from whence a body of French hussars had in the morning been driven by the Russian cavalry. On the following day was fought the battle of Friedland, which decided the campaign, and terminated the war. The circumstances which led to this fatal action are explained in the following passage.

'From the information of the prisoners, General Benningsen believed that Oudinot's corps, so shattered at Heilsberg, was alone stationed at Posthenen, about three miles in front of Friedland, on the road to Kœnigsberg. Having occupied the town, and thrown forward some cavalry to cover it from insult during the night, he determined, at four o'clock in the morning, to fall upon Oudinot with a division and complete his extinction; accordingly he ordered a division to cross the Aller, and advance to the attack. The enemy at first shewed but a very small force, which encouraged perseverance in the enterprize; but by degrees resistance so increased, that another division was ordered to cross the Aller, and in addition to the town bridge, the construction of three pontoon bridges was directed. A heavy cannonade soon commenced, the enemy's tirailleurs advanced, columns presented themselves, cavalry formed on the Russian right flank, and General Benningsen, instead of a rencontre with a crippled division, found himself seriously engaged, not only with Oudinot, but with the two supporting corps of Lasnes and Mortier, sustained by a division of dragoons under General Grouchy, and by the curiassiers of General Nansouty, while his own feeble force was lodged in a position which was untenable: from which, progress could not be made against an equal force, nor retreat be effected without great hazard, and when no military object could be attained for the interests and reputation of the Russian army, whose courage had been sufficiently established, without tilting for fame as adventurers who have nothing to lose and every thing to win.'

Without entering into a description of the battle itself, it is easy to anticipate the consequences which were likely to ensue from engaging

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gaging under circumstances such as we have just stated: The Russian army was totally defeated—but as an army it was not disgraced, and we have peculiar pleasure in quoting in this place the language of Lord Hutchinson, who appears, from a passage of his dispatches, to have done ample justice to their extraordinary valour; a valour,

'Which he wants terms sufficiently strong to describe, and which would have rendered their success undoubted, if courage could alone ensure victory: but whatever may be the event, the officers and men of the Russian army have done their duty in the noblest manner, and are justly entitled to the praise and admiration of every person who was witness of their conduct.'

We have before remarked on the conduct of General Lestoque and the Prussians; but during no period of the two campaigns did that general display more talents than in the management of his retreat upon Koenigsberg, when the advance of the French army in the beginning of June separated him from the main body of the Russians, and in his subsequent movements to join General Benningsen on the right bank of the Memel. In this situation of affairs, the Emperor Alexander was in an unhappy moment induced to enter into negotiations for peace;

'Thus,' says Sir Robert Wilson, 'termitated the campaign and the war: a war in which Russia, with the feeble numerical aid of Prussia, and the partial aid of Sweden, had been opposed not only to France, but to Switzerland, Italy, Saxony, the Confederation of the Rhine, part of Poland, and even Spain (for the advance of the Spanish troops into the north of Germany, enabled Mortier's corps to join the grand army) a combination of force of which the Russians might have said, as the Great Frederick when enumerating his enemies, I do not know that there will be any shame for me in being defeated, but I am sure there could be no great glory for them in defeating me.'

Even against such a powerful combination, the resistance of Russia was of so decided and energetic a character, that during the progress of the war Buonaparté had been induced, upon more occasions than one, to solicit peace, and in order to recruit his shattered forces for the opening of the campaign of 1807, compelled (as we have before had occasion to observe) to draw reinforcements from every quarter of his dominions. We believe, indeed, that he admitted himself, to the Emperor of Russa, at Tilsitz, that the passage of the Vistula, and carrying of the war to the frontiers of Russia, in the inhospitable climate of a Polish winter, was, 'une bêtise:' and that his loss, since he first crossed that river, was not less than 119,000 men.

With all our admiration, however, of the courage of those who caused so destructive a loss to the French army in the short period

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of six months, we cannot conceal from ourselves the conviction that great errors were committed by the Russian General. Sir Robert Wilson has with equal propriety and delicacy abstained from pointing them out; but in fact the mere perusal of his narrative is sufficient to make them intelligible. It is obvious, in the first place, that time was unnecessarily lost, and the Russian army exposed to the most imminent hazard, when after the affair of Mohrungen, at the end of January, General Benningsen, upon the concentration of the French, determined not to retire at once from that place, but making a flank movement by his left to Yankowo, to await the issue of a general action. The position which was there taken up, appears to have been an extremely unfavourable one, and he was compelled with a greatly inferior force to retreat in the presence of the enemy, whose superiority enabled him, not only to press the main body of the Russian army with vigour, but to manœuvre upon their right, and nearly to cut off their communication with General Lestoque.

The ground chosen for battle at Eylau appears also to have been exposed to great disadvantages, as we find that 'the French position domineered it so completely, as to expose the minutest object to their fire:' and it is afterwards stated, 'that the French cannon replied with vigour and effect, as every man of the Russian army was exposed from head to heel.' With regard to General Benningsen's determination to retreat after the battle, we do not presume to give an opinion, as the propriety of the course to be adopted under such circumstances, must depend upon a variety of considerations, into which we cannot feel ourselves competent to enter. We are, moreover, extremely unwilling to follow the example of many persons in this country, who, deriving all their knowledge of military matters from the ignorant comments of ignorant scribblers, condemn every officer as incapable, whose mode of conducting the difficult and complicated operations of war, does not exactly accord with their own extravagant and presumptuous notions. But although we would hesitate, on points of a doubtful nature, yet we cannot but be sensible, that there are errors sufficiently obvious, even to those who have no practical knowledge of military affairs. Among these we reckon the determination of the Russian General to open the campaign in June 1807, with a force so extremely inferior to that of his antagonist; whereas it is manifest, that, situated as he was, with the knowledge that an effort was about to be made by England; and that *possibly* such an effort *might have been* powerfully seconded from other quarters, delay ought to have regulated every movement, and that above all things a general engagement was to be avoided. Unfortunately these considerations did not operate upon his mind; and he not only assumed the offensive when he should have retired, but suffered himself

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self to be drawn into a general action, in a position where success was hardly possible, and where defeat was destruction: one circumstance indeed occurred at Friedland, which would scarcely be credible if it were not communicated by so unimpeachable a witness as Sir Robert Wilson: we mean the total ignorance in which the Russian Generals seem to have been of the fords by which the defeated army crossed the Aller, the accidental discovery of which saved them from annihilation.

It affords a convincing proof of the lamentable deficiency of their staff, and, combined with the other events of that fatal day, renders it quite painful to peruse the description of it: 'Never,' we may say, with our author, 'was resolution more heroic, or patience more exemplary than that displayed by the Russians.—Never was a sacrifice of such courage more to be deplored.' We do indeed deeply deplore the sacrifice, and the train of calamitous consequences which resulted from it, to England and to the world. But has England nothing wherewith to reproach herself? Has she no 'compunctious visitings of nature,' for the cold and timid policy which locked up her treasure and her strength, at a moment when a liberal application of them might perhaps have turned the scale, and saved the falling fortunes of the continent?

Without entering into a more detailed view of these questions, and above all, without referring invidiously to those who conducted the administration of this country, we have little hesitation in saying, that the timely interference of England might, and perhaps would, have produced the most decisive and fortunate results. We should have thought it wise for England to stretch out her arm to an ally, whose fidelity and resolution were so nobly displayed throughout the war, till disappointment and distrust alienated her affections, and threw her in a moment of defeat and despondency into the arms of France. Indeed a general system of opposition to that ambitious and restless power is not more accordant with our safety than our interest. The *active* resistance, which has been partially attempted by one administration, and abandoned by another, must become the fixed principle, both of the government and of the people. Thus only can our independence be secured—thus only can the exalted rank, which nature intended us to hold amongst the nations of the earth, be gained and permanently established.

Sir Robert Wilson claims indulgence from the public, 'on account of the motives which led him to present his work to their notice, and he trusts that he may disarm the hostility of contemporary writers by the modesty of his literary pretensions.' The public, we are confident, will grant the indulgence, and, if we may judge from our own feelings, will peruse it with interest and gratification: and it is because we decidedly approve the manly tone and spirit in

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which it is written, and the general substance of its contents, that we venture to suggest to the author, that its value would not have been diminished, if the construction had been somewhat more grammatical, and the style less rhetorical and ornamented. There are indeed some passages, so involved in their arrangement, that it requires more pains than ordinary readers can be expected to bestow to discover their real import. Those, to whom it may be agreeable to find fault, may animadvert upon them more at large, we shall content ourselves with merely noticing the fact; and if, after the discussion of the great questions which are involved in the subject of this work, we were to descend to more trifling considerations, we would add, that it is so unnecessarily expensive as to check that circulation, to which, on many accounts, it is entitled.

Art. IV. *De Motu per Britanniam Civico. Annis* MDCCXLV *et* MDCCXLVI. Auctore T. D. Whitakero, LL.D. S.S.A. Londini. Nichols. 1809. pp. 145. 12mo.

THE singularity of the attempt to record a recent occurrence of our own history in the Latin language, might alone be sufficient to draw our attention to this production; if the execution were in any degree answerable to the boldness and difficulty of the design. In the fate of the author's predecessors, in similar undertakings, there seems little to encourage a repetition of such labours. Even the full and accurate histories of Buchanan, Camden, and Thuanus, are, we fear, already suffering that neglect which, amidst the multiplication of books, and the improvement of modern literature, must, sooner or later, await all but the most finished and original productions in a dead language.

Indeed at the time when those histories appeared, many causes conspired to give the Latin a decided preference. In the first place, hardly any modern language was yet so cultivated and improved, as to furnish a fit vehicle for that perfect form of history, which presented itself to the mind of a scholar trained in the Grecian and Roman schools. The prospect too, of attracting the notice of other countries, was then a powerful motive with a writer for adopting the common medium of literary men throughout Europe. Nor should it be forgotten, that, among the general readers of his own country in that age, a great majority were, by habit and education, fully competent to peruse works of this kind, and prepared to expect them. There is something, moreover, independent of the intrinsic excellence of the Latin tongue, in the mere circumstance of its being fixed and immutable, which inclines us to prefer

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prefer it to any of those perishable materials with which we are surrounded, and of whose fickle and fleeting nature we are every day made sensible. For an immortal work, what artist would not select the finest and the hardest marble? And what author is there, who enters upon his task, without some faint vision at least of immortality?

It is from no disposition to cavil at Dr. Whitaker's motives, or to underrate his labours, that we venture on these remarks. His motives indeed are stated by himself briefly and modestly; and the work, both in its general merits as an historical narrative, and in the character and purity of its style, is such as to raise in us a very high respect for the author. It is our earnest wish too, that the cultivation of the Latin language may be kept alive from time to time, by such elegant and scholar-like performances as this; which invite criticism, and thus draw the attention of the age to a department too apt to be overlooked in the hurry of modern education. In the latter point of view, therefore, chiefly, the book will be examined; and in the execution of this duty, we shall not scruple to employ all the freedom, although we trust none of the petulance, which critics are accustomed to claim as their privilege.

We will first, however, present our readers with a brief account of the work as an historical composition. It includes merely the last unfortunate attempt of the Stuart family to recover the throne of their ancestors, commencing from the landing of the pretender's son on the coast of Scotland, in July, 1745, and ending with his final escape in September, 1746. It was long before the public were in possession of any well digested and authentic narrative of this affair; although it was one which brought the fortunes of the rival families very nearly to an equi-poise, and threw the kingdom into a state of greater doubt and alarm than any event within the last hundred and fifty years. At length, in the year 1800, appeared Mr. Home's history of the rebellion, a work sufficiently complete in its details, yet written with considerable interest and vivacity, and with something even of the dignity of history.

To this work alone, Dr. Whitaker seems to have been indebted for his materials. He is far indeed from attempting to conceal or disguise the fact, and regrets that the author, who died lately when almost arrived at the age of ninety, should not have lived to receive his acknowledgments. These, to say the truth, are not more than his due: for, as far as we have observed, not a single document has been consulted, except this volume, no records have been searched, no authorities compared, no investigation attempted of plots, intrigues, counsels, or correspondence. Dr.

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Whitaker has taken the case just as Mr. Home put it into his hands, and, except a brief account of the fate of the principal rebels, adds nothing of his own, to our historical information.

There is, however, a blemish which a little more attention even to this work might have removed. The opening of the narrative is singularly abrupt and defective. No review is given of the relative state of things in Europe when this rebellion broke out. The prince is landed, almost like one of the θεοι απο μηχανης, without any allusion to the war upon the continent, or any previous summary of the views of the French government. We hear nothing of the abortive project of invasion under Marshal Saxe the year before, of which project this expedition was but a miserable fragment;—we are not informed that the whole affair was originally a plan concerted with the French cabinet;—that Charles was sent for from Rome to Paris to head the intended invasion;—that after the failure of the first armament, and the death of Cardinal Fleury, whose scheme it was, that government became cool and indifferent; while the young prince, buoyed up by the hopes which had been infused into him, provoked by the treatment of the French ministry, and full of intemperate ardour, determined to hazard every thing, without foreign troops, almost without money, and with only a paltry provision of arms.

In lieu of such an introduction, which would have connected his subject with the general history of Europe as well as of this country, and which the author, with his power of condensing materials, might have dispatched in two or three pages, we are presented first with a slight review of the fortunes of the Stuart family; and secondly, with a description of the highlands, of the character of the inhabitants, their mode of life, and the system of clanship. Of these parts the first posseses the least interest, and is by no means so happily written as the rest of the volume. The author, to use a homely phrase, seems hardly *to have got his hand in;* and in the very first page a sentence occurs, beginning with 'Hoc certe,' so involved and obscure, that it requires two or three readings to catch its meaning. In this part, too, we notice one of those specimens of mistaken imitation, which we are happy to find do not occur very frequently.

'Mitto Carolum a Carolo, de quo nihil æqui mediive profari licet, quum et meliori seculo patriis commendaretur virtutibus, et *nostro fortasse proprid ipsius nequitid.*' p. 5.

Dr. Whitaker surely is not serious in this opinion of the age in which he lives: and if not serious, why surrender his own good sense to the common-place satire and conceited antithesis of Tacitus? With the general style indeed, although it is in the main correct and pure, we have some little fault to find. One of the chief

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chief advantages of the Latin language is well known to be its power of compression. Hence that nerve and energy, which are characteristic of the best Roman historians, that strength of colouring which makes even their homeliest pictures attractive, that weighty and authoritative tone which disposes us to listen with more than common attention, and to let nothing fall to the ground from an instructor whose words are always pregnant with meaning. Of this characteristic, which is most conspicuous in the works of Tacitus, Dr. Whitaker seems to have been fully sensible: but we could wish that instead of forming himself so studiously after this model, in whom the quality predominates to excess, he had more frequently tempered his style with the plain and unaffected flow of Livy. In the writings of this historian, whom we cannot but consider as far superior to Tacitus in all the greater virtues of composition, there is a gravity and sincerity, an expression of natural feeling, good sense and probity, which furnish an agreeable relief to his dramatic scenes and picturesque descriptions, and which make ample atonement for that failing, at which fastidious readers take most offence, the sparkling rhetoric of his speeches. But although we occasionally trace in Dr. Whitaker the impression of this great master, yet the manner and *handling* are certainly those of Tacitus. We continually discover his selection of topics, his pithy and pointed moral reflections, and rather more of his stiff and laboured diction, and his affected sententiousness than we can either admire or approve.

Of this, one specimen has been already given: the following passage is in the same taste.

'Neque Jacobo exuli deerant egregia adminicula: *primum ipsa fortuna* quæ suapte naturâ ex imis retro volvi consueta, res humanas in orbem agere atque torquere gaudet; indè animi hominum, præcipuè Anglorum, &c.' p. 5.

That in a grave discussion of the hopes which the exiled family had of recovering their dominions, Fortune should be personified, and represented as a powerful agent, can only be ascribed to the habit of imitating a faulty model: and we are the more concerned to see it, because it favours the popular prejudice, that to write in this language is a puerile exercise, a mere trial of scholarship, unsuited to any purpose of real utility. If we would maintain the dignity of the employment, no caution is more necessary than to avoid every sentence the substance of which we should be unwilling to utter in our own language.

The second part of Dr. Whitaker's introduction will naturally remind the reader of the life of Agricola, which opens with a similar geographical disquisition. It is however conceived with the freedom and spirit of an original: possessing that distinctness

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which always accompanies the descriptions of an actual observer, who has felt what he writes, and who copies faithfully from his own impressions. One or two sketches of highland manners and scenery cannot fail of being acceptable from such a pencil.

'Scotiâ omni bifariam diremptâ, limes ab æstuario Glottæ et Lominio lacu ad Donam fluvium in transversum ductus, a campestribus montana plerumque disterminat. Incolis prout hinc vel inde limiti adjacent, alius sermo, alia studia, alius cultus, dispar etiam animorum habitus. Hisce pecorum et armentorum cura perpetua, illi *arvis* agrique *culturæ incumbunt*; utrique ex indole regionum. Namque montana, propter imbres assiduos et solum asperrimum, frugibus infelicia, pecudum tamen, bucularum equorumque pusillorum vim ingentem progenerant, quibus alendis, ac per interminata fermè montium vallium que spatia circumducendis, homines a teneris vagum desidemque morem colentes et parvo et rapto vivere adsuescunt. Hinc per bella campestri Scoto gravis ac suspectus accola montanus: idem domi ac per summam quietem ne sibi quidem ipse concors, modò totus hebescere, modò, ubi collubuerit, intentis præter cæteros mortales animi corporisque nervis conniti: per æstiva, dies *integros*, humi fusus, imagines nescio quas semisomni animo conceptas, naufragia, cædes, funera nutrire *ac* interpretari solitus; mox aucupio, venationi, piscibus captandis *adhibitus*, exuto propè seipso, laborum, inediæ, vigiliarum patientissimus; idem admoto ligone, aratro, textrinâ, rursum torpescens.' p. 9.

Our remarks on the latinity, of which indeed only one or two apply to this passage, must be reserved for the sequel: in the mean time we cannot withhold the following masterly outline of the whole region.

'Caledonia fermè tota in montes asperrimos adsurgit, quibus plerique vertices cacuminati, tempestatum ac scaturiginum vi assiduâ sulcati, alii ferrugineo, alii fusco colore, ignivomorum quondam montium spiracula haud obscuris indiciis referentes, quos inter lacunæ profundissimæ vel adultâ æstate nivibus oppletæ albescunt. Nusquam major pluviarum vis effunditur: scilicet humores rarissimos ab Oceano, Cauro Notoque sævientibus oblatos, prima hæc atque editissima Britanniæ, objectu laterum gelidoque contactu, adeo et densant et confringunt, ut cœlum nebulis ac caligine fœdum soli sæpissimè officiat, et torrentes per derupta et concava locorum in præceps effusi, exitu propter petrarum obices negato, ubique *restagnescant*. Quot igitur per montana Scotiæ valles, tot fermè et lacus; quos inter et amplitudine et amœnitate cæteris præstant Lominius, Nessus, Taus, Avus. Horum plerumque e vitreâ planitie eminentes cernuntur insulæ, quarum inter vepres ac virgulta etiamnum restant propugnaculi cujusdam aut cœnobioli rudera. Scilicet, ubi in continenti Scotiæ, per latrocinia atque rapinas, nihil sancti, nihil tuti restaret, id egit sive religio sive ignavia, ut sponte sibi negatâ liberè spatiandi facultate, in arcto simul et abdito præsidium collocaret. Et partim fortasse hanc ob causam, partim ne a famelicis lupis

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lupis cadavera eruerentur, vitâ functos in locis circumfluis sepulturæ tradendi inter Scoto-montanos mos invaluit.' p. 10.

The highlander's manner of life, his dress and armour, his mode of fighting, the habitations both of the higher and lower orders are described with the same distinctness and accuracy: and the following passage, which leads to an exposition of the origin and nature of clanship, exhibits, with a trifling exception or two, a command of correct and proper diction, which reminds us of some of the best days of Roman literature.

'Quicquid de Phœnicum Hispanorumve coloniis somniaverint homines malè feriati, mihi in universum æstimanti persuasissimum est, ab orâ Galliæ in proximum Britanniæ littus, Celtas ratibus advectos inter arva finitima atque ubera consedisse; mox alios atque alios, velut undam undâ trudente, expositos atque in interiora insulæ provectos, tandem cæteris omnibus jure occupandi *possessis*, in Caledoniæ saltus ac solitudines penetrâsse. Equidem crediderim singulas plerumque familias singulas regionis asperrimæ valles insedisse: mox autem, fixo lare, sobolique procreandæ datâ aliquantisper operâ, servato cognomine, servato quoque in longum cognationis vinculo, in tribus *integras*, vel, si mavis clientelas excrevisse.' p. 21.

We shall give one extract more from this part of the volume, and we cannot perhaps select a better than the interview of Charles with the young Laird of Lochiel; an incident, upon which a living poet has founded one of the most pathetic compositions in our language. In the hands of Dr. Whitaker it is invested with the graver and more sober charms of history, and the latter part especially is delivered in the very accent and tone of Livy.

'Excensione factâ, Carolo Borodalii commoranti primus adfuit Lochielius, Cameroniorum regulus, qui, patre majestatis damnato, quanquam adhuc superstite, avo in hæreditatem amplam et opulentam successerat, acri vir ingenio, neque ab arte usuque belli alienus. Præter omnes montanorum duces Stuarti partibus impensissimè studebat Lochielius, literarum jugi commercio consiliorum interpres et adjutor. Cæterum ubi juvenem regium sine copiis, propè sine instrumento bellico, pecuniæ fermè expertem, in littus ejectum magis quam expositum cerneret, hærere profecto vir prudentissimus, et ab incepto irrito principem absterrere: "Tempori haud satis opportuno cedendum: servandas occasiones, fortunæ, ubi primum arriserit, duci instandum: eâ sibi utique cæterisque amicis curæ fore. Proinde vinci se pateretur et vela quam maturrimè retro daret." Obfirmato adversus rationes animo, Carolus, Galli perfidiam conquestus, mox suorum inter montanos promissa magnifica, dispares exitum incusat. "Enimvero id ipsum tempus in primis opportunum, Britanniæ, quem ferebant regem, tum cum maximè domi invalidum foras perculsum; ostenderetur modò inter montanos bellum, clientes Anglicanos, et opibus et numero formidandos, in signa sese extemplo conlaturos: maturato tantum opus esse." Etiam atque etiam reluctant

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luctanti Lochielio juvenis indignabundus in hæc verba prorupit: "Quum tu, Lochieli, cujus in fidem ac prope tutelam, tanquam domûs regiæ spectatissimi et integerrimi clientis, me permiserim, belli tamen aleam exhorrescas, mihi certum est et obstinatum, paucis abhinc diebus, passo hoc in littore vexillo, solium avitum utcunque repetere. Tu vero abi, et principe periclitante, otio fruere." Tum demum Lochielius animi victus, manus dedit.' p. 29.

Our limits will not allow us to follow Dr. Whitaker through the events of this hasty campaign: nor is it desirable, as he professes to add nothing of original information, and we have already given sufficient proof of his skill in managing his materials. The narrative is clear, succinct, and orderly, interspersed with some anecdote and something of individual character. The reflections, though numerous, are neither prolix nor formal; while the feelings and judgment of the author are naturally interwoven, as they ought to be, with the thread of his story. In the description of ground he is remarkably happy, of which almost every action affords a striking specimen. The following is a sketch of the famous pass of Killikranky.

'Scilicet eò loci montana Scotiæ primum in juga clementiora, inde in planitiem satis amplam demissa, a meridie rursus in fauces angustissimas subitò coarctantur, tanquam provido numinis consilio claustra, ac repagula adversus barbaros futura. Interfluit Tumellus, amnis infremens ac spumosus. Per medium fermè clivum pertinet callis vix singulis jam tum permeabilis; nunc militum operâ egregiè munitus. Infra, usque ad alvum torrentis, descendunt rupes præruptæ, desuper ubique imminentibus saxis, levi momento in subeuntes *provolvendis*. Adhæc quàcunque per cautes licuerit, internatis arboribus, densa adeò arbusta subolescunt, ut per otium intuentibus voluptatem simul et horrorem locus incutiat. Killikrankio nomen est, Grami Taodunensis, viri fortissimi, nece memorabili.' p. 38.

Of the battles, the shameful affair of Falkirk is perhaps on the whole best told; but there are parts of the more memorable event on the plain of Culloden related with a perspicuity and purity which bespeak the hand of a master: and which, if we had room to extract them, would fully justify our opinion that Dr. Whitaker has succeeded in catching the native tone and spirit of Roman history. We should also be inclined to present our readers with some of the more interesting scenes of Charles's subsequent adventures: in particular, his hair-breadth escape in crossing the line of centinels by night between Lochnevis and Lochshiel, and the curious hiding-place in the mountain of Benalder, called the Cage, which the author has described with a felicity always observable in his delineations of external objects. His perilous situation, and extraordinary

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ordinary risks in eluding his pursuers in the isle of Uist, are finely touched in the manner of Tacitus.

'*Hæc* inter discrimina per mensem integrum Carolus insulanos fidissimos habuit. Iisdem, ducibus unà [simul] et exploratoribus, usus, noctu sæpissimè per stationes hostium elapsus, alia ex aliis latibula quærere; quæ apud regios agerentur, nihil incompertum habere; ipse nonnunquam, e proximo, verba per silentium minacia exaudire, truceaque hostium vultus inter ignes collustrare.'—p. 114.

But we must hasten to the performance of a task less acceptable we fear both to him and to our readers, although more useful perhaps to both, if we can prevail upon them to follow us through a critical examination of some length and minuteness.

In the first place then we must protest against the *unnecessary* use of words unknown to the best age of Latinity, and which may be regarded as symptoms, although symptoms only, of approaching decay. We do not profess ourselves to belong to that class of critics whom Lipsius denominates in scorn 'the Arpinatian school,' who would absolutely forbid the use of every expression not authorized by Cicero; but we think that where his vocabulary would serve the purpose, it is neither good taste nor good scholarship to pick up our phraseology from later writers; and more especially when the idea is one of familiar and ordinary occurrence, we may safely conclude, that any mode of expressing it not practised by him is offensive to the genius of the language, as it was in his time. Even our author's favourite model, Tacitus, falls within the period denominated by the soundest critics *vegeta senectus*, the green old age of Latinity; and therefore, although we may admire and copy his virtues, we must be prepared for some incipient failings—failings, which however we may bear with them, we should be careful not to imitate. But Dr. Whitaker descends yet lower. Pliny, Gellius, and Apuleius, on whose authority he now and then rests, might be allowed to set the fashion in their own days; but there is a more authentic standard to which the learned have now by common consent agreed to return; and we feel a strong disposition to check every needless departure from it. Undoubtedly a thousand improvements might, if we were to set about it, be invented for the Latin of the age of Cicero. He felt as much as any man its defects, especially when compared with the Greek. But to attempt such a project now would argue an ignorance of the real state of the question. Our object is perfect Latin, not a perfect language: the study belongs more to the province of taste than to that of philosophy; and as congruity is one of the first laws of taste, we cannot, consistently with that principle, allow new words to be engrafted on the language, or new senses

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senses to be given to them, however convenient the innovation may be both to the writer and the reader.

Faults of this kind are not indeed very numerous. *Quem in finem* and *hunc in finem*, which in this history frequently denote 'for this purpose,' 'with this view,' cannot claim a higher sanction than that of Tacitus. *Insecutio* for *pursuit*, p. 15. *dissita* for *distant*, and *viror*, p. 88. belong of right to Apuleius. In reference to the first of these words, it may be remarked, that the use of abstract nouns, for denoting those ideas which were before usually expressed by verbs, is one of the surest tests of declining latinity. Nouns of this sort abound to excess in modern languages, and are coined daily: they constitute one of the discriminative features between them and pure Latin. Apuleius, indeed, (although it is too much to say with Melancthon that his language was 'like the braying of his own ass,') can never be held competent authority, nor do we imagine that Dr. Whitaker would deliberately offer that plea. Pliny is certainly better; but even he does not reconcile us to the use of *petris* for stones, and *valliculæ* for glens. The word *suffecturus* we have observed twice used, pp. 36, 72, in the sense of 'likely to be sufficient,'—a form, we believe, never employed except by that writer. The original meaning of the word *guærus* is familiar to every one; but in the following passage it surprised us: 'Gnarum id regiis, primùm per palantes . . . . . mox duplici fragore a Sterlino exaudito.' p. 78. Tacitus has indeed extended it from a *person knowing* to a *thing known*; but even this harsh innovation is here surpassed; for in Tacitus it means something that has been a matter of long acquaintance, never a thing just perceived. We have a like objection to *possessis*, p. 22.; *evibrarent*, p. 74; *fœminam arcanam*, p. 133; *arcano* in Plautus Trinum. 2, 4, 155. is an adverb. *Frigusculum*, p. 75, for 'a coolness' between friends, cannot boast a better parentage than Tertullian.

Now and then, though very rarely, we meet with a word that never came from the Roman mint, as *oscitantia*, p. 34 and 85; *restagnescant*, p. 11; and in the following passages a use of words is observable, not authorized, we imagine, by any good writer.

P. 2. 'Stuartæ gentis clades *ac* calamitates altius repetere, quum et notæ cuivis ac vulgatæ sint, et ab aliis . . . . . summâ et ingenii et elegantiæ laude *deductæ*, prudens omitto.' We say metaphorically of the composition itself, *deducere carmen, poema*, &c. but never *deducere clades*, the subject of the composition. We must remark too that Dr. Whitaker is much too fond of the particle *ac*. It is seldom if ever placed before a word beginning with a vowel, or with the letter *c*, a practice against which he often offends.

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offends. In the same page *conlatum* is joined with *certamen*, instead of *initum*, a use wholly unauthorized in prose.

P. 3. Speaking of the line of Stuarts, he says, 'decem principibus continuato ordine in regnum *cooptatis*.' This term is inapplicable to hereditary succession, and especially to the succession of a *monarch*. In the following passage we are at a loss to guess the meaning of *innotuerat*. 'Omnibus in usum hominum affatim suppetentibus, nihildum proprii, nihil alicui innotuerat.' p. 12.

P. 17. *Tragulæ* can never properly denote *arrows*.

P. 19. *Volatilium* for *birds* is entirely without precedent.

P. 32. '*Ponti succedebat*.' *Succedo* may be used absolutely for 'to approach:' but if joined with a dative case it means 'to come up *under*,' as *succedere muris, turri, portis*, &c.; and therefore it is improper with ponti—unless indeed when the person of whom it is said is about to *shoot the bridge*—not as here, to *pass over it*.

P. 35. 'Per hoc tempus copiis *tutelæ Scotiæ deputatis* præerat Johannes Copius,' &c. A very unhappy phrase at best; and disgraced by a word *infimæ latinitatis*.

P. 42. 'Qui *diu* postea,' for *multo* postea. Din signifies *duration*, not *distance* of time, which is the meaning in this sentence.

P. 49. *Postremi* will not do for *extremi*, in speaking of the left flank of a line.

P. 54. 'Grates agere atque *habere*.' Habere gratias means to *feel* gratitude, not to express it. The same word is used again improperly, p. 107. Dr. Whitaker, when giving the heads of a letter, says, '*grates habet* agitque.'

P. 56. *Mox* is here used incorrectly, to mark the second of two things not following in order of *time* or of *place*. It sometimes is used to mark succession of rank or degree; but then the preceding degree ought to be noted by *primum*, or some such word.

P. 58. Progredienti Scoto. We should have imputed this error to the press, had we not observed it elsewhere, as *præsidi* for *præside*, p. 65.

Ibid. Tamen in ordine viâque rem *gerentes*. In this passage there is some confusion. Is *gerentes* put by mistake for *gerentibus*?

P. 65. Innernessum *juxta*. Dr. Whitaker generally uses this word in its proper sense, as an adverb. Once or twice it occurs in Tacitus as a preposition, for *prope*; but for the reasons before given it ought to be avoided. In p. 70, its use is quite barbarous; for *secundum*—'juxta supputationem hodiernam.' In p. 71, it is wrong again. 'Macdonaldis, trifariam juxta clientelas divisis.' Here it stands for *per* or *in*.

P. 75. Limanchum noctis beneficio *adsequitur*. This verb cannot be joined with *place*, which is a fixed object. In the same page *inimicorum* is strangely used for *hostium*. This transfer is never

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never allowable except in poetry; and even poetry would not sanction it in the passage before us, because it is a feeling of kindness and pity which the author is saying was raised in the breast of the enemy.

P. 76. Semicoctos tyrones, *raw recruits.* Nothing is so unsafe as to introduce a new and harsh metaphor into a dead language.

P. 84. Pone *secusque* aggerem. The use of *secus* as a preposition, although it may be traced in Pliny, and even in Quintilian, is rightly denominated by Putschius 'novum et sordidum.'

P. 86. *Supplosione.* Improperly used for the ordinary sound of footsteps: it means *stamping.*

P. 91. 'Id quo per otium fieret, præsidium ponti impositum aliquantisper restitit, *dum* suos in tuto constitutos esse rati, et ipsi sensim elaberentur. *Dum*, although said by grammarians to be sometimes used for *donec*, cannot be justified here. It always signifies *duration*, and belongs therefore in this passage to *restitit.* Hence either *dum* or *elaberentur* is wrong. 'Expectandum dum se res ipsa aperiret' in Livy is no precedent: for both *expectandum* and *aperiret* have the same duration. In Dr. Whitaker the time of *elaberentur* does not begin till that of *restitit* is past.

P. 99. Ut *integra* inter superstites semita relinqui videretur. This use of *integer*, wherever the English word *entire* might be employed, we hold to be a barbarism. Thus again, p. 114, *per mensem integrum*, for a whole month; and p. 134, *menses integros*, whole months. It certainly may mean *whole*, but only when *whole* means *sound, undiminished, untainted, untouched.* It is a negative not a positive epithet, and belongs to *quality* rather than to *substance.*

P. 127. Dimissis igitur Macdonaldo Glengariensi et Cameronio Lochieli fratre, qui aliquot post annos, *postliminio reversus admissa capite luit.* This is a most extraordinary privilege. Postliminiò implies not merely *return*, but a restoration to civil rights after a suspension of them abroad. Cameron of Lochiel *postliminio caruit.*

P. 128. 'Sole quodam exorto.' 'One morning at sunrise.' This use of *sol* for *day* is noted by critics as a barbarism.

P. 139. *Subditos* for *subjects* is remarked by Funccius as one symptom of the last stage, or the decrepitude, as he calls it, of the Latin language.

Besides these mistakes in the use of single words, we have observed some errors of construction, which must not pass unnoticed.

P. 4. *Ille* and *hic* have no antecedents specified.

P. 9. 'Illi armis agrique culturæ incumbunt.' It is remarkable that after Quintilian's express censure of this very construction, it should still be often used instead of the Ciceronian *in* or *ad culturam.*

Perhaps

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Perhaps the Virgilian phrase 'incumbite remis' perpetuates the practice in schools.

P. 17. 'Rupium inaccessa prope *conscendere* a teneris *adsueti*.' This form is used occasionally by the poets, but never, we believe, by any prose author of credit. Dr. Whitaker indeed seems scarcely aware of the insufficiency of poetical authority to sanction the use of words and the construction of sentences in prose. It is however an admitted principle not to found the one upon the other: and this confusion is justly deemed one of the marks of declining taste. Indeed when we recollect that it is the very character of poetry, and often constitutes its chief grace and beauty, to extend the use of common words, to place them in new situations, and make them unexpectedly serve new purposes, whoever is studious of purity and elegance in prose ought to be on his guard against such a practice, and rather suspect the propriety of a phrase which first presents itself to his mind in a poetical passage. Upon this principle we object to *suffecerint* in the following clause,—'nisi quòd, positis sagittis, sclopeta duces clientibus suffecerint.' p. 17: so *vias regiis invias*, p. 82. But we must proceed with our list.

P. 28. 'Ad id loci.' The force of this phrase is misunderstood. It does not mean 'about that time;' but rather 'up to that time.' vid. Liv. 22—38.

Ibid. 'Quæ montanorum animis adeò inoleverat, *ut* neque justo pioque regimine LX. annorum aboleri *poterat*.' This, we presume, is an oversight; but it occurs again p. 88.

P. 33. 'Vix facile' *Hardly easily!* There is another unfortunate use of this word in p. 91,—'*vix aut ne vix quidem impares*. *Vix* ought properly to be joined with a verb rather than an adjective, but never surely with such an adjective as *impares*.

Ibid. 'Ad ante diem XIV. Id. Sept.' Several mistakes are made by Dr. Whitaker in the form of dating. Sometimes indeed he specifies the day of the month in our calendar, which practice, though not the most classical, is perhaps the most convenient. The regular form however is a. d. XIV. id. Sept. which represents not, as Dr. Whitaker sometimes says, and as Buchanan always says, *ad diem*, but *ante diem*. The meaning is, *on the day*, i. e. *before* the day is ended. *Ad ante diem* is a phrase we never recollect to have met with: *in ante diem* occurs in Livy, as well as *ex ante diem*; but in these cases *in* and *ex* are joined in construction with some other words: they have nothing to do with the expression of the date.

P. 49. 'Ubi enixè flagitâsset.' *Quum* would be better, not to say necessary, in this and a few other places where *ubi* is joined with a subjunctive verb. In some other passages *ubi* seems to usurp the place of *postquam*. See p. 52.

P. 24. *Ne*

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P. 51. *Ne tentatâ pugnâ ;'* instead of 'ne tantatâ *quidem* pugnâ.' This form of speaking, without *quidem*, occurs several times, as in pp. 60, 63, 77; but it is decidedly wrong. Another error in the use of *quidem* appears p. 86, where it stands in *contact* with *ne*. *Ac ne quidem participe facto.* Trifling as the remark may seem, there is no practice more uniform in the classical writers than the interposition of something between these words. Dr. Whitaker may however produce a host of Germans on his side.

P. 55. 'Literæ de magnis, ut fit, majora locutæ, Lutetiam*que* perlatæ. Dele *que*. This is an English barbarism, arising out of our frequent use of *and*, where the Latins either employ *autem*, *verò*, &c. or no conjunction at all. In this passage there is no connection between the ideas *locutæ* and *perlatæ*. So p. 129, 'Clunio*que* mox reverso' for 'Clunio *autem* mox reverso.'

P. 68. *Nihil*que forti atque officioso consilio obfecit, *quàm* pecuniæ, et commeatuum difficultas.' *Quàm* instead of *nisi* after *nihil* is, we fear, one of the 'grey hairs' of latinity.

P. 70. 'Ad occidentem Falkirki.' *To the west of Falkirk.* This is altogether so unlike Dr. Whitaker's usual caution and correctness, that it startled us.

P. 82. Ante lucem, et quantum *ejus* fieri posset, eâdem horâ. What is the force of *ejus*?

P. 87. Innernessum *cui* Loudonus concesserat. *Cui* for *quò* or *ad quem locum.*

P. 130. Monte *de* Benalder. Why should this middle-age phrase be allowed to deform a classical page?

P. 132. 'Noctium sex aut circiter itinera emensus.' If *aut* were omitted the phrase would be Latin; *iter* is better than *itinera*.

P. 133. 'Rege vicissim haud dubiè perituro,' cannot be allowed for 'Cùm rex haud dubiè perituras esset.'

In the preceding catalogue we have not included some sentences of vicious construction which we must now point out; expressing our belief at the same time, that they proceed rather from the carelessness to which all writers in all languages are liable, than from ignorance or disregard of grammar.

'Horum quoque insequutio, nisi nupera avaritia naturæ communitatem infregissit, cuivis libera ac sine fraude *fuit*.—p. 13. Color non unus pallorve solus in ore civium conspectus, palàm fecit *ne clamorem montanorum iterum laturos*.—p. 69. Nec quidquam *perindè dissolvendæ militiæ esse* novimus, atque *miles* duci diffisus.'—p. 76.

Such examples are not frequent, and may easily be corrected. We have something also to say upon the use of the particle *quòd*—a word which must needs occur in every page of Latin, and in which Dr. Whitaker has erred less frequently than almost any modern writer. It so often stands in the place of the

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the Greek ὅτι, that in the middle ages it had the same latitude given it, and is by the worst writers used as equivalent to the English particle *that*. It is however only when ὅτι means διότι that *quòd* seems properly to correspond with it.—It then should be considered as a fragment of the phrase 'eò quod,' or 'propterea quod.' Sometimes indeed it serves the purpose at the beginning of a sentence *continuandæ orationis*, i. e. of mere connection with reference to a foregoing idea; and then it represents 'secundum quod,' 'quod ad hoc attinet.' But in the body of a sentence, unless it introduce something which partakes more or less of the nature of a *cause*, it ought to be rejected. We propose this explanation as a general standard: for the idea of *cause* glides off by insensible gradations; and when it becomes so remote as to be scarcely perceptible, it is better to use some other form. On this account we do not scruple to condemn the following sentences as barbarous:

'Hâc verò in parte, unum alterumve quamvis *brevissimè* [breviter] dictum suffecerit; *quòd* si Dumblani per socordiam ducis, suo uti ingenio montanis licuisset, haud æquo Marte foret discessum; *quòd*que Prestonæ obsessis . . . . . ira in rabiem ac desperationem versa, parum abfuit quin ultimum meruisset exemplum.—p. 8. Gnari scilicet *quòd*, animis hominum ab omni suspicione aversis, optimè coalitura essent conjuratorum molimina.—p. 35. Contigit autem *quòd* regulus, qui Falkirki primum, dein Culloduni, Stuarto operam fortem ac fidelem navârat, ad [sub] id temporis abesset.'—p. 117.

In all these cases the accusative case and infinitive mood is the proper form; although ὅτι would have been right in each. But there is a farther impropriety in the use of this particle, and that of an opposite kind. It now and then occurs where *quia* or *quoniam* is wanted. Let us take the following example: 'Interea securi, ac per summam pacem agebant regii, *quòd* Agnevius valido satis præsidio castellum Blarense firmaverat.'—p. 81. It is not easy to demonstrate the rule; for the distinction is subtle: yet if the thing is *felt* there must be some reason, and we would suggest, that if the cause be a principal fact, declared in the indicative mood, *quia* and not *quod* is proper. *Quod*, as possessing the notion of *cause* in a fainter degree, belongs more to subordinate and oblique clauses. Sometimes, as in pp. 80, 84, *quod* is used where we expect *sed* or *verum*. We will not absolutely condemn the phrase *quòd ubi*, but it must be allowed that *quòd* hardly ever has the sense of *but*, except when joined with *si*.

In the use of moods Dr. Whitaker seems here and there to have erred, particularly with regard to the subjunctive mood. In the following passages, and in some few others, we should not hesitate

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to alter the subjunctives into indicatives, because the assertions are not dependent, but absolute.

'Jamque res apertè ad seditionem spectabat, adparebatque nummos, annonam, arma, nî sufficerentur, vi rapturos, quum nuncius, necopinatò perlatus Carolum inter revertendum Dumfrisiam usque castra promovisse, litem jam contestatam *dirimeret*.—p. 68. Ingratæ vestigationi præerant Cambelli pater et filius, qui odiis erga Stuartos plusquàm civilibus officio *fungerentur*.—p. 113. In hunc nidulum contraxerat fortuna et spes et opes Stuartæ domûs, quæ paucis ante mensibus, pavore ac fugâ Scotiam *complevisset*, binos regios exercitus ad internecionem propè *delevisset*, Edinburgo *potita esset*, Londino *imminueret*.'—p. 132.

Of the wrong use of tenses we should produce the following examples:

'Gordonus Abredoniæ stativa habuit, ejus rei satagens, ut missis circumcirca qui pavidæ inermique plebi terrorem incuterent, pecuniæ vim quàm maximam *corradant*.—p. 66. Necdum illuxerat, quum per summum silentium profecti, custodes regios *fefellerint*, primo, caligine noctis, inde, pruinosâ nubeculâ tuti.'—p. 49.

But the form which we most frequently observe as erroneously employed, is what is called the 'future in *dus*.' This name which Sanctius thinks altogether wrong, has we doubt not led to the practice, almost universal among modern writers of Latin, of using it to denote something that *will* or *may* be. Its genuine sense is confined to *duty* or *necessity*—what *must* be, or what *ought* to be. It is a slight extension of this latter meaning to make it express a *wish*: they are kindred ideas, and in Greek are denoted by the same word ωφελον. A few authorities may perhaps be adduced of the future in *dus*, for what *will be*, or *is to be*, but even into these the notion of *duty* will be found more or less to enter. The following sentences are examples of its use by Dr. Whitaker for what *may or can be*, in defence of which we believe no authority can be pleaded.

'Jamque cum nemini non constaret moram urbem arcemque oppugnantibus *injiciendam* unicæ prægressis saluti fore, neque minùs adpareret in præsidio relictos neci certissimæ *dedendos*, fœda inter perduelles contentio orta est.—p. 64. Mos erat apud montanos inveteratus, ut partam inter dimicandum prædam domum quisque dilapsi in tuto deponerent; id quo minùs auderent nec minis, nec vi, ac ne instante [quidem] discrimine *cohibendi*.—p. 77. Munitissimum id erat totius regionis propugnaculum, nec nisi majoribus tormentis quàm quorum perduellibus suppeditabat copia *expugnandum*.—p. 81. Cambellum præfectum, et milite et sociis stipatum, armacladam venis e, Carolum *dedendum* postulare.'—p. 116.

If our readers are not completely worn out by this thorny track through

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through which we have been leading them, we have yet a few more objections to make. The transfer of classical names to analogous things and offices of modern times, is a practice to be indulged sparingly, and with great caution. It is seldom that the analogy is so exact as to justify the application: and it seems better to coin a new word (for which the imperious law of necessity must be pleaded) than to run the risk of exciting an idea altogether incongruous, or of raising or lowering it beyond the proper level. Upon this principle we think *sclopeta* much better than any circumlocution for *muskets:* while we object to the use of *volones*, (which always meant *slaves* allowed in times of emergency to take up arms) for modern *volunteers;* and still more to *sacrificuli* for the *clergy.* Dr. Whitaker did not mean to speak contemptuously of that order, and yet he has given them a title which was a term of contempt even for a heathen priest. The profane and peevish answer of Isaac Vossius, to an inquiry about the profession of one of his friends, has been often quoted. *Sacrificulus est in pago, et rusticos decipit.* But Vossius was a man, all whose learning we are persuaded Dr. Whitaker would not think worth purchasing by one atom of his impiety. For the same reason, we cannot approve of a general thanksgiving in a Christian country being described in the terms 'grates D. O. M. *ad omnia pulvinaria* redditæ.' We forbear to censure this under the harsh appellation of pedantry, because it is by no means a frequent or a characteristic fault; but we have seldom met with a more injudicious application of ancient learning, than the instance last produced.

In the adoption of classical phrases too, we hold it to be false taste to hunt after rarities—especially those which carry an air of conceit and stiffness. '*Mutuo metu ac montibus discretas,*' p. 24, is a quaintness by no means worth the trouble of transplanting from Tacitus. 'Juga vicina, etiam per æstatem, gelida ac *fida nivibus.*' p. 37. This phrase occurs once in Tacitus, but it is so affected that no authority can defend it. Claudian's description of Ætna, *Scit nivibus servare fidem,* always appeared to us rather too sentimental for a mountain, even in poetry; but we never dreamt of its being adopted into historical prose. Again, *Pro virili* commonly means *to the utmost of his power;* but can it be proper to say of a forgetful man that he 'omnia *pro virili* oblivioni tradere?' p. 61. *Gravior accola,* although employed to denote a troublesome or dangerous neighbour, can never surely be allowed to express the vicinity of troops in the field of battle. 'Simul a fronte conspecta tumultuaria manus, quæ velitatione levi agmen carperet, donec eques, gravior accola, superveniret.'—p. 62.

Two or three instances of low expression offended us, as being quite unsuited to historical composition—'parem propè vulnerum

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ac vibicum *messem reportant.*' p. 64.—' pecuniosos istos negotiatores *probè emunxit.*' p. 65. Neither can we approve of the historian exclaiming ' proh dolor,' or uttering a sentiment hardly worthy of an epigram, ' Mortem Hylæ quàm Thersiti nihilò æquiorem expertus.' p. 106. But we would by no means insinuate that these faults are numerous.

On the contrary, we cannot take our leave of Dr. Whitaker without many acknowledgments for the pleasure which he has afforded us, by the perusal of a work written with so much learning and elegance. If it had possessed little merit, we should not have thought it deserving of that rigorous examination which we have here pursued; but the more authority the book is likely to possess from its good qualities, the more necessary is it to mark out those which it would be wrong to imitate. Indeed the attempt itself is one which fairly challenges severity: for according to the well known law of Horace, what is a needless luxury ought always to be excellent in its kind. We can do well enough without it; and therefore, if it be produced at all, let it be good. There is indeed a low and apparently a malignant disposition often manifested, to deride every attempt at this sort of literature: but why it should be less an object of taste to cultivate this region, than any other which is known to be productive of a pure and refined pleasure, we have never heard, and never could discover; while the difficulty of the undertaking must, according to every rule of judging, redound to the credit of the artist who succeeds. Nor should it be reckoned among the least of its advantages that it incidentally renders the scholar familiar with the best ancient writers, and makes him take an impression from their works more vivid perhaps and lasting, than any other learned exercise can communicate.

If Dr. Whitaker should be called upon for another edition, we would recommend the accompaniment of a map, a few explanatory notes, and an index of names, similar to that in Man's excellent edition of Buchanan, printed at Aberdeen.

Art. V. *Brief Observations on the Address to his Majesty, proposed by Earl Grey, in the House of Lords, 18th June,* 1810. By William Roscoe. 8vo. pp. 44. Cadell and Davies. London. 1811.

IT is somewhat curious to trace historically the opinions of the noble person whose speech gave occasion to the pamphlet before us, and of that party of which he is now the head, relative to the

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the war. For many years it was the theme of their invective; 'unjust,' 'absurd,' 'wicked,' were among the epithets constantly bestowed upon it, and Mr. Grey, in particular, seldom suffered a session to pass without a vehement philippic against the whole foreign policy of Mr. Pitt, and a motion of which the tendency was to compel the government to make peace upon almost any terms. In the same pacific spirit he defended the treaty of Amiens, and opposed the renewal of the war in 1803. Not long after, however, both he and Mr. Fox formed a close union with a nobleman who had been always understood to carry the war principle farther, perhaps, than any other member of Mr. Pitt's cabinet, and who had been the avowed author and defender of the particular steps most loudly censured by his new allies.

From that moment a considerable alteration was observable in the tone of the Whig part of opposition in all that regarded the question of war and peace. It was necessary to make some sacrifices in order to preserve an union formed with a view to purposes far more important than either war or peace. Lord Grenville, too, was complaisant enough to meet them part of the way, and as they became much more warlike, he became a little more pacific, and the once formidable difference was soon reduced to a mere shade. This was quite natural. They thought it desirable to give us peace abroad; but they were too well acquainted with the due subordination of objects, not to feel that it was infinitely more important to give us a good government at home. Such was the state of things at the death of Mr. Pitt, when the combined forces took possession of the government.

No reasonable person expected, few wished for peace; but still something was to be done to save the consistency of Mr. Fox and his friends; and Lord Lauderdale was therefore sent to present our petition for peace, with due humility, at the gate of the Thuilleries. But the Earl of Lauderdale, though supposed to unite in himself all the Homeric qualities of an ambassador, and assisted, moreover, by a 'sçavant' of the first order, was not more favourably received by Buonaparte than the emissary of Mr. Pitt, Lord Malmesbury, had been by the Directory some years before. After a few weeks of honourable confinement, and a great deal of clumsy negociation, which only served to puzzle, though it could not essentially weaken the best and clearest cause with which any country ever appeared before the tribunal of the world, Lord Lauderdale was recalled just time enough to save him from the disgrace of being sent away. The concluding part of this transaction had been conducted by Lord Grey, and the unfortunate termination of it appears to have completed his conversion.

In his speech upon the rupture of the negociation in the ensuing

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session of Parliament, he poured forth all the vials of his wrath upon France and its Emperor, whom he assailed in terms of more bitter and personal invective than those which he had so much censured Mr. Pitt for employing against the same personage. Since that period Lord Grey has been a steady supporter of the war, and in a proposed address to his Majesty, last session, which is carefully and elaborately written, and understood to contain a summary of his political creed, he records his solemn opinion, that however desirable peace may be in itself, still both the character of the French Emperor, and the situation of the world, are such as would render all present attempts on our part to obtain it, worse than hopeless.

How far his latter opinions are consistent with his early doctrines, we shall not stop to inquire. We think, however, that we should find some difficulty in discovering why peace, which would have been safe with Robespierre, is not so with Buonaparte, or why Buonaparte himself is less to be trusted now than seven years ago, when Mr. Fox assured us that he had taken a pacific, and commercial turn. To us, republican appeared as dangerous as imperial France; and we thought the First Consul of 1803, as sanguinary, as perfidious, as unchangeably bent upon the destruction of the only remaining obstacle to his ambition, as Napoleon now seems to the eyes of Lord Grey.

But different degrees of proof are required to produce conviction on different understandings; and, to do Lord Grey justice, the same change which has taken place in his mode of thinking on this question occurred, nearly at the same time, in a class of persons too large to allow us to ascribe it to any of those motives, which in an uncharitable view of his Lordship's conduct, might be imputed to a statesman. The bulk of the Foxite party (in and out of Parliament) is, we believe, now convinced that peace could not be made, or if it could be made, that it could not be maintained. Even Mr. Whitbread, whose opinions are not easily shaken, and who had long adhered to peace with a constancy which would seem due rather to an eternal and immutable principle, than to a question of necessarily varying policy, appears at last to have begun to suspect that Buonaparte's ambition is of a nature not to be appeased by any slight sacrifices; and that the present state of the world is not, of all others, the most propitious to negociation.

With respect to Lord Grey, however, we are glad to have his aid on almost any terms, whether against our foreign or domestic enemies—whether on the subject of *peace* or *reform*. Provided we have him substantially with us upon these important points, provided we have the benefit of his character and eloquence, we are perfectly willing to allow him the benefit of any little salvos and explanations

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explanations that may be necessary, in order to prevent his present warlike and constitutional creed from standing in too glaring a contrast with that which he professed as a mover for negociations and a 'friend to the people.' It has never been the practice of the church—indeed prudence and mercy alike forbid it—to enjoin a severe penance to an illustrious proselyte; and if Lord Grey's faith is sound, we shall neither be desirous to reproach him with his early heresies, nor to inflict upon him the pain of a formal recantation.

The bulk of the party, as we have already said, have changed their doctrine after the example of their leader—or, to say the least, have yielded to a course of events which made those doctrines inapplicable to the actual state of the world. But opinions it seems, like fashions, travel slowly into the country. Mr. Roscoe, of Liverpool, finally retired, after a short parliamentary career, to his native town, continues to indulge in speculations about universal peace and philanthropy. With an amiable simplicity, he is surprised, as well as grieved, that Lord Grey has ceased to move for negociation; and still more, that he should advise the House of Peers to pledge itself in the strongest terms to support the King in prosecuting the war: and he has chosen to give vent to his wonder and lamentation by the customary mode of a pamphlet. We know not what may be done for them by their humbler artists in dress and furniture; but we can take upon us to assure the good people of Liverpool, that their philosopher and politician is at least ten years behind in the form of those public articles, which he manufactures chiefly (we imagine) for their use.

Our expectations from this performance were not unreasonable; but moderate as they were, they have still been disappointed. What we knew of Mr. Roscoe's former works had not taught us to expect much vigour of reasoning upon political subjects; and we were too well acquainted with his prejudices, to imagine that his views upon the great question of peace and war were likely to be very accurate or very comprehensive. But we did expect some argument and some novelty, and we took for granted that he would consider the question with reference to the present state of the world, that he would point out some dangers from the war of which we have not been already warned, and open to us some securities in peace to which those who had written and spoken on the subject had not sufficiently attended. We thought he would offer some reason for supposing that Buonaparte was at present inclined to give peace to the world—that he would explain the way in which (in his apprehension at least) we might venture to treat, without casting a fatal damp upon that spirit of resistance which still exists in some parts of Europe, and of which we should be anxious again to avail ourselves if the negociation ended unfavourably. Above

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all, we wished to know in what manner the friends of immediate peace proposed to extricate us from that complicated system of relations in which we have been unavoidably engaged with powers whose existence Buonaparte refuses to recognize.—Our readers will probably be surprised to hear, that on no one of these subjects has Mr. Roscoe deigned to touch. His philosophy will not descend to investigate such minute points. The greater part of his pamphlet might have been written, and for any thing we know, was written a dozen years ago. He deplores and reprobates (as in a former publication or two, of which we have some faint recollection) the conduct which engaged this country in the war—a war occasioned (as all the world knows) by the wickedness and rapacity of kings and ministers; who, by their insolent manifestos, exasperated the gentle and unambitious people of France, filled their hearts with projects of aggrandizement never before entertained, absolutely compelled them, in their own defence, to overrun three parts of Europe, and in a barbarous and unchristian manner forced them to plunder their Church, exile their Nobility, murder their King, and abolish their Religion. He shews with great pathos and irresistible power of reasoning, that the prosperity of one nation is not necessarily founded upon the depression of another; and that if France and England would but agree, they would be a great deal richer and happier than in their present state of warfare. All this is very edifying, but not very new. We come, however, at last (p. 22) to a passage, which both by the novelty of its opinion, and the singularity of the reasoning on which it is made to rest, more than compensates for the triteness of the preceding pages. Having shewn, in the first place, that France is not likely to acquire a navy in time of peace, (which we have often heard before,) he proceeds to prove (a doctrine which we take to be exclusively his own) that she is *more likely* to accomplish that object in war. He reasons thus: 'The allied powers made an army necessary to France by invading her, and she formed an invincible army—we are now making a navy equally necessary; (by destroying her commerce, and subjecting her to many painful privations;) therefore France will have a navy.'

Lest our readers should suspect us of misconceiving his argument, we shall give his own words:

'That France should ever arrive at such a degree of maritime power as to become formidable to this country, there is but one chance, and that is, by our continuance of the present war. In the early periods of her revolution, France was not less inferior to her numerous adversaries in military strength, resources, and experience, than she is now in naval power to this country; but being driven on by her enemies, either to submission or resistance, she has, amidst dangers and calamities, internal

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internal dissention and external war, fought her way through derision, defeat and disgrace, not only to victory and independence, but to an unexampled degree of military power and glory. In admitting therefore with Lord Grey, "that our enemy now holds at his disposal the resources of all those maritime powers, who in former times have disputed even with ourselves the empire of the seas, let us not wantonly and unnecessarily compel him, for his own defence, to call those powers into action. After having united with our allies to render him great by land, let us now at least take care that we do not render him great by sea."'

Now in the first place, we can by no means assent to the proposition, that there is something in the nature of things which ensures to France the acquisition (sooner or later) of every thing necessary to her aggrandizement, merely because it is so. In the next place, we maintain, that in order to make the parallel between the military force of France at the beginning of the revolution and her naval force now, available for any purposes of legitimate argument, there ought to have been a period (which, in point of fact, never existed) at which the French armies were so completely crushed by the allies, that there was no place in which half a dozen regiments could be assembled in order to acquire the necessary practice of discipline and manœuvre.

This is the true parallel to the present situation of the French marine, and we feel very little apprehension of the day when those 'navies that are now growing in the woods,' and 'those seamen that are now tilling the fields,' will wrest from us the empire of the ocean. Lastly, we should think, that if demand had been in this case so 'truly the mother of supply,' the want of a navy had been long enough felt for the principle to operate, and that the natural energies of a free people stimulated by necessity, would ere now have created a fleet powerful enough to sweep the English from the seas.

Mr. Roscoe very properly remarks that there are two systems of carrying on the war—that which is adopted by the present and that which was recommended by the late ministers. Lord Grey, speaking with the weight not only of authority but experience, and justly considering how little likely expeditions are to succeed under the present administration, when they uniformly failed in the abler hands of himself and his colleagues, wishes us to confine ourselves to a purely defensive system. The ministers think it better to employ any force that can be spared from our own immediate defence in striking a blow wherever the enemy appears to be vulnerable. Mr. Roscoe, as may be expected, dislikes expeditions extremely; but what we own surprised us, he dislikes still more the defensive system of his former friends. We despair of conveying his sentiments in any but his own words, which we the more willingly extract

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extract because they form the most brilliant and highly finished passage in his pamphlet.

'That war, under every form, is an evil greatly to be deprecated, will readily be allowed; but when the passions are irritated by wrongs and inflamed by resentment; when to these are superadded the love of glory and the thirst of revenge, we feel, from the sentiments of our common nature, a sympathy with those who engage in the contest, which in victory elevates and expands, and even amidst defeat and slaughter soothes and consoles the mind; but when these incentives are withdrawn; when the courage and ardour of the soldier are relinquished for a cold, calculating, and inextinguishable hatred; when valour and enterprize, the shock of armies and the tented field, are no more, and a nation of warriors devotes itself to lie in wait for opportunities to attack the enemy with advantage, and to protract the calamities of war, we sicken at the cheerless and death-like prospect, and feel no emotions but those of horror and disgust. From the infirmities of our nature, war, as an ultimate appeal, is at times inevitable; but the common interest and the common consent of mankind, require that the struggle should be speedy and decisive, and that the miseries of those who suffer by its consequences, without being partakers in its guilt, should not be unnecessarily prolonged. The thunder may roll, and the bolt may fall; but when the storm is past, let us hope once more to see the atmosphere clear, and to enjoy the brightness of day. The calamities of the physical world are temporary. Earthquakes, plagues and tempests have their season; but a protracted warfare is a perpetual earthquake, a perpetual pestilence, a perpetual storm; and to propose to any people the adoption of such a system, is to propose that they should resolve, not only to live in sorrow, in wretchedness, and in peril themselves, but to entail the same calamities on their descendants.' p. 41.

We had long since flattered ourselves that we were too far removed from the early days of the French Revolution, to be in danger of hearing again this mawkish strain of sentimental humanity. We really thought it had expired with Anacharsis Cloots and La Reveillaire Lepeaux—with the theo-philanthropists, and the orators of the human race. But it seems that we were mistaken, and that we are fated to have it revived, not in the juvenile effusions of a boarding-school, but in a serious discussion of a great question of practical policy, by a grave and respectable person, who has lived many years, and published many quartos. Is Mr. Roscoe insensible of the absurdity of this burst of eloquence, and does he require to be told that if a war is unjust, it signifies very little whether it is waged on the offensive or the defensive plan? That if just, it ought to be made offensive or defensive, exactly as the one system or the other appears most likely to conduce to the only legitimate object of all war—that is, safe and honourable peace?—This is the sound, unsentimental view of the question, and this, we are confident,

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dent, is the view that is taken of it by every real statesman in the kingdom, in spite of the more refined doctrines that may be maintained by learned and ingenious persons at Liverpool.

Our readers will scarcely believe that in a pamphlet upon such a subject, and published but a few months since, Mr. Roscoe has not thought fit to allude to the affairs of Spain. Perhaps this omission, though singular, is on the whole prudent; for we cannot conceive how any person can bestow a moment's thought upon the situation of the peninsula, without being convinced of the utter impolicy of any attempts to negociate at the present moment.

In the first place, we think it may be assumed as a principle, that a country should not begin to negociate, unless the state of affairs, and the dispositions of the enemy, appear at the time to afford some reasonable prospect of accommodation. This principle, we apprehend, is true, even with respect to a country acting by itself, and if so, it must be much more evident of a country connected with allies whom its conduct may either encourage or depress.—Now to apply this doctrine. Does any such prospect appear at the present moment, or rather has there been a period during the whole war at which the difficulties on both sides were so completely insurmountable? Does Mr. Roscoe think that, with all his love for ships, colonies, and commerce, Buonaparte will consent to quit Spain and Portugal? or has he himself so completely exhausted all his stores of affection and sympathy for freedom and national independence upon the early French Revolutionists, as to think that we ought to abandon these countries—to throw them as a sort of make-weight into the scale, now that at the end of a three years war they still give employment to three hundred thousand men, and, by the assistance of our victorious army, exclude the enemy from all those ports, in which he hoped by this time to have prepared armaments for the invasion of England? No; but then there could be no harm in making offers, even if he were unreasonable enough to reject them; and we should at least have the comfort of knowing that we had done all in our power to put an end to a struggle so shocking to humanity. But in what light would such a step appear to Europe, and particularly to the nations of the peninsula? Should we not be considered by all the world as betraying weakness at a moment when it was most important to display power, and as guilty of vacillation under circumstances that demanded constancy? Or would it be easy to explain to two nations, whose first impression would naturally be, that we were bringing them to market, and bartering them away to the invader—that whereas doubts had arisen in the minds of certain casuists and philanthropists, as to the lawfulness of the contest in which we were engaged with that just and merciful prince Napoleon,

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leon, Emperor, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. therefore we had resolved to make him a proposition, at which we knew he would spurn, in order to put him in the wrong, and to satisfy the consciences of the aforesaid philanthropic persons?—Has Mr. Roscoe quite forgotten that in the last proposition of peace which Buonaparte made to this country, he treated the Spaniards, who had taken up arms for their King and their freedom, as *insurgents*, as persons that might indeed become objects of his clemency, but whom he could never suffer to be parties in a negociation;—so that every individual of that nation is pronounced by him to be a rebel, whom the universal feeling of mankind does not stigmatize as a traitor? Has any thing happened since that should induce him to recede from this principle? or could we even offer to negociate without appearing to admit that it was a doctrine which we were willing at least to discuss—which we did not think it our duty instantly and peremptorily to reject—which was neither so cruel nor so insulting as to render it unworthy of serious consideration? But it may be said that the Spaniards have abandoned their own cause, and repaid our assistance so as completely to absolve us from the duty of making any farther sacrifices in their behalf. Be it so, for the sake of argument, though even then the question of policy would remain undecided; but still how would this reasoning apply to Portugal? The Portuguese have embarked with us in the same cause, without reserve, and without retreat; they have fought bravely with us in the same ranks; they have refused us no aid nor comfort which their limited means allowed; they have endured with patience the burning of their towns and the devastation of their country; they clung even in extremity to the hope of independence, and to their alliance with us; they placed their whole trust in the goodness of their cause, and in the valour and faith of England.

Just at the crisis of their fate, we are it seems to begin to negociate at Paris, and coldly to discuss whether they are to be blotted from the list of nations. We are to enter into an intercourse of 'notes verbales,' 'officieles,' and 'demi-officieles;' to balance them against a sugar island, and to settle what is the precise quantity of ginger and spice to be sacrificed in order to redeem them from the last of their old extortioners and taskmasters, Loison and Junot.

If it be said, that we should not enter into such considerations, we answer, that unless we mean to enter into them, it is evident from the state of affairs, and from the whole tenor of Buonaparte's language and conduct that it is useless to negociate at all. But it is only wasting words to combat the notion of an immediate proposition of peace from us. The country perceives, though Mr. Roscoe will not, that honour and interest alike demand that we should be true to our allies as long as they are true to us and to themselves—as long as they continue to distract the efforts, and resist the tyranny of

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of France; and that all thoughts of negociation must be laid aside till either some new light breaks upon the affairs of the peninsula, or the whole scene closes in utter darkness. We have perhaps already said too much upon this subject, and shall trouble our readers with but one observation more, which the mention of Spain suggests to us with respect to Mr. Roscoe's pamphlet.

Nineteen years have elapsed since what is called the war of the first coalition began—years, every one of which has been marked by some grievous calamity inflicted upon the civilized part of the world by the various forms of revolutionary government which have sprung up in France. The last three years in particular have been made memorable by an act of political wickedness exceeding in kind, and far exceeding in degree, even the worst of those by which it had been preceded. All that had been done before in Italy, in Holland, in Germany, and even in Swisserland, is thrown into the shade by the superior perfidy and atrocity of the circumstances which have attended the invasion of Spain. This too is a transaction still pending—one to which our thoughts are naturally led by every thing that is most calculated to excite attention, and one which is immediately, and, as we should have thought, inseparably connected with the subject on which Mr. Roscoe has thought fit to propose himself a guide to public opinion. And yet, though his zeal against the coalesced powers in 1791 (whom, according to the invariable practice of the school to which he belongs, he represents as having aimed at the subjugation of France,) still burns, as we collect from various passages, with a warmth unabated by time or intervening events; yet the fate of the people of Spain, on whom the French have actually inflicted all those evils which Austria and Russia are wrongfully accused of having meditated against France, does not draw one single sigh of regret, nor extort one expression of moral indignation from this philosopher and friend to the human race! There is a silence which is more expressive than words; and from this omission better than from any thing he could have said, we learn, first, how incomparably more precious the happiness of a nation is, when engaged in the sacred duty of insurrection, than when it is merely fighting for independence under its lawful king, and its ancient government. In the next place, how much more natural it is to sympathize with the enemies than with the allies of England. And lastly, how improper it is to touch at all upon those parts of the Emperor Napoleon's history, which, in the present state of the public feeling, it is not possible to mention with praise.

We owe some apology to our readers for having extended our remarks to such a length, upon a pamphlet as inconsiderable in point of merit as of size. But the subject is highly important, and the

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the name of the author may perhaps have given some currency to his opinions among those who are incapable of discerning either the mischievous nature of his principles, or the futility of the arguments by which those principles are defended.

He was fortunate in his first choice of a subject, and the public regarded with a liberal and becoming partiality the efforts of a man, who in a place and in a profession not supposed peculiarly favourable to such studies, had cultivated polite learning with tolerable success. When nothing is expected and something is produced, that something is sure to be rated above its value.—Surprize comes in to heighten admiration. In this way Mr. Roscoe has obtained for two moderately good books, a reputation which, although already on the wane, we suspect still to be higher than that which he will maintain in the eyes of posterity, when the circumstances to which he owes it shall have in some measure ceased to operate, and his works be left to their intrinsic merits. Those merits however we should not have felt ourselves particularly disposed to question, if he had not availed himself of whatever authority he may have derived from them, in order to propagate doctrines which we consider it to be among the foremost of our duties to resist.

We agree with Mr. Roscoe in thinking it probable that the war can no longer be carried on without greater sacrifices than it has hitherto required—such as will materially affect the comforts of every individual, and put to a very severe proof the good sense, loyalty, and fortitude of the people of England. It is evident that nothing short of a clear and thorough conviction of their absolute necessity, can induce them to endure these privations with patience, and prevent them from expressing their discontent in such a way as would completely overpower the wiser part of the community, and compel the government to purchase a short respite on terms which would in effect lay us at the feet of France: and we therefore regard all these attempts to shake that conviction, (which, we rejoice to say, is still pretty universal,) and all these whining declamations about the miseries of war, as so many blows aimed (unintentionally, to be sure, as far as Mr. Roscoe is concerned,) at the honour and independence of the country; and we feel grateful to the distinguished statesman to whom this lamentation is addressed, that party feeling has not prevented him from maintaining out of office those doctrines on which he acted when in power; and that he has not shrunk from his share of whatever unpopularity may hereafter attend the prosecution of a contest unavoidable in its commencement, and the continuance of which, as the experience of every succeeding year has proved, it assuredly does not depend upon any wish or effort of ours to determine.

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ART. VI. *The History of Ancient Wiltshire.* By Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. Folio. Part. I. London. Miller. 1810.

IT is one of the advantages belonging to the present day, that men of rank and fortune have many objects, unknown in ruder times, to wean them, not only from sensual gratification, but also from amusements, not perhaps actually criminal, yet gross and inelegant. Duties there always were in that rank, as in every other, to be fulfilled; but the demands of duty are never unremitted: and when the peer or opulent commoner had discharged all that he owed to his country in parliament, or on the bench, and all that was due to his family or dependents at home, many irksome voids would remain which could scarcely be filled up but by the pleasures of the chace and the table. But if in this condition of life, a man happened to be born with nerves too weak for such boisterous amusements, or if some portion of native taste, aided by education, happened to have given him a relish for intellectual enjoyment, the country presented an universal void, and neither conversation nor pursuits at all congenial to such a spirit were to be found but in the capital. Still, however, superior minds were condemned, for the most part, to their country houses, with no resources but what were contained in a dull domestic library: for before the reign of Charles I. no family perhaps visited London from inclination alone; the nobility were compelled (for all was then compulsion) to attend their duty in parliament, and the members of the lower house, who generally left their wives and children in the country, never considered themselves as domesticated any where but in their family houses. In the reign of his son, a philosophical spirit began to spread among the higher ranks, experiments were tried in London only, conversation took a more elegant and scientific turn, and a great literary society was formed; these causes attracted from their country seats the graver and more inquisitive, while the prodigious improvement, which in that dissipated reign took place in theatrical representations, held out an equally powerful lure for migration to the gay and the thoughtless; but these were serious evils.—The absorption of talent and morals and influence in the capital where they are lost, and the subtraction of all those qualities, to which the yeomanry and peasantry of England had immemorially been taught to look with respect, were deeply felt. The country gentleman out of parliament is no where in his proper post, but at his country house. Where the lord of a village is resident, subordination

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tion and good manners at least are maintained; in many instances even yet personal authority and example are exerted to better purposes. The produce of an estate is immediately returned to those by whose labour it has been collected, and, in one view or other, pernicious indeed must be the example diffused by that family, whose presence is not better than its absence. Let us hail then the astonishing improvement which has of late taken place in those intellectual stimuli, the love of nature, of rural elegance, and lastly, of antiquarian investigations, which are every day sending men of opulence back to their country seats, not only in their immediate operation, as so many sources of happiness and virtue to those on whom they operate, but in their consequences as benefits and blessings overflowing on the whole community. Compare, for example, the difference between the condition of a manor in the hands of a neglected and indigent tenantry, racked to support the luxury of a lord, who never condescends to visit them, the want of attachment and respect to an immediate superior, the miserable and exhausting husbandry which such management produces, with the situation of the same place and people, in the hands of a resident and skilful agriculturist; compare again the innocent, the useful, and beneficent conduct of a country gentleman so employed with the outrages and havoc committed by his Nimrod grandfather. In the one case we shall be struck with the advantage of country residence above that of London, in the other with the happy change of manners which has taken place in the country itself.

Another attraction, which the taste and information of the present age have communicated to the country, though less useful perhaps, at least less immediately useful, though more elegant; is the spirit of planting and ornamental gardening, together with the kindred pursuit of botany. A third, to which, in point of utility, we scruple not to assign an important, though far subordinate station, is the modern pursuit of topography. To this, when taken up by a man of rank and fortune, he will generally communicate much of that liberal spirit and feeling which belongs to his place and education; the terms gentlemanly knowledge, indeed, are become proverbially contemptuous:—but we think, very unjustly. To the opulent and dignified aspirant after topographical fame may properly be remitted much of the patient drudgery and profound investigation, which we have a right to require of the closet antiquary, or the scholar by profession; but in another quarter, our demands upon him increase in proportion; from such an antiquary we expect active, expensive, and personal surveys, together with liberal patronage of the fine arts, connected with his undertaking; the employment of accurate draftsmen, ornamental printers and first rate engravers. Of these fitnesses, and of

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of the expectations which would necessarily result from them, the author appears both in the present and a former instance, to have been peculiarly sensible. Traversing the dreary mountains of Wales, taste in Sir Richard Hoare operated as a stimulus equally powerful with the crusading spirit of Giraldus; with the same enthusiasm, though with less enterprize and exertion, he has now explored the innumerable barrows of his own interesting country. As the editor of Giraldus, he transformed a neglected and unadorned duodecimo into two of the most magnificent quartos which the press and the graver could supply. As the antiquary of ancient Wiltshire, he has now produced an earnest of his future favours, exhibiting specimens of typography perhaps unrivalled, and of engraving, less picturesque indeed, (for the nature of his subject would not admit of picturesque effect,) but more exquisitely finished than those which adorned the pages of his Giraldus. In the former work, however, he had only the second merit of an antiquary; that of having traced and illustrated the footsteps of another: in the present he is entitled to the first; he is a discoverer in the strictest sense. Yet it must not be dissembled that both these works, meritorious as they are on the whole, have considerable faults. With the defects of the Giraldus we have at present no concern. Those of the ancient Wiltshire are principally in the threshold of the work; and we trust it will not be thought invidious, if, for that reason, we assign to them the first place in our animadversions. Vestibulum ante ipsum, appears the well engraved and characteristic face of Mr. William Cunnington, the author's humble friend and co-adjutor, together with the following extraordinary dedication in capitals.

'To Mr. William Cunnington, F. A. S.

'Men illustrious for their noble birth, conspicuous character, or distinguished literary abilities, have, in general, engrossed the homage of dedications; but on the present occasion I shall deviate from this long established custom, and gratify my private feelings by paying a tribute that is due to justice and friendship.

'To you, therefore, Sir, who first projected the plan of this history, and by your interesting collections and important discoveries, encouraged me to pursue it, this work is most gratefully and appropriately dedicated.'

This worthy man, we believe, is now past the power of feeling either pain or pleasure upon earth, though he lived to peruse this singular address.—What *he* thought on this occasion, we pretend not to conjecture; suffice it to say, that unless his feelings were of a different texture from our own, he was not superlatively delighted. Most readers will remember the effect which Pope's ill-judged epithet, 'low-born,' produced on the mind of Mr. Allen; but this

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instance is even more unhappy, in as much as the inverted and indelicate compliment is more varied and expanded.—From the Baronet's former address, prefixed to his Giraldus, we were prepared to expect something uncommon of the same species here, and something uncommon we have found. In an analysis of the sentiment called delicacy, which is found in *some* hearts, it may fairly bear a question, whether the officious and immoderate flattery of an inferior, or the gracious and coarsely avowed condescension of a patron, be the more intolerable.

The work commences with an introduction of thirty pages, to which is prefixed, in capitals, of which, either for the purpose of ornament or emphasis, the worthy baronet is extremely fond, this oracular motto, 'We speak from facts not theory.'—Nothing surely could be more unfortunate than the choice, or at least the collocation of these words; for it is in the introduction alone, that the author, unhappily for himself, indulges in that very spirit of theory, which is here disclaimed, and for which, assuredly, he is not eminently gifted, either by nature, or the train of his studies. In the body of the work he has every where proved himself an accurate observer, and distinct reporter of facts. From this unlucky abandonment of his own principle, he has rendered the introduction extremely weak and assailable. It is not that Sir Richard Hoare has in this chapter collected what had been again and again assembled before, namely, all the scattered notices to be found in antiquity with respect to the first population of Britain, the names and situation of its tribes, and the manner of its aboriginal inhabitants; as this is in some sort a national work, such a repetition was more than tolerable, it was becoming, and in its proper place; but 'tecum habita et noris quam sit tibi curta supellex,' would have been a seasonable caution to the author. He should here have confined himself to facts recorded by others; as he has wisely confined himself in the body of the work to facts of his own observation. He should have remembered the convincing force of reason, or bewitching wildness of imagination, with which these few data have been expanded by Whitaker, Stukeley, and Borlase. It is not for a man of ordinary abilities to touch the confines of *their* Druid temple:—'within that circle none can move but they.'

Whether these strictures are harsh or unfounded the reader will be enabled to judge for himself, from the following specification:

'My present study is to consider Britain in its earliest and most savage state: and perhaps a more *just*, spirited, and *appropriate account* could not have been given of our primitive Britons, than the following one given of the Fenni, by the masterly hand of the historian Tacitus, 'Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas, non arma, non equi, non penates, victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus, sola in sagittis

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sagittis spes quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, &c. Such probably was the way of life, and such the habits of those Britons, who, in ancient times, resided upon our Wiltshire Downs, and in treating of their towns and tumuli, I shall have an opportunity of marking the strong resemblance between them and the Fenni. The numerous and diversified mausolea of their dead are every where apparent on the high grounds throughout England, but the *habitations of the living* have hitherto escaped unnoticed, and their discovery and investigation (i. e. the discovery and investigation of them) have fortunately been reserved for us.'

Thus, with an inattention and inconsistency perfectly unparalleled, does our author adopt for the prototype of his Wiltshire Belgæ, a tribe, who by the very terms of the quotation, are proved to have had no settled habitation whatever; and in the same page triumphs in the reflection, that he has first discovered their houses, nay, their towns. But this is not all:—The miserable tribe, thus admirably delineated by the hand of Tacitus, had neither horses nor arms; no other clothing than skins: they grazed like cattle, they were wholly unacquainted with metals and with agriculture.—Whereas, in the course of his work, our author has proved beyond a doubt, that the Belgic people, whose remains he has been occupied in investigating, and which remains were clearly distinguished from those of the Romans by the absence of the wheel in the construction of their pottery, *had* horses, arms of brass, and woollen cloth; that they had assembled in considerable towns, that the vestiges of their agriculture, though not extensive, are incontestable, and finally, that some of their female ornaments were such as a modern fine lady would scarcely disdain to wear. Yet of the manners and habits of a people so far advanced in the arts and elegances of life, does he discover an exact original in the brutal and barbarous Fenni! To be able to discriminate the evanescent and approximating shades of civilization, requires the eye of a philosopher; but to bring together and to identify two conditions, almost from the extremities of human existence, implies an incapacity for such exercises of the understanding, to which we can scarcely assign a name. It is as if a physiognomist were to confound the characteristic features of a Chinese and an European, of a New Zealander and an Hindoo.

From this statement, however, combined with the appearances of ancient interments, disclosed by Sir Richard Hoare, arises a question of some curiosity, which we are not sorry to see that he has forborne to discuss; namely, whether the aborigines of our island were *ever* in a state of barbarism approaching to that

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of the Fenni? First it is certain, that by the characteristic perseverance of savages, canoes sufficient for their transportation, in calm weather, from the nearest point of the continent to Britain, might have been scooped by adzes of stone. It is probable also, that they who are not yet advanced so far in arts and knowledge as to construct houses for the living, would not have thought even of the rudest memorials for the dead. It is possible therefore, that such a race may have existed, of whom no vestige remains, or was even left to their immediate descendants: on the whole, however, we incline to the contrary opinion. Improvements in the arts of life are always gradual; and where the opportunities of observing the remains of an ancient people are at once so numerous, and of so decisive a nature as those which have occurred to our author, had any such gradation existed, appearances must have kept pace with it. The rude and shapeless tumulus, for example, might have marked the first step from absolute barbarism, and contained, without a cist or urn, the remains of the first descendant from a primæval savage, accompanied by his arrow heads of flint, which had just superseded those of sharpened bone. Numerous gradations, in short, together with appearances in their interments corresponding to each, might be imagined: but the discoveries of Sir Richard Hoare, in the barrows of his Belgæ, evince, so far as we can perceive, not strictly speaking the workmanship of the same age, but certainly the same general state of civilization, the same period of human society. We are led to conclude, therefore, from an attentive consideration of the discoveries, for which we are indebted to our author, that instead of having migrated to Britain in a state resembling that of the Fenni, the aborigines of our island brought with them from the continent of Gaul, no inconsiderable portion of the arts and elegancies of life. This opinion is, in some degree, confirmed by the well known fact, that before they had been farther civilized by the Romans, the inhabitants of the southern coast of Britain were accounted a more polished people than their opposite neighbours on the continent.

Wiltshire, which in the British era appears to have been the seat of a very numerous, as well as civilized tribe, happily for the antiquary, has in a great degree been preserved from the *desolating* footsteps of cultivation. It is a country of down and sheep-walk, every where retaining upon its surface the impressions made upon it by the first inhabitants. Another circumstance, which has contributed to preserve so many of their works entire to the present day, is, that the materials with which they were constructed, besides being generally useless for every other purpose, are peculiarly hard and durable.

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'To the general eye of observation,' says our author, 'our Wiltshire Downs appear as uninteresting as the moors of Yorkshire, or the fens in Lincolnshire'; (surely very unlike the second, and more resembling the spacious and varied sheep-walks of Northumberland than the first;) 'bleak, desolate, and shelterless, and affording only a scanty subsistence to the numerous flocks that are pastured upon them; yet on these apparently barren and uninteresting spots we find the traces of an extensive British and Roman population, and the modern agriculturist confesses the superior excellence of those districts heretofore inhabited, and which are still decidedly marked by a more verdant and fertile soil.'

This is not accurately expressed. We presume the author to mean, that in the midst of these barren wastes, there are insulated spots of fertility, Oases in the desert, the specific sites of British towns and villages, marked by a surface of peculiar verdure. As the passage stands at present, barrenness and fertility are evidently predicated of the same places. But to proceed,—'here our attention is continually arrested, by the works of the ancient Britons—strong fortresses, circles, barrows, and other inequalities in the ground, which are evidently *contrary to nature*,' meaning, as we suppose, artificial.

Such was the interior of a country which struck the eye of this inquisitive and opulent inhabitant, as affording abundant matter for curious research. In the prosecution of his antiquarian adventures, our knight (for omne majus continet in se minus) found a squire of congenial spirit in Mr. William Cunnington; whom he has honoured in the way already adverted to.

In every walk of investigation man acquires a penetrating eye, and rules of discovery familiar only to the initiated. The sportsman knows by certain indications where to expect game; the miner metals; the explorer of fossil wood the object of his pursuit; and the scientific drainer latent and unknown springs. Our experienced searchers had also their 'indicia;' (we use the author's favourite word.) 'All maiden downs, (i.e. untouched by the plough,) bear a most even and smooth surface, and whenever we perceive the appearance of that surface altered by excavations and other irregularities, we may look with a prospect of success for the habitations of the Britons, and especially if the herbage is of a more verdant hue, and the soil thrown up by the moles of a blacker tint.' On such spots our antiquaries fell to work, and never without success. 'Animal bones, (those of quadrupeds,) pottery, bricks, tiles, and *coins of the lower* empire,' every where turned up. The last appearance might be supposed to indicate a Roman settlement; but in the absence of camps, inscriptions, &c. they may fairly be allowed

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as evidence of the fact in proof. It appears, moreover, that at this period the Britons had no currency of their own.

To facilitate his surveys, Sir Richard has laid out nine itinera, to each of which he assigns such a tract of adjacent country as he finds convenient. Three of these are completed in the present volume, and we sincerely wish the worthy and indefatigable author health and spirits to finish what remains. It is a striking proof either of his own influence throughout a space so extensive, or of the neglected state of the country, that he has every where been allowed to prosecute his researches with as little interruption as if he had been digging on his own estate. No antiquary had ever the same means or opportunities before Sir Richard Hoare; and no one ever availed himself more entirely of the advantages which he possessed. In his knowledge of barrows he certainly stands unrivalled. He has reduced the subject to system, and has nearly invented a technical language in which to describe it. He has the long barrow, resembling the inverted hull of a ship; the bell barrow, with a margin expanding like the outer circumference of a bell; the bowl barrow; the druid barrow, a term borrowed from Stukeley, but proved by the author to have been generally destined to female interments; the pond barrow; the twin barrow; the cone; and lastly, the broad barrow; all elaborate in their forms, and all, excepting the first, appearing to have been raised upon an outline struck with geometrical exactness from a centre. With a perseverance and expense unheard of before, great numbers of these have already been explored; and the arms, instruments, bowls, urns, &c. (for urn burial appears among the Britons to have run parallel and been contemporary with the interment of entire bodies) have enriched the museum of Sir Richard Hoare, and by means of many exquisite engravings, the present volume, with a collection of British sepulchral antiquities, altogether unrivalled.

It has been supposed by antiquaries, that mallets, battle axes, chissels, and other instruments of stone, belong to an earlier and ruder period than those of brass or copper; but this is mere hypothesis, and proceeds upon the improbability that those who understood the use of metals would continue to make use of tools so rude and inefficient as the other. The contrary is now demonstrated by the frequent occurrence of stone and metal instruments in the same barrow; and the fact may be accounted for, by recollecting first, that copper is too soft for many purposes of skill and labour; and secondly, that Cæsar describes it as extremely scarce in Britain at the period of his invasion. And here we cannot forbear to express a wish

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a wish that Sir Richard Hoare would subject some of his metallic celts or spearheads to an assay. Their appearances and *complexion* are probably very different; for we have seen some of pure copper, others resembling brass, and a third sort, which from their paleness, seemed to have been alloyed with tin. The numbers too and the magnificence of these barrows which, excepting a few instances, appear to have covered the remains of persons who had died in peace, and were often family deposits, prove a very considerable population in the tract in question.—Society had always its gradations, and, in the British period, there must have existed, in proportion to the mass of the people, as few who could afford such elaborate memorials, such artificial mountains piled upon their bones, as in the fourteenth century could defray the cost of a recumbent statue, or in the present, a bust by Nollekins; yet there are no diminutive tumuli: those who could not do much for their departed friends would, it seems, do nothing. How many thousands therefore of the Belgæ must lie unmarked! Again; compared with the rest of the island, every thing in these remains proves not only the comparative numbers, but the civilization and opulence of the British Belgæ. In the wastes of the North of England, and, with our author's leave, in Wales also, such memorials are either very rare, or of later date, and their contents for the most part θησαυρος ανθρακων.

A singular practice seems also to have prevailed in the Britons of Wiltshire, namely, that of placing their dead bodies in short cists excavated out of the chalk, with their knees drawn up and their legs nearly in a perpendicular posture. The practice, from its frequency, was plainly not accidental in its origin; but had its rise probably in some unknown superstition. Sir Richard's illustration of it will prove once more how perilous it is for some persons to plunge into the depths of *theory*. 'This I conceive to be the most ancient form of burial, and the same alluded to in the Holy Scriptures. And Jacob *gathered* up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was *gathered* unto his people.' Now, to say nothing of our author's utter ignorance of the meaning of the phrase, 'gathered unto his people,' what connexion, we would ask, is there between the attitude of a dying man in his bed and the position of his corpse in the grave? But thus Tenderden steeple is the cause of Goodwin Sands. For some reason now inexplicable, the long barrows were uniformly uninteresting, as they were found to contain little more than skeletons.

We take leave of the worthy Baronet for the present, with gratitude for the pleasure which his magnificent work has afforded us, and with earnest and assured expectation of more. Will he con-

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descend to accept a friendly hint at parting? He is now fast approaching to the holy ground of Stonehenge, with pleasure no doubt; but with pleasure, we trust, not unchecked by awe. In the midst of this animating scene, let him not, we entreat him, mistake the enthusiasm of taste for the inspiration of genius. On that subject he may be assured, that the day of genius, and of erudition also is past; yet the Phœnician and the Briton, the Roman and the Dane, by their several advocates, by Sammes, and by Camden, by Jones, and by Stukeley, will severally claim his patronage, and ask his judgment; but let him remember his own motto, and be obdurate. Let him dig, delineate, describe, engrave, (hæ tibi erunt artes,) but beware of *theory*, 'for that way madness lies.' Above all, when he approaches the mysterious precinct of Abury, let him see, or dream he sees, the awful form of Chyndonax* undulating through all its windings, and let him hear and obey the warning voice of the Archdruid—ἰκας ἰκας ὁς ις αλήρος.

Art. VII. *Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled 'The Question, &c.'* By the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P. Author of the History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire. London. Cadell; Stockdale; Richardson. 1810.

WE concluded our last number with an expression of regret that we were prevented, at that time, from accompanying Sir John on his second sally: we now proceed to solicit the benevolent attention of our readers to the Right Honourable Baronet's new exploits against the Bullion Committee.

He who undertakes to compose two successive treatises on the same subject, and under the same circumstances, has two main objects to keep in view: the one, to preserve such a similarity as will make him tolerably consistent with himself; the other, to introduce so much variety as will prevent absolute sameness. Of Sir John's power of differing from himself he had already exhibited such striking specimens, that he might very reasonably consider his reputation on that point as established: and, though he has not altogether omitted on the present occasion, to furnish new proofs of this happy versatility, it must be owned that he appears to have directed his chief attention to the other object; and to have studiously given to this second pamphlet a strong family likeness to the first; a resemblance '*qualem decet esse sororum*;' partly indeed produced by a

* A kind of nom de guerre assumed by Stukeley, when verging to dotage.

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pretty free transcription from the elder to the younger of these kindred dissertations.

Upon dissection, the frame or skeleton will be found to be nearly the same in both; though there is a trifling change in the nomenclature of the parts, and a few of the members are slightly dislocated. It may be proper to notice very shortly some of these variations.

This pamphlet is distinguished by *two* title pages; in the first of which Sir John's rank and qualifications are omitted, for the purpose of introducing a motto from Sir James Steuart's 'Political Economy;' in the second, the motto is displaced in its turn, to make room for the titles of Sir John, as Right Honourable and M. P. with the farther designation (to prevent counterfeits) of 'author of the History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire.' This mode of multiplying, and, at the same time, varying the baptismal registers of his literary offspring is, we believe, peculiar to Sir John.

After this double annunciation, we have, as usual, an 'address to the reader;' which is followed by an 'advertisement;' which is followed by 'preliminary observations;' which are followed by 'remarks on Mr. Huskisson's pamphlet;' which are followed by 'political maxims;' which are followed by the 'conclusion;' which is followed by a 'postscript.'

We need not enlarge on the skill which Sir John has displayed in this instance, in the manner of arraying his forces; it being evident that the disposition by which the 'preliminary observations' are made to occupy and strengthen the centre of his line, is a most masterly manœuvre; and that the 'conclusion,' naturally the weakest and most assailable part, is admirably protected by the 'postscript;' whilst the more advanced station which his postscripts have heretofore been accustomed to fill, is guarded by a strong veteran detachment from the former pamphlet, in the ranks of which we find interspersed only a very few sentences which the most scrutinizing eye is capable of distinguishing as new recruits.

Foremost among the arguments which Sir John has enlisted in his service since the date of his other publication, are two facts, (as he by courtesy calls them,) which he announces in the first sentence of his 'address to the reader;' the one 'a *fall* in the price of gold,' confirmed by his assurance that it 'will be still lower;' the other a 'state of exchange with Ireland,' which affords, Sir John says, a 'decisive proof that abundance of currency has *nothing to do* with the rate of exchange.' By the fortunate discovery of these two facts, he conceives that he shall effectually '*put an end to any prolonged* discussion;'—an expectation which would no doubt have been

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been realized, had it not most perversely happened that gold, which when the Committee reported was 'about 16½ per cent. above the mint price,' has *risen*, (instead of falling,) to about 25 per cent.: and were it not clearly shewn, by the terms of Sir John's own statement, 1st, that the exchange with Ireland was 18 per cent. *against* that country in the year 1804, when the circulation of bank paper in Ireland, as compared with that of England, was in the proportion of 3 to 16; Ireland then having a circulation of 3,000,000, and England of about 16,000,000: 2dly, that the exchange rose to par, upon a *reduction* of Irish paper, to 2,400,000*l*. English paper remaining nearly the same in amount as before; and 3dly, that the exchange continues at par, notwithstanding the re-augmentation of Irish paper from 2,400,000*l*. to 3,100,000*l*. there having been a contemporaneous augmentation of paper in England, from sixteen to about twenty-two millions. If Sir John's financial and political occupations should permit him ever to waste a moment upon the theory of weights and measures—if his attachment to the mo[illegible]anciful 'balances' of 'trade and of payments' has not led him to look with contempt upon ordinary scales and steel-yards, he may satisfy himself by no very laborious investigation, that when an equilibrium has been destroyed by too great a weight on one side, it may be restored either by subtraction of the excess of that weight from one scale, or by the addition of a correspondent weight to the other; and that when the equilibrium between the two scales has been by either of these processes established, it is not necessarily deranged again by equivalent additions to both.

Having thus, in the address to the reader, disposed of the whole of the subject in two sentences, and 'put an end to any prolonged discussion,' by shewing that there is in fact nothing to discuss, our author thinks the way is sufficiently cleared for his 'advertisement,' which he accordingly commences at p. 15, with a lamentation 'that any controversy regarding the circulation of the country should arise at a moment when we have so many other important questions to distract our attention,' and forthwith plunges into the very thickest of that controversy of which he thus laments the existence, and of which a few pages before he had announced the termination.

This epic arrangement of our author, by which he begins in the middle of his subject, cruelly puzzles and perplexes the critic, who 'toils after him in vain.' If Sir John's gestation had been left to nature indeed, it appears that he would have been first delivered of that part of his work which now begins at page 55; for it is there that he first gratifies us with the following cheering assurance.

'I shall proceed to the *principal object* I had in view in publishing this work, namely, to state those POLITICAL MAXIMS, which explain the

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the *ideas which have occurred to me* upon the subjects of coin and paper currency, the meaning of which, I hope, that any *author*, of even common penetration, will find *little difficulty in comprehending*.

'It may be proper to add, to prevent any idea *being* entertained, that these observations are published at the instigation of any party in the country, that they have not been communicated to a single member of either house of parliament; and that the individual who writes them, is alone either *implicated in*, or responsible for their contents.'

Then follow the 'political maxims,' in which Sir John has thus providently claimed his right of literary property; a right which we shall most cheerfully contribute to establish, by thus publicly declaring, that the said MAXIMS explanatory of *the ideas which have occurred* to Sir John are, for the most part, no other than the 'AXIOMS' promulgated in his former pamphlet, and already by us communicated to our readers. We further declare that we think them innocent of any undue extent of meaning, such as an *author* (or even reader of *penetration* would 'find difficulty in comprehending.' We are also ready in the most unequivocal manner to avow our conviction that, among the political parties which at present divide and distract the country, there is not one which we believe capable of having 'instigated' such 'observations;' nor any member of either House of Parliament whom we can consider as 'responsible' for them, except the writing 'individual,' who 'is alone implicated in their contents.'

The novelty for which these maxims, or axioms, as here presented to the reader, are principally remarkable, is the specification of the six crying evils attendant on coin; which is predicated to be 1° too bulky;—2° unattainable, because too highly valued abroad;—3° subject to wear;—4° obnoxious to clipping and sweating;—5° apt to be hoarded;—and 6° liable to be stolen.

Sir John's researches into antiquity, and his acquaintance with the manners of more simple and unadulterated stages of society, have furnished him with a list of articles heretofore employed as money, which are free from this combination of inconveniences; and the substitution of which he unquestionably would have recommended in the place of gold and silver, had we not been already more unexceptionably provided.

'The ancient Britons,' says he, 'used *iron rings* or *plates* as money. The Spartans *preferred*' (to this British custom, '*iron bars quenched in vinegar* that they might not serve for any other purpose. Seneca observes that *anciently*' (that is before the time of the Britons and Spartans) 'there' (q. where?) 'was stamped money of *leather*. The Hollanders in 1574 *coined* great quantities of *pasteboard*. *Cowries*, a *kind* of shell, are made use of as money on the coast of Africa and in the East Indies. All these sorts of money are of little or no intrinsic value.' p. 43, 44.

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Any one of these *media*, it must be confessed, would be clearly preferable to those metals inaccurately called 'precious,' which Sir John has at length happily succeeded in disqualifying. 'Iron,' it is true, might be *bulky;* and 'pasteboard,' as well as leather, subject to *wear;* 'cowries' might be *hoarded* in the cabinets of conchologists—and the profligacy of the times is such that there is no absolute assurance against *theft*. But none of these articles are liable to the second of Sir John's objections, that of being too highly valued abroad: and even if the practice of 'coining pasteboard,' which is now among the *artes deperditæ*, could be happily restored, and that of 'stamping leather' transferred from the excise to the mint, there are probably few persons who would set about *clipping* either of those materials; and still fewer, we imagine, who, except for the sake of exercise, and as a substitute for Sir John's dumb-bells, would take the trouble of '*sweating* a *vinegar bar.*' Public convenience therefore need not have been sacrificed, nor public security hazarded by the use of gold and silver, even if no other invention than those which Sir John has here recorded had been within our reach.

But paper, as Sir John justly observes, unites to all the advantages belonging to each of these ruder materials, two which are peculiar to itself—'the one of the utmost concern to the good faith and security of private life; the other of the highest national and political importance.'

'When an individual is plundered of coin,' (says Sir John in a note,) 'there are *no* means of distinguishing *it* from the other specie in circulation.'—'But notes,' proceeds Sir John, 'may be marked—or the payment stopped—and any loss thereby prevented.'—p. 60.

It is true that this objection applies not to gold and silver exclusively, but to almost any of the ancient substitutes—excepting perhaps the Lacedemonian *iron bar*—of which it may be surmised that if each man was at liberty to 'quench' for himself, he might possibly be able to detect his own bar in circulation, by recognizing the flavour of his home-made vinegar. This, however, is a question for antiquaries and chymists.

But of far greater importance is the national advantage, and national security, which, unconsciously to ourselves, we are now enjoying, and are likely to enjoy, from the gradual expatriation of our coin. 'There are various sorts of blindness,' (says Ocellus Lucanus,) among nations as among individuals. The first, and most pardonable, as well as that about which there is the least dispute,' (he observes,) 'is not to see. But the most perverse and incurable,' (continues he,) is to see in a false light; and to attribute visible effects to other causes than those which in fact have produced them.'

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Under this latter sort of obscuration this country has long laboured. We are all sensible indeed that we have not yet been actually invaded. The preparations of our inveterate foe for this unhallowed purpose have manifestly been relaxed. But this relaxation and apparent abandonment of his purpose have by the bulk of the community we fear been most unthinkingly attributed either to the more advanced state of our preparations to repel the enemy, or to the occupation of his arms in other quarters of the world.—It remained for Sir John to dissipate this dangerous illusion by revealing the important principle which governs all questions of invasion. The attraction of the invading power is, according to Sir John, in the direct ratio of 'the abundance of coin or bullion' in the country proposed to be invaded.

'In regard to nations,' says he, '*abundance* of coin or bullion becomes the immediate object of an invading enemy.'

The foundation of our security therefore against this last of evils was, in fact, laid in the Restriction Bill, at the re-commencement of the war; and one should almost believe that the principle had not been wholly unsuspected by those who then made the duration of that measure commensurate with the continuance of a state of hostility. Be that as it may, it is now clear to what our growing security in this respect is to be attributed: and if invasion should yet unfortunately take place, those who maintain and promulgate with Mr. Huskisson that large quantities of guineas are hoarded; and those more pernicious persons who justify this assertion by their practice, will be alone responsible for the calamities which they will have brought, upon themselves, and upon their country. Happily however as well as justly the greater part of the calamities of a successful invasion would fall upon those obnoxious individuals; while to the country, in general, they would be alleviated, in proportion as paper has become the sole medium of circulation. 'For,' says Sir John, 'the paper currency *peculiar* to a country, if *he* (the enemy) *succeeds in his views of conquest, is of no use to him*; whilst it circulates among those who place confidence in the government, under whose sanction it had been issued.'—p. 60. note.

The species of currency 'peculiar to this country,' is a paper not exchangeable for cash. This is our true palladium. The most triumphant and relentless conqueror could not possibly apply such paper to any use which, in the estimation of Sir John at least, would materially diminish its value; nor, could he check its circulation among those who should continue 'to place confidence in the government,' which he might have thought fit to overturn.

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It would be unjust to our ingenious author, and unfair to the argument, to quit this topic of the comparative merits of the precious metals and paper currency, without bringing into view one other consideration of a higher and more solemn nature, with which it is enforced in a subsequent part of the pamphlet.

As a financier, as a politician, as a lover of his country, enough has been said by Sir John to discredit gold and silver. It remained to consider them as a philosopher and philanthropist. *Effodiuntur opes*, (says the learned Syntaxis.) Refining on this general reflection, Sir John calls our attention in pp. 64, 65, to the manifest injustice and cruelty incident to the process of extracting the ore of the precious metals 'from the bowels of the earth.' We must observe, however, that with a generosity, or even prodigality of forbearance, which sufficiently evinces his confidence in the genuine strength of his argument, he omits to fortify it, as he might have done, by contrasting the subterraneous situation of the miner with the wholesome occupation of the peaceful and innocent ragman, whose industry is employed in collecting in open day the raw material of our present currency.

The preference of paper over coin is thus sufficiently established by Sir John's single authority. Suddenly, however, he appears to grow weary of the undivided responsibility which he had so jealously claimed to himself in his 'political maxims,' and informs us that he has compared his opinions with those of Sir James Steuart, and having premised that '*every word* Sir James Steuart says respecting coin and currency merits the attention of *those* who wish to be *master* of those intricate subjects,' he proceeds to subjoin, for the consideration of the reader, those passages which seemed to him the most essential.

Thus is readily obtained a sufficient mass of excellent matter. But as it is our author's peculiar boast that he has, on every occasion, extremely compressed his materials; which otherwise, from their expansive nature, might have swollen into 'a pamphlet as long as Mr. Huskisson's; as to transcribe 'every word' of Sir James Steuart's fourth book, however valuable, would have been to incur the possible charge of prolixity: and further as that book contains, together with much able reasoning *in favour* of paper currency, a number of equally cogent arguments illustrating *the dangers* to which it may lead, it is evident that the indiscriminate adoption of the whole, would neither have been consistent with the peculiar brevity, nor favourable to the peculiar system of our author. Whereas, by magnanimously leaving, for the convenience of such of his adversaries as may want them, all those of Sir James's opinions which militate against his purpose, and by copying and adorning

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adorning with additional remarks those which seemed 'the most essential to it,' he effects the necessary abridgment, and at the same time inoculates his venerable colleague with his own doctrines. The reader, henceforth, under the guidance of the twin baronets, is scarcely aware whether it is Sir John or Sir James who is directing him through the mazes of political economy; till having listened to their joint exhortations through six long divisions of the postscript, he is dismissed at the conclusion of it by Sir John with the following affecting benediction:—'These doctrines are *invaluable*, and are completely justified by the recent experience of this country. Those who *cannot feel their importance* do not merit the name of statesmen.' p. 74.

The peculiar fitness of Sir John to decide on all matters of finance; the anxiety of the Mercantile Body to engage him as their principal and favourite champion; the zeal with which he undertook their cause; the condescension displayed by him in proposing to the Bullion Committee on the 19th of April a fit model for the Report then under their consideration; such are the topics which claim the attention of the reader, when he is recalled, by the natural order of the work, from the conclusion to the 'Preliminary Observations.' We refer to the work itself, for a copy of that letter to the Chairman of the Bullion Committee, in which Sir John communicated his invaluable Axioms or Maxims, explaining, at the same time, in terms of the most graceful urbanity, the conduct by which the Committee might ensure to themselves his entire approbation. The unhappy sequel is thus related:

'No NOTICE WAS TAKEN of this communication. Whoever will give themselves the trouble of reading it, will probably admit, that if any mischief shall arise from the Report of the Bullion Committee, they *were fairly warned*, on the 19th of April last, of the dangerous consequences which would result from the measures they intended to propose.

'The Report, though ordered to be printed on the 8th of June, did not reach me, in Edinburgh, till about the 16th of August. I happened then to be on the eve of setting out for London, and *resolved to take the Report with me as a companion during the journey*. It is impossible to express the astonishment and regret which I felt on the perusal of that performance.

'On my arrival in London, I found *the whole mercantile world* in the utmost distress, which was greatly aggravated by the idea, that the Report would be acted upon as soon as Parliament reassembled. Not a person seemed resolved, either to maintain the advantages, or to *vindicate* the *solidity* of the *established currency* of the country. I could not therefore resist the inclination *which I felt, to come forward* at such a crisis; being apprehensive that the Bank Directors might be deterred from acting with sufficient energy in checking the misfortunes of the commercial

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commercial world at that time, unless they were convinced, that the doctrines of the Committee were not so universally admitted as they had been led to imagine, and consequently might not be ultimately adopted. *I was thence led to publish* some observations on the Report of the Committee, which have been for some time before the Public.' (pp. 34, 35.)

From this modest narrative it incontestably appears that to Sir John alone will our posterity be indebted for the preservation (if fortunately it shall be preserved) of an *unadulterated* paper money. He first discovered the incurable unwieldiness, and other defects of coin; he foresaw, as a consequence of the Bullion Committee, the invasion of the Gauls, and the danger of the Capitol; he, like the winged guardian of that Capitol, gave warning of the danger on the 19th of April. The Committee, taking advantage of his absence, published their report: but he returned; he comforted the whole mercantile world; and their tears were changed to smiles. He encouraged the Bank Directors, and he printed his first pamphlet.

'Having, after this, been led to peruse' Mr. Huskisson's publication, he thought himself bound in duty to write some remarks on that performance. But Mr. Huskisson's misconceptions were so numerous, that Sir John's patience appears to have abandoned him at the 19th page; and he has found himself compelled to leave us a mere fragment of that critical essay, which he had projected for our instruction. Of that fragment, however, it is our duty to lay before our readers a short analysis.

Mr. Huskisson had stated, that the work which he submitted to the public, had been originally prepared for 'an indulgent and limited circle of friends;' a statement which Sir John does not controvert: 'But (says he, p. 40.) I should be glad to know, *if* the communication of these opinions *was restricted* to particular members of the Committee, *why* it was not *general?*' Nothing can be more adroit than Sir John's device of thus tying down his adversary to the performance of two incompatible conditions. Neither is this defect the most unsatisfactory part of Mr. Huskisson's work. 'Instead of resting on the improved experience of modern times, he has suffered his judgment to be warped by *a* Locke and other authors of former periods.' But such authority 'in questions of political economy, can no longer be recognized.' The nature of all demonstration must depend on 'the circumstances of the times,' (p. 38.) in which the reasoner happens to live. What may *formerly* have been true 'can *never* be applicable to *such an era* as that in which we live.' (ibid.) Mr. Locke's doctrines, in political economy, are, like 'the ancient dogmas of *a* Columella,' in practical agriculture, perfectly obsolete; and are alike superseded in modern times

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times by an improved philosophy in both sciences, the teacher of which Sir John's modesty forbids him distinctly to name.

What might be Mr. Huskisson's answers to others of Sir John's charges against him, we do not venture to conjecture; but to the masterly, though chastened ridicule, with which he is thus assailed for having 'suffered himself to be misled by ancient authors,' we imagine that he would reply by declaring his consent to appeal to no more than two, and those very modern authors, whose works, though extremely voluminous, and perhaps unnecessarily multiplied in their editions, contain in each copy but one single sentence; upon the construction of which alone the whole question between him and Sir John Sinclair turns. These authors are the late Mr. Abraham Newland, and the present Mr. Henry Hase. And the controverted construction arises on the meaning of the words 'I PROMISE TO PAY.'

This however forms but a small part of the difficulties which Mr. Huskisson has to encounter in the contest. Sir John having once more put aside all authorities living or dead, except his own, proceeds to disport himself in the field which he has thus cleared; and to perplex his discomfited antagonist with a rapid succession of contradictory aphorisms.

'The coin of a country,' (says he) '*may* be compared to its roads; FOR *neither* the roads nor the currency of a country *produce any thing*.'

While Mr. Huskisson is entangled in the maze of this unexpected similitude, he comes upon him with the following proposition:

'From fifty to sixty millions carrying on our agriculture, our commerce, and our manufactures, and *producing* a revenue (and consequently a national force) *altogether incredible, are created by paper money*.'

Taking advantage of the state of stupor into which he naturally supposes his victim to be thrown by blows coming in such opposite directions, our merciless author now pours upon him 'the fall of stocks'—'the increase of bankruptcies'—'the shock of mercantile confidence'—'*all* of which,' he declares, 'may *partly* be owing to *other circumstances;* but a considerable share of the mischief *ought certainly* to be attributed to the Report of the Bullion Committee.'—p. 54.

Turning, however, from this gloomy side of the picture, and leaving Mr. Huskisson to the undisturbed solution of the difficulties propounded to him, we proceed with pleasure to collect the remaining fragments of the argument scattered through the various divisions of Sir John's pamphlet, which prove all our prosperity to have flowed *exclusively* from the substitution of paper for coin.

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Well aware that the impression made by an argument, like that produced by any other projectile, is proportionate to the frequency of its impulse; Sir John very wisely borrows, from pages 12 and 13 of his former pamphlet, the important financial document, by which it appears (as we stated in our last Number) that the taxes paid by this country in 1809 exceeded, by about 39 millions, the amount of our revenue in 1796. During the period which has since elapsed, Sir John has vainly attempted to discover any change in our geographical position; any unusual variation of the compass, any electrical phenomena, or anomalies in the state of our atmosphere; any changes in our physical, or moral, or political constitution, which can have 'enabled us to go on,' and even to thrive under an accumulation of difficulties, excepting only the substitution of paper for coin.

'If the circulating medium was reduced to [what was] its amount in 1796, (which would necessarily result from the suggestions of the Bullion Committee,) Sir John much questions whether, instead of raising our present augmented revenue, and maintaining our present extended establishments, we should be able to pay even the nineteen millions which were raised in the year 1796.'—p. 19.

'The ability to pay taxes,' says he, '*entirely* depends on the abundance of the circulating medium.'—p. 42.

'Paper currency,' he affirms, 'has no intrinsic value. The nation *has it for nothing;* and this forms its principal advantage.'—p. 44.

Let us then sum up, with no less wonder than gratitude, the inscrutable qualities, and ineffable blessings of an unlimited paper currency. It 'costs nothing.' It 'produces nothing.' Yet it alone enables us to 'pay all our taxes.'—It '*creates* our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.'—It 'maintains a force altogether incredible.'—It is calculated to prevent invasion, which must therefore (as the law at present stands) be postponed till six months after a definitive treaty of peace.

Having thus pursued, link by link, the whole chain of our author's reasoning, and twice conducted the reader, though necessarily by tortuous routes, to the end of this important treatise, we are compelled once more to return upon our steps for the purpose of taking another glance at the two title pages.

We confess that we were, at first, unable to comprehend why Sir John, amid the blaze and radiance of his accumulated honours, should imagine that any additional splendour could accrue from the revived imputation to himself, in title page No. 2. of his History of the Public Revenue; one of his earliest, and, without disparagement to any of his other works, the most obscure of his performances. We have, however, since discovered the real policy of Sir John's reproduction of this his first-born progeny.

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'The subjects of coin and paper currency (he has observed, p. 31,) are questions of great difficulty, regarding which, much may be said on both sides; and in the deciding of which *persons may, I trust*, fairly and *conscientiously, entertain discordant opinions*.'

It is already known to our readers that Sir John exhibited, in a paper called the Contrast, some specimens of this 'conscientious discordance' between his opinions in 1797 and 1810. But this avowal, he seems to have apprehended, might lead to the supposition that he had shifted his opinions *only once* in the course of the discussions on the Bank restriction. To refute this supposition, he quotes (p. 23) from the third volume of his History of the Revenue, published in 1803, the following extract.

'It is hardly possible to suppose, that the Bank of England, as at present constituted, *can ever again open* to any effective purpose, as the least rumour of war, or any continuance of an unfavourable state of exchange, must compel it to shut again its coffers, and to suspend its payments in cash.'

It is thus clearly shewn, that, in 1803, our author maintained an opinion essentially different from either of his opinions of 1797 and 1810. In 1797, we have seen him strenuously resisting the Restriction of the Bank, and predicting ruin to the Empire if cash payments be not *instantly* resumed; in 1803, as he now apprises us, he maintained the impossibility of the Bank's *ever* resuming cash payments; and in 1810, we behold him the chosen champion of the *present system*, by which the Bank is to open *at the expiration of six months after the peace*. These three opinions appear to comprehend every possible variety of which the subject admits; and therefore the inference with which he follows up the above quotation from his publication of 1803, that 'nothing can be more unfair than to attribute *any* change of opinion *in* [to] the author of that work,' is plainly conclusive, and irresistible.

Turning over this second title page we again find ourselves at the 'address,' or preamble. Of the four sections of which it consists, the two which Sir John put forward as the foundation and conclusion of his labours, have already been noticed, viz. 1. 'The fall in the price of gold.' 2. 'The rate of exchange with Ireland.' We must not however wholly pass by the two remaining sections. 3. '*On* the Bank of England being compelled to purchase gold at any price, to carry on its circulation.' 4. '*Upon* the fall in the value of the funded property of the country, in consequence of the proceedings of the Bullion Committee.'

Sir John having informed us, on the authority of Mr. Merle, that bullion, which had been at 15½, is now only at 8½ per cent. above the Mint price; the bigoted admirers of coin might anticipate an intention, on the part of the Bank, of preparing for the

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resumption of cash payments. But, in Section 3, Sir John fairly warns us that if the Bank should, most pusillanimously, consent to purchase bullion at a loss of even 8½ per cent., they would entirely forfeit his protection.

Section 4 we consider as Sir John's most distinguished effort; as a piece of reasoning in which subtlety of intellect and ingenuous candor are equally conspicuous.

'The fall, says he, which has taken place in the value of the stocks, *must be greatly* owing to the attack that has most unfortunately been made on our circulation.' He then points out the immediate agency by which this fall must have been brought about, namely the anxiety of foreigners to sell out, from their apprehension, as it should seem, of being compelled to receive their dividends in cash. He produces a 'statement of the prices of the different stocks, on the 22d February and 1st December 1810,' by which it appears that Bank stock, the capital of which amounts to between 11 and 12 millions, has experienced, within less than a year, the very remarkable fall of 32 per cent. During the same period, the price of the public funds, of which the aggregate capital amounts to rather more than 775 millions, has fallen about 1¼ per cent; a depression which, considering the usual politics of speculators in stock, is not more than might be easily accounted for by any occurrence of great national advantage, or national glory, such as a victory gained by ourselves or by our allies, or the elevation of Sir John to a seat in the Privy Council. Such is the simple result of this document; and never did magician perform more wonders with his cabalistic diagrams than Sir John has wrought by means of his Arabic numerals. The course of his reasoning is as follows:

If *all* the public creditors had wished to sell, and had actually sold their stock, their aggregate loss, at 1¼ per cent on 775 millions would have amounted to near 14 millions.

And if *all* the holders of Bank stock had done the same thing, their loss, at 32 per cent. on between 11 and 12 millions, would amount to between 3 and 4 millions.

'Thus it appears, that the value of funded property, has already fallen to the enormous amount of £17,182,492. It is to be hoped that such a statement will *awaken the attention of the proprietors of the stocks in general* to the *necessity of preserving our present system* unimpaired, &c.

'From the preceding statement it is evident, that the proprietors of Bank stock have already suffered, in the value of their property, to the amount of nearly four millions sterling;—yet when these proprietors *are assembled*, it is considered to be *indecorous* in them to *raise any clamour* against proceedings, by which their most substantial interests are so deeply affected.' (p. 12.)

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Nothing can be more ingenious than this mode of amalgamating the interests of the holders of the public funds with those of the Bank proprietors; nothing more delicate than the insinuation of the means by which, having once determined to make common cause, the combined party may effectually resist any innovation in the present state of our currency.

Is it not possible, however, that some proprietors of the public funds before they consent to this species of partnership, *may* make some impertinent inquiries, respecting the real fairness and equality of the proposed firm? May they not ask whether there have hitherto been any *peculiar* gains and advantages belonging to Bank stock? Whether any exorbitant rise in its marketable value has taken place; whether, for instance, that value has more than doubled; and within what time and since what period? Whether any increase has taken place in the rate of the yearly dividend? Whether, in addition to this circumstance, any extrinsic source of profit had accrued, in the shape of *bonus*, or otherwise, to the proprietors of this stock within the same time and since the same period? And if it should appear upon investigation that, within the space of 13 years since the year 1797, the marketable value of 100*l.* Bank stock had risen from something less than 128*l.* to very near 280*l.*; that the dividend has been increased from 7 to 10 per cent.; and that, in the course of the same period, *bonuses* to the amount of about 32 per cent. had been given to every proprietor;—may not the public annuitant ask whether any such advantages are intended, in future, to be shared amongst the holders of the public funds? and, if answered in the negative, *may* he not begin to suspect that those profits, in which he neither has had, nor is to have any participation, may possibly have been acquired in some degree at his expense?

We confess therefore that we do not much expect that Sir John's hint about 'clamour' will be taken, at least by the holders of the public funds;—or that *they* will easily be led to consider themselves aggrieved whenever the Legislature shall think fit to direct the resumption of cash payments.

Nothing now remains to be noticed but the motto which Sir John has inshrined in his title page No. 1, and which he would no doubt have inscribed on it in letters of gold, but that ink and paper are, in his eyes, more valuable. This apophthegm, whilst it shews the genuine dread and detestation in which Sir John holds all antipapyrical heresies, exhibits at the same time no equivocal proof of his dexterity, in accommodating a quotation to his purpose, by the judicious retrenchment of what is redundant or inapplicable.

The sentence quoted by Sir John as a motto is,

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'Had matters been left without any change at all, no bad consequences would have followed. *These existed only in the heads of Theorists.*'—(Sir James Steuart's Pol. Econ. Book IV. cap. 31.)

We have referred to Sir James Steuart's work, and there find the sentence as follows: 'These existed only in the heads of THE FRENCH theorists;' the passage from which the extract is taken being a vindication and defence of the notorious Mississippi scheme.

It appears from this omission that there is in the paper system, as well as in other systems of philosophy, an exoteric, and an esoteric doctrine—one doctrine to be preached to the crowd, and another to be understood by the initiated: a mode of instruction which we might conceive to have been adopted by Sir John from Pythagoras, if we did not recollect the many points of difference between these two eminent philosophers; — Pythagoras's imperturbable taciturnity, and Sir John's indefatigable communicativeness; Pythagoras's aversion, and Sir John's predilection for the Bean husbandry—Pythagoras's thigh of gold, and Sir John's antipathy to that metal. Be this as it may, we think ourselves indebted to this quotation, and *this omission* of Sir John's for a new view of the whole subject in controversy, and one which it may perhaps be doubted whether the world was yet prepared to receive. Can it be that Sir John, amidst his multifarious occupations, has not found sufficient leisure to acquire, from a contemplation of the internal process of his own mind, any notion of the association of ideas? Or did he really think the time come for suggesting, covertly and delicately, to the mind of every attentive reader, the analogy which the indefinite continuance of our present system of currency would bear to that so happily devised for the benefit of France, by the ingenious though much calumniated Law?

We should now take leave of our author with an expression of our gratitude for the instruction and amusement which he has afforded us, were we not desirous, before we part from him, of correcting an error into which we understand certain well-meaning but ill-advised persons have fallen, as if some disparagement had been intended to his parts and dignity by the ceremony of which we admitted the suggestion in the conclusion of our criticism on his former pamphlet.

Such an error could only proceed from a profound ignorance of all antient and modern history; both of which teem with examples, which shew the Ram to have been considered, in all ages, as belonging to the very noblest class of quadrupeds.

Need we recall to any man's recollection Count Hamilton's Ram, the well known historiographer of the giant Moulineau? and particularly that giant's most touching and pathetic expostulation,

'*Belier*

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'*Bélier mon ami, si tu voulois commencer par le commencement, tu me ferois grand plaisir!*'—an expostulation almost involuntarily suggesting itself to the sympathetic feelings of every reader of Sir John's pamphlets.

Need we refer to that admired Arabian miscellany, which is well known to contain the most faithful and lively picture of the manners and customs of the East, for the story of the talking barber's third brother, who was remarkable for his skill in instructing and training Rams to single combat, and who had this farther peculiarity that he considered himself as defrauded by a magician who paid him in paper money?

Does not Rutgersius represent Robertus Titius, as quoting from Publius Victorius, the positive assertion that the sons of kings were anciently wont—*in ariete equitandi rudimenta didicisse*—to learn to ride, in the first instance, on a Ram?

Apollonius, as our readers cannot but remember, attributes to the Ram a human voice; in which he is followed by Hecatæus. Dionysius of Mitylene goes so far as to represent the Ram as the preceptor or privy counsellor of a prince. But Manilius speaks still more to our purpose, when, describing the Ram among the heavenly constellations, he declares him to be not only a privy counsellor, but a whole Council in himself.

> Concilium ipse suum est Aries, ut principe dignum est;
> Audit se, Libramque videt.
>
> *Man. Astron.* l. ii. v. 485, 6.

> The *Ram*'s the Privy Council of the skies;
> Hears his own doctrines; on himself relies;
> And still on *Libra* bends his wary eyes.

Whether it be here understood that the Ram is conversant with the *Balance* of trade, or *Balance* of payments, or that he has an eye to the nature of the *Pound* sterling,—(either of which translations will answer correctly to the Latin word *Libra*,)—it is equally plain that our author could not have been more appositely nor more honourably mounted.

Far therefore from consenting to separate the Knight and his Courser, we are much more inclined to agree with those who recommend that as in their labours on earth, so, in their celestial honours, they should be inseparably associated.

Virgil proposed the ascription of Augustus to the Councils of the Gods, and the formation of a constellation in his honour, as being *auctorem frugum*, (patron of husbandry,) a qualification in which he cannot be pretended to have rivalled the eminent author of whom we are treating. He undertook too without hesitation that the scorpion should contract his claws to make room for the star of Augustus. What Scorpius would have

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done for Cæsar, Aries no doubt would readily do for Sir John: but a more eligible spot can be selected for his accommodation.

According to the Roman rites, this transplantation into the stars must be preceded by the ceremony of an apotheosis. The formality of previous sepulture might in the present instance be dispensed with; but, with that single exception, the whole might be conducted according to the forms which all our classical readers no doubt will remember.

An image of the person to be deified and subsequently constellated, as large as life, and moulded in wax, must be placed on an elevated ivory bed, with curtains, and a coverlet of cloth of gold. If wax should not be to be had in the present state of our foreign commerce, the figure might be cast in native suet or prime tallow: the cloth of gold would of course be exchanged for British kerseymere. The image lies in an easy attitude, and appears rather pale and sickly. During seven days, one or more members of the medical (or veterinary) college occasionally attend to feel the patient's pulse, and finally declare that his longevity is terminated. The body is then conveyed to the *Forum Boarium*, (or *Smithfield*,) where it lies in state; after which the procession, passing by the *Ærarium*, (or *Bank*,) marches forward to the *Campus Martius*, (or *Artillery-ground*,) in the centre of which is erected a pyramidal pile of wood, straw, and other combustibles, on which, under a rich canopy, and surrounded by banners inscribed with the titles of the deceased, (and in this case with the titles also of his various compositions,) is placed the ivory bed with its statue. According to the Roman custom a comedian, or mime, representing the person of the deceased, pronounced some characteristic speech, or recited, or imitated some remarkable action or habit of his life. Thus it is recorded that in the case of the financial and economical Vespasian, the mime, who personated him, enlivened the ceremony of his funeral by some satirical sallies against the profusion of its expense. In the present instance, the supposed defunct being fortunately alive to witness the honours paid to his waxen or sebaceous representative, might execute this part in person. He would probably deliver a long oration on the merits of the Restriction Bill, comparing it to the more ancient *Lex Papiria*, which was intended to liberate the Roman Republic from the ponderous currency of their original Asses.

This oration being, at length, concluded, the whole assembly rise, and utter a shout of exultation. The pile is then set on fire, and at the same instant an eagle or kite (in the present instance a paper one would be most appropriate) is detached from the summit, and soaring high in air, appears to convey into the clouds all that

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that is immaterial of the person who was the object of the solemnity.

Here properly the ceremony of the apotheosis ends. All that remains is to find a proper place and denomination for the required constellation.

The desiderata seem to be, 1st. That it should contain at least one star of the first magnitude; 2d. That such star should, in this climate, be constantly above the horizon, a condition not fulfilled by Aries, or the Ram; 3d. That it should recal to the imagination of the observers, the earthly propensities, and favourite occupations of the subject of the apotheosis; 4th. That it should, if possible, express whether he was a M. P., and for what county or borough; 5th. That it should distinctly point out one, at least, of his most brilliant and beneficial discoveries.

Now our readers, we are persuaded, must have anticipated our remark, that there is but one star in the heavens which combines all these qualifications, and which is therefore pointed out by nature as the appropriate basis of the new constellation. This is the alpha of Bootes.

1°. It is only surpassed in splendour by Sirius and the Spica Virginis, to the latter of which, as will presently be seen, it is nearly allied. 2°. It never sets. 3°. The sympathies between the terrestrial pursuits of *Bootes* (in Latin *Bubulcus*, and in French *Le Bouvier*) and those of the illustrious personage whose obsequies we have just celebrated are so numerous, that those who believe the doctrine of transmigration, must suppose the former personage to have actually submitted to the inconvenience of being born again, for the sole purpose of reviving under the name of the latter. 4°. The fourth condition, which appears the most difficult, is nevertheless most accurately fulfilled: the imagination of every stargazer being naturally directed from the alpha of Bootes to the island of *Boota*, (Anglicè *Bute*,) which will owe all its future celebrity to the circumstance of its being actually represented in parliament by the very person to whom, (according to the hypothesis of his previous existence,) it must have been originally indebted for its name. 5°. And lastly, the advantages which the inhabitants of an insular empire like ours must, ultimately, derive from extensive matrimonial alliances with that race of sub-marine females, with whom our author has made us acquainted, alliances from which will spring a race of Britons truly deserving our vaunted title of 'Lords of the Ocean,' naturally suggest that the constellation to be appropriated to his use, should be called the *Phocæna major* or *Mermaid*. As to the stars to be employed in its composition, a line drawn from the alpha of Bootes above-

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mentioned, through alpha Lyræ, alpha coronæ, alpha delphini, and alpha aquarii, will form a beautifully waving configuration of great extent, terminating at one end in the *spica virginis*, and at the other in the splendid star called *Fomalhaut*, or the *great fish*; thus exhibiting a type of the long doubted union between *Virgo* and *Pisces* so fortunately revealed to Sir John, and by him communicated to the universe.

> 'Such honours Ilion to her hero paid;
> And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade.'

ART. VIII. *A Statement of Facts delivered to Lord Minto, Governor General of India, &c. on his late arrival at Madras.* By William Petrie, Esq. Senior Member of the Council at Madras. *With an Appendix of Official Minutes.* 8vo. pp. 100. London. Stockdale. 1810.

A Reply to the Publication of William Petrie, Esq. regarding the late Transactions at Madras. 8vo. pp. 70.

An accurate and authentic Narrative of the Origin and Progress of the Dissentions at the Presidency of Madras, founded on Original Papers and Correspondence. 8vo. pp. 257. London. 1810.

A Letter from an Officer at Madras to a Friend formerly in that Service, now in England: exhibiting the Rise, Progress, and actual *State of the* late *unfortunate Insurrection in the Indian Army.* 8vo. pp. 116. London. 1810.

An Account of the Origin, Progress, and Consequences of the late Discontents of the Army of the Madras Establishment. 8vo. pp. 294. London. 1810.

A Postscript to the Account, &c. &c. By the Author of the Four leading Letters of the original Work. *With Remarks and an Appendix, containing a variety of Interesting Documents never before published.* 8vo. pp. 96. London. 1810.

Papers relating to East India Affairs. (Madras Army.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 25th May, 1810.

THE interest, which the first news of the disturbances at Madras excited in the public mind, appearing, after a short intermission, to revive, we have thought that some attempt on our part to discuss the merits of the subject might not be unpleasing to our readers. Unequal as we may feel to the task, our efforts have not been wanting to qualify ourselves for a due performance of

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of it, both by a careful inquiry into the facts, and by an attentive consideration of the principles, which the discussion involves; and, on the strength of this preparation, we shall venture to place ourselves on a somewhat different ground than is assumed in any of the publications which the question has yet drawn forth.

It seems to us, in the first place, that, in most of those publications, the Madras government is treated with great injustice. We make the statement without any embarrassment or reserve, because, from the misrepresentations current respecting the transactions in question, we ourselves entered on the investigation of the matter with impressions not very favourable to that government, and have, in the course of that investigation, been weaned from those impressions only by the force of what strikes us as the truth. At the same time, means may be found, we believe, to reconcile a full approbation of the conduct of the government, with the admission of better palliatives for that of its opponents, than have been furnished by their own apologists. Nor does this mode of determining the matter at all resolve itself into that grand refuge of indecision, the principle that *both sides were to blame*; but it is the result of certain general views and maxims applied to the consideration of the particular case. Those views and maxims we shall in the first instance submit to the reader.

Since, however, in the developement of these fundamental ideas and principles, a reference to some of the works before us, may occasionally be requisite, it will be convenient to prefix some general account of them. The best, we think, is the *Accurate and authentic Narrative*, &c. The enemy has pronounced this pamphlet to be written by an agent of Sir George Barlow, the governor of Madras. It evidently comes from a warm partisan of that gentleman; and should, therefore, be read with caution; but we have, on the whole, found it an able and interesting composition, and, with some unimportant qualifications, should feel no great difficulty in subscribing both to its statements and its doctrines. The *Reply to Mr. Petrie*, we mention next, only because it is on the same side of the question; it is not written in a very agreeable style, but is acute, temperate, and generally satisfactory. The pamphlet of Mr. Petrie himself deserves, perhaps, more extended consideration, not so much from its intrinsic merit, respecting which there may be two opinions, as because the author was a member of the council of Madras during the period of the disturbances, and, in that situation, stood forth as the grand opponent of the measures adopted by Sir George Barlow. On the policy which Mr. Petrie declares himself to have recommended, we shall hereafter have opportu-

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opportunities of remarking; but, in the mean time, we cannot help complimenting him on the dispassionate manner in which he delivers himself with regard to topics that could not but irritate his feelings. We do not mean to assert that he has reached, or even approached, the elevation of Thucydides under similar circumstances; but he invariably preserves a decorum of tone and expression, of which the 'statements' of European oppositionists but seldom furnish examples. Precisely the same praise, and, in addition to it, that of better writing and reasoning, must, we think, be ascribed to the *Letter of the Madras officer;* notwithstanding the unhappy bull in the title-page. The candour displayed in this publication, appears in amiable contrast with the virulence which envenoms almost every page of the *Accounts of the Discontents of the Madras Army*, a work manifestly of very little credit. That work, however, does not want talent; and occasionally, it even affects a display of literary attainments, although not always with very brilliant success. In one place, an unfortunate blunder, which occurs in a letter of General Gowdie, of *has* for *have*, draws on that officer the following still more unfortunate sarcasm: 'The foregoing letter is not introduced for the purpose of making any remark on the style, or the *orthographical* merits which it possesses.'

We, however, have not placed an implicit reliance on any one of the writers who have been mentioned. We have not been inattentive to them, indeed; but have bestowed far more attention on the original papers which are respectively annexed to them; and most of all, on the vast pile of original papers printed, by order of parliament, with an express view to the elucidation of the great questions under our notice. These voluminous documents seem to furnish ample materials for a full adjudication of all the principal points in dispute.

In proceeding to consider the subject, it cannot be necessary for us to recal to the recollection of our readers that fundamental rule of polity, which prescribes the complete subjection of the armies of a state to the civil government. On no other principle can the state secure, in its own service, the efficiency of the military body; and, in addition to this circumstance, there is the alarming probability that the efficiency of that body, if diverted from its legitimate objects, may be fatally directed to those of an exactly opposite nature. The division of labour, which, in creating the military order, has not only placed arms in its hands, but has conferred on it all the advantages of compactness and organization, becomes, in this instance, a separation, not so much of profession from profession, as of strength from weakness.

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ness. Against this predominance of strength, nothing can secure the welfare of the community, excepting a strict subordination of the military to the civil authority. It is true, indeed, that the absolute command of an armed force may encourage the civil government to tyrannise over its subjects; but the chance of this evil—a chance, which it is one principal business of legislation to reduce to the lowest amount possible,—can never be weighed against the certainty of a military tyranny, which is the sole and unquestionable alternative.

For these reasons it is, that, in all but military governments, the supremacy of the civil power is considered as a principle of vital importance. Individually, and apart from his professional capacity, the soldier enjoys the same rights with other citizens; but the army, in their corporate character, are the subjects of a despotic controul. Agreeably to this state of things, we perceive with what exactness the rule of Montesquieu, that *honour is the inspiring principle of a monarchy*, verifies itself in the military system of a well-ordered state. Indeed, such a system may be thought to exemplify that refined species of despotism, to which, perhaps, no constitution of civil polity can exhibit more than an approximation—a despotism, under which the universal infusion of a romantic and chivalrous sensibility purifies servitude of all its meanness.

From the remarks which have been made, this important practical result seems to follow; that, while a popular insurrection may, in many cases, be very properly met by concession, to the revolt or disobedience of an army must always be opposed a steady resistance. An insurgent mob has seldom in its composition any principle of durability; it is connected by occasion, and probably will be dispersed by success. But if any thing like a systematic spirit of discontent or rebellion discovers itself in a people, this appearance *may*, perhaps, be indicative of their ripeness for a greater degree of liberty than they enjoy; and, on that supposition, a temperate and regulated indulgence may wisely as well as justly be granted to their wishes. To what abuses this doctrine is liable in the hands of factious men, we are perfectly aware; but the doctrine itself is not therefore to be abandoned, and to be left exclusively to the use of those who value only its misapplication. Of a *military* rebellion, the treatment must be governed by other principles. At no stage of its existence does an army become entitled even to the minutest share of political independence; and, at the same time, since the organization of the body is, in its very nature, not casual, but systematic, that minutest share, if conferred, is sure to be employed as an instrument for the acquisition of more.

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more. Here, then, the idea of permanent concession, unless from absolute necessity, is precluded, and that of temporary concession is ridiculous. Only one course remains for the civil rulers of the state—to shew themselves unswervingly tenacious of their power—to overawe, by the decisiveness of their measures, those members of the military profession who are not yet prepared to rush to all lengths—to break, divide, and confound the insurrection.

Let us not be understood to maintain the detestable position that, in the case supposed, all conciliatory attempts are to be avoided and disdained by the government. We mean to affirm, that the distinction is to be carefully maintained between conciliation and concession. We mean to affirm farther, that conciliation is likely to be nugatory, or worse than nugatory, unless evidently accompanied, both by the means of resistance, and by the courage to employ those means.

For the statement of such obvious truths, it may perhaps be some apology to mention that they were forgotten by one, at least, of the principal actors in the scenes to which they are here intended to be applied. Mr. Petrie was the second member of the Madras government during the disturbances, and headed the opposition to Sir George Barlow. A part, and a very important part of the basis on which that opposition was founded, Mr. Petrie has himself laid open in the following curious passage:

'I have often said there is a wide difference between the mutiny of a corps and the disaffection or revolt of a whole army, and the measures suitable to the one are totally inapplicable to the other; prompt and rigorous correction will compel the one, but the other must be regained and subdued by the same means, which wisdom, talents, and knowledge of the human mind, *employs* in the government of millions.' —*Statement*, p. 23.

This passage, as the writer or writers of *the Discontents of the Madras Army* would say, we have not quoted for the purpose of making any remark on its *orthographical* merits. Our object is rather to notice its egregious faultiness in point of what the same authority might perhaps have been apt to call its *etymology*; by which we mean neither more nor less than the sentiments that it expresses. If it be the meaning of Mr. Petrie merely to assert that, when a rebellion becomes irresistible, few things can be more preposterous than to talk of resisting it, thus far we willingly subscribe to his opinion. To agitate, with reference to such a case, the question of the propriety of resistance, would be as wise as to consider, whether a man thrown into a fiery furnace, ought to tread out the flames. A radical fallacy, however, is involved in the phraseology which affixes to the mere *evasion* of such a rebellion

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lion by compromise, the terms *subduing* and *governing*; whereas this is evidently not to subdue and govern, but to be subdued and governed. An equal, or rather, the same, fallacy may be charged on the assumed parallel between the government of an army, and the government of a nation. The essential difference between these two operations, we have already pointed out; but in confirmation of our judgment, we request the reader to contrast with the lucubrations of Mr. Petrie, the striking views which Lord Minto has taken of the same subject.

'Feeling as every prudent man, and especially every statesman ought, the frequent expediency, which I might indeed call necessity, of mutual accommodation and concession in the controversies and contentions of mankind, and having learnt from the wisdom of one, whose lessons have become laws to the world, that compromise must be admitted (if I may so express myself) amongst the elements of human intercourse; I am inclined, however, to rank military sedition and revolt amongst the few exceptions to this salutary and healing principle. Much, for that very reason, may and ought to be done to avert a contest in which, when once kindled, concession does not find its place, and conciliation itself changes its properties, tending rather to exasperate than appease.

'The revolt of an Army, of which the object is to overawe and controul the Government, appears to me to exclude compromise, and I regard it as one of those evils for which the only remedy is a firm, vigorous, and determined opposition.'—*Papers relating to East India Affairs*, No. 4, p. 4.

That there may *possibly* be cases of military revolt, in which these maxims are not applicable, we do not deny; but it appears to us that the author of the statement has been singularly unfortunate in citing as such, the triumphs gained over the British cabinet, by the refractory fleet at Spithead, and by the armed volunteers in Ireland. The analogy is very imperfect between the refractoriness of an army, and that of a fleet; because, as nature has hitherto supplied no means of erecting a naval tyranny on dry land, the revolt of sailors must find a physical limit at a point far short of an usurpation of the government. The analogy is absolutely imaginary between the refractoriness of a standing army, and that of armed volunteers; because the latter are merely a portion of the people, availing themselves of a particular situation, in order, not to establish a military despotism, but to gain civil privileges. But, at all events, the sequel of the transactions in question, was by no means such as to render the allusion to them on the present occasion peculiarly appropriate. The agitation in the fleet was not ultimately hushed, without the infliction of a long course of severe punishments; and the state of Ireland for the last few years may perhaps

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perhaps throw some doubt on the policy of the concessions made to the volunteers.

By the British armies, the supremacy of the civil power is, both in theory and in practice, perfectly acknowledged. The recognition, indeed, is uniformly enforced no less by circumstances than by law. A considerable part of those armies has its position in the very bosom of the people, where the great duty of civil obedience is not only communicated to the soldier by example, but impressed on him by the overawing disproportion of numbers on the side of the civil population. At the same time, those armies are themselves too numerous, they act on too extensive a surface, and the stations of the different portions which compose them are too frequently shifted and interchanged, to allow room for much combination against the authority of the state. Hence both the officers and the troops appear to retain, at all times, a full consciousness of what is due to the government, and unvaryingly to respect the boundary which separates their civil from their professional character.

The gallant military force, in the service of the East India Company, is somewhat differently circumstanced. We now speak of the European officers of that force, to whom alone the present discussion applies; the far greater proportion of the troops, being native Indians, of course cannot be included in the same description. But of the officers, it is well known that they are confined for life to one theatre. That theatre, it must be owned, is large; but, from the fewness of the Europeans in the country, the communication between persons of that race is very little interrupted, and the distance which divides them may be said to be lost for want of intermediate objects. In point of fact, the different armies almost always continue within the range of the several presidencies to which they are respectively attached. At the same time, the nature of the troops, and the rules of the service, which rules are, in truth, chiefly founded on the nature of the troops, effectually discriminate the Company's officers from those of the King's army with whom they are, in a good degree, intermixed. The Company's military servants, besides, though not actually very numerous, form a considerable, we believe, the preponderating, part of the servants in general. Most of them, too, spend their lives apart from the eye and influence of the civil power; either secluded in camps, the school, of all others, in which the soldier is most apt to unlearn the citizen, or garrisoning the capital of some tributary power, where they are under every inducement to feel their own importance, and to forget that of the government to which they are subject. On these various accounts, it might, we think, without any disrespect to those officers, be suspected that, with all their known sensibility to the feelings of professional

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professional reputation and national honour, and even with a strong general attachment to the name of their country, their recollections would be less alive to the paramount obligation of a complete and passive submissiveness to civil authority.

In effect, it does appear to us that the individuals in question, among the bravest, most skilful, and most honourable members of their profession, whom the world can produce, have yet never been able entirely to resist the influence of their situation in the respects described. The following historical sketch, though it refers to a period which some of the observations that we have offered will hardly embrace, may serve to throw light on the general subject under consideration.

'In Bombay, the Military rose upon the civil power, and assumed the government; which they held and retained in their own hands, for the space of about two years.*

'A mutiny of the Officers took place in Bengal, in the year 1765; and which was only suppressed by the firmness of the great Lord Clive.

'In or about the year 1776, Major General Stuart, at the head of the Army, seized on the then Governor of Madras, Lord Pigot, confined his person, and subverted his Government.

'In the year 1783, the Army of Madras compelled the Governor, Lord Macartney, to revoke his Orders, and re-establish some allowances which he had found it necessary to discontinue. Actual violence was not indeed resorted to; but the receipt of three Addresses on the same day, on the subject, from the three principal stations of the Army, convinced his Lordship of the necessity of giving up the point.

'At a more recent period in Bengal, in or about the year 1796, the countenance which the Army assumed must be fresh in the recollection of every one.'—*Reply to Petrie*, pp. 34, 35.

It appears farther, from the parliamentary papers before us, that, even at the commencement of the late mutiny, the notion of *the rights of the army*, and that of forming associations to plead those rights, were familiar to the Madras officers. In notions of this kind, the officers of the Indian army in general, seem to have been occasionally encouraged by the British Government; sometimes, too generously; at other times, very absurdly. Our readers will not condemn the severity of the latter term, when they are told, that persons avowedly acting in the capacity of delegates from the officers of the Indian army, have been admitted to a formal audience by His Majesty's ministers in England. On what principle men of the highest ability, political knowledge, and patriotism,—for such those ministers were,—could consent thus to recognize in the army an independent and substantive power, we are at a loss to imagine.

* See Orme's Historical Fragments, for an account of this transaction.

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The general reflections in which we have indulged, tend to shorten, in some respects, the discussion of the present subject. For example; the advocates of Sir George Barlow strongly affirm that, when that statesman was advanced to the government of Madras, the discontents of the Madras officers had already attained to a high pitch; and this, the opposing party no less strenuously deny; with what views on both sides it is not difficult to perceive. Among the grievances alleged in the inflammatory memorials written by the officers about the time when the mutiny commenced, we perceive that there are some which unquestionably existed previously to the date of Sir George Barlow's administration. Still it is possible that these were not felt, till subsequent events had quickened the feelings of the officers into a morbid acuteness. We submit, however, on the whole, that the question is superseded by the remarks which have been offered on the general situation and circumstances of the Indian armies. This situation and those circumstances are such as, in particular conjunctures, generate a predisposition to disobedience. So long as this predisposition was there, it matters not whether it amounted to positive discontent. It was *potential* discontent, at least; nor were the materials the less combustible, because not in an actual state of ignition.

The strength of this contest lying between Sir George Barlow and the officers, it is, perhaps, natural that the champions of the latter, in their zeal to cast the whole responsibility on the governor, should maintain that, but for him, there would have been nothing on the part of the army but contentment, obedience, and peace. But surely the allegation is much more severe on the governor than favourable to the officers. The worst that Sir George Barlow did, (and we will, for argument's sake, allow that it was very bad,) was to suspend, let us say arbitrarily and unjustly, several officers from the service. Those acts, however, were reversible; the suspended officers were mostly on their way to England, where they would have immediate access to the Court of Directors; from them, if the cases were really so flagrant, a triumphant redress might be expected; or, should the Directors be obstinate, it would be time enough, after all, to rebel. Instead of which, the officers forthwith fly to arms; and, in contempt of the sacred duty of obedience to the local government, a duty imposed on them, both by the laws of their country, and by the tenour of their commissions, they actually concert, not to say commence, a march, with the avowed purpose of extorting from the governor a reversal of all his obnoxious measures. We know not how to find an excuse for such conduct, or even how rationally to account for it, except by reference to the preceding observations. The officers were, by the operation of extrinsic circumstances, predisposed to this mode of proceeding.

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proceeding. They had perpetually imbibed an atmosphere adapted to relax all just ideas of subordination.

This, we venture to say, is a better apology for the officers than has yet been advanced. But let it be observed that the validity of this apology can, in no degree, affect the soundness of the principle on which the Madras government acted,—the necessity of a firm opposition to military encroachment. With what wisdom the governor applied that principle, how far he was careful to provide that his case should always be as strong as his cause was good, we shall afterwards examine. So far, however, as the principle went, he was right. That the wide prevalence of the spirit of insubordination in an army renders the necessity of opposition to it less apparent, or less cogent, can hardly be pleaded; while, as appears to us, it would be very easy to maintain the directly contrary proposition. It is not here necessary to touch on the very serious question, in what measure ignorance is, before a human jurisdiction, an available defence for breach of law. The officers of the Madras army, who transgressed the rules imposed on them by the tenour of their own commissions, could hardly pretend absolute ignorance. And we see not how any measures, but those of signal severity,* could have dispelled the prejudices entertained by the officers in favour of military power. In confirmation of our sentiments, respecting both the general tendency to disaffection in the Indian armies, and the proper mode of treating their disaffection when it discovers itself, we are enabled to produce a very striking passage from the pen of the greatest statesman and captain that ever upheld the British interests in India. The passage is quoted by two of the authors before us.

'The evil I mean to apprize you of, is the encroachment of the military upon the civil jurisdiction, and an attempt to be independent of their authority. A spirit of this kind has always been visible; our utmost vigilance, therefore, is requisite to suppress it, or at least to take care that it shall not actually prevail.

'The whole Army should, in like manner, be subordinate to the civil power; and it is the indispensable duty of the Governor and Council to keep them so. If at any time they should struggle for superiority, the Governor and Council must strenuously exert themselves, ever mindful that they are the trustees for the Company in this Settlement, and the guardians of public property, under a civil institution.'

Lord Clive's Letter to the Court of Directors, in 1765.

Having dispatched our preliminary observations, we shall proceed to inquire into the circumstances that more immediately led to the mutiny. Among the most prominent of these, must doubt-

* In no case, however, did the punishment inflicted by the government extend to life and limb.

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less be reckoned the unfortunate difference between the government and the late Lieutenant-General Macdowall, the commander in chief of the Madras army. We are far from the uncharitableness of imputing to General Macdowall designs in the remotest degree inconsistent with a true allegiance to his country. But that he demeaned himself somewhat haughtily towards the local government under whose orders he was directly placed, and that his conduct was such as to aggravate the discontents of the army, will fully appear, and is, indeed, we believe, generally confessed. He had been appointed commander in chief on the unexpected recall of Sir John Cradock, in the latter part, if we are not much mistaken, of the year 1807. The command was, on this occasion, offered to him by the East India Directors, unaccompanied with the seat, which his predecessor had enjoyed, in the council of the government. The exclusion of the commander in chief from council, was, it seems, by no means unprecedented; and it could not, in this case, be understood as conveying a reflection on General Macdowall; for the order had been made generally, and comprised the presidency of Bombay no less than that of Madras. One thing, however, is manifest, that, if General Macdowall intended to resent and to complain of the offer, he ought not to have accepted it. He accepted it notwithstanding, and in the hope of inducing the Directors to restore to him what he called his *right*, made the presidency ring with complaints of the privation which he had suffered. His correspondence with the government, as the parliamentary papers shew, contained perpetual and very pointed allusions to the supposed indignity sustained by the army in his person. That he should have addressed the government on these topics seems scarcely justifiable; for the government neither had, nor could have had, any concern in the affair, General Macdowall having assumed the command of the army previously to the first arrival of Sir George Barlow at Madras. What, however, was far more culpable, this officer was in the habit of appealing on the subject, both publicly and privately, to the judgment and feelings of the officers of the army. The general orders in which he took leave of the army, assign as a cause of his resignation, that, in consequence of the exclusion from council, he found it impossible to 'exercise the functions of his station, *as the representative of the army*, with honor to the service, and credit to himself.' That, in his private communications, he was wont to express the same feelings in a much more open and inflammatory manner, will be sufficiently evinced by a quotation from one of the pamphlets before us, which is avowedly hostile to the Madras government.

'To maintain that influence of which he was deprived by this change in

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in the constitution of the army, (the exclusion from council,) he courted popularity with the officers at large; he lamented without reserve his inability to support their interests in council, to oppose alterations injurious to their welfare; he commented on the degradation of the army in the person of their commander in chief; and, assuming the character of their representative, induced them, without reflecting on the absolute absurdity of the term, to consider the alteration which had been made in the constitution of the local government as a real military grievance.'—*Late Insurrection in India.*

These candid admissions seem to establish too clearly the unhappy instrumentality of General Macdowall in contributing to excite the mutiny; although nothing, we are firmly persuaded, was farther from the intention of that officer. It is alleged, indeed, that he had suffered various slights from the Madras government; that military appointments had been made, expeditions planned, and equipments prepared, without any previous reference to his judgment. The Madras government, in the strongest manner, and appealing to the public records in proof of their assertion, deny this charge; and, on the only specific complaint urged by General Macdowall himself, they furnish what appears a satisfactory explanation. Of the other and more vague allegations we are unable to form a definitive judgment: nor, perhaps, is it very necessary; for the evident uneasiness of temper which General Macdowall discovers throughout all his correspondence, on whatever subject, makes it probable that, under the impressions with which he received the command, he was not easily to be satisfied; while his inflammatory appeals to the army respecting those official disputes to which all governments are liable, persuade us, that, in times when any cause of apprehension existed with respect to the general dispositions of the army, the office of commander in chief could hardly have been placed in more dangerous hands.

In detailing, which we are now about to do, the transactions in which the mutiny immediately originated, we must go back to a period somewhat earlier than the nomination of General Macdowall. We shall continue the recital down to the point at which the disturbances finally terminated.

The wars in which the East India Company were a few years ago engaged, combined with the pressure to which their trade was subjected from the effects of the distracted state of Europe, greatly embarrassed their finances, and rendered indispensable a reduction of their expenditure. Peremptory and repeated orders to this effect were dispatched to the governments in India, and, in the year 1807, agreeably to those orders, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, instituted a minute revision of the establishments of that presidency. On this occasion, the

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consideration of the military charges devolved on Sir John Cradock, then commander in chief of the Madras army; and among the subjects which, in consequence, attracted the attention of that officer, was the eligibility of abolishing a certain monthly allowance, which it had been the practice to grant to the commanders of native corps for the provision of camp equipage, and which was thence commonly called the *Tent-Contract*. By the desire of the Commander in Chief, the Quarter Master General, Lieutenant Colonel Munro, prepared a detailed report on this point, in which he expressed an opinion strongly adverse to the continuance of the contract. This report Sir John Cradock highly approved, and transmitted it to the government, with the declaration that it conveyed the result of the joint reflection and experience of himself and the Quarter Master General on the subject. Lord William Bentinck also approved it, and Mr. Petrie, who, on the removal soon afterwards of his Lordship from the government, succeeded him provisionally, forwarded it to the supreme government in Bengal, with strong expressions of recommendation, in which he was unanimously supported by his council. In Bengal it received the sanction of the commander in chief and of the supreme government themselves, and directions were sent to Madras, that the measure should be carried into effect. Before these directions arrived, Sir George Barlow had taken his seat as the Governor of Madras; the duty, therefore, of acting on them fell to him; and he accordingly abolished the tent-contract by a general order dated May 1808.

In the Report of Colonel Munro, it had been observed that an experience for six years of the system of the tent-contract, and an attentive examination of its effects, had suggested to the writer various observations on the subject. Under this preamble, six objections to the system were stated; of which the third was, that 'it placed the interest and the duty of officers, in direct opposition to each other.' The contents of the Report coming to the knowledge of some of the officers commanding native corps, they construed this objection, in connection with the preamble with which it was introduced, as conveying an insinuation unfavourable to the honour of the whole body. Various letters of complaint on the subject were addressed to General Macdowall, who had succeeded Sir John Cradock in the command of the coast-army; but that officer returned replies, purporting that the question of the tent-contract had been discussed before he came to the command, and the orders prepared without any reference to him, and recommending that the matter should be considered as now at rest. The officers, however, not thinking it proper to abide by this advice, prepared charges against Colonel Munro, for having made use of false and infamous insinuations, injurious

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injurious to their reputation, and demanded that he should be brought to a court-martial. These charges General Macdowall referred to the Judge Advocate General, who returned a detailed and learned opinion, pronouncing them to be illegal. The affair hung in suspense for upwards of two months; when General Macdowall, being then on the eve of his departure for England, unexpectedly placed Colonel Munro under arrest, with the declared intent of leaving him to be brought to trial on the charges preferred against him, by the succeeding Commander in Chief. This arrest took place on the 20th of January, 1809.

On the 23d of the same month, Colonel Munro addressed an appeal to the government, which, according to the rule prescribed for subordinate officers, he attempted to forward through the channel of the Commander in Chief. The Commander in Chief returned the address, with a strong reprehension of Colonel Munro, for having claimed the interference of the civil government in a case which, as General Macdowall affirmed, was purely military. Colonel Munro then sent the appeal directly to the Secretary of Government, inclosing his previous correspondence with the Commander in Chief, and stating that he should have submitted to the rebuke of that officer, if he had not considered the question as involving the authority of government who had sanctioned and adopted his report. It may be proper to mention, that Colonel Munro had, on the preceding day, sent to the government a letter containing a full account of the case; but that letter never having been acted upon, it is mentioned here, as in fact it seems to have been transmitted to England, only on account of the ability with which it treats the questions at issue.

By what means the report, which formed the foundation of this transaction, had fallen into the hands of the complaining officers, cannot be very distinctly ascertained. It had been entered, indeed, on the records of government; but those records, like the official papers of all cabinets, were, in their very nature, secret, till formally disclosed. By the government the obnoxious report was certainly never published, nor in any manner promulgated. It is said by the advocates of the government, that it transpired through the Adjutant General, an officer sufficiently conspicuous in the sequel of the business. From the pamphlets on the other side, it appears that the report had, in the course of business, come into the Adjutant General's office; and that he had objected to it on the very ground afterwards taken by the complaining officers; but they do not, so far as we have discovered, furnish the smallest explanation of the manner in which it obtained publicity.

On receiving the appeal of the Quarter Master General, the government consulted the Advocate General and the Judge Advo-

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cate General, on the competency of the civil power to interfere in so singular a case. Both those law officers giving a clear opinion in the affirmative, an official letter was addressed to General Macdowall, requesting that Colonel Munro might be liberated from his arrest. The reasons assigned for the application were, that Colonel Munro having prepared the report by the express command of a preceding Commander in Chief, and that report having been approved by all the constituted authorities in India, to try him on the charges preferred, would be not only the sacrifice of a public functionary for the faithful performance of an enjoined duty, but, in fact, a surrender of the ruling power to a legal process before its own servants. It was added, that the report did not, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, appear capable of the construction which had been fixed on it by the accusers. General Macdowall declined a compliance with this request, and at the same time announced to the government that he would direct a fresh charge to be preferred against Colonel Munro, for having appealed from the jurisdiction of the Commander in Chief to that of the civil power. Being required to reply more definitively, he stated that, if the government should positively *order* the release of Colonel Munro, he could not but consider himself as bound to a compliance. The order which he challenged was forthwith sent to him, and was obeyed.

During the early part of this correspondence General Macdowall presented to the government, on the part of the officers of the Company's Madras army, a memorial which had probably been in agitation for some time, and was certainly not connected with the correspondence on the affair of Colonel Munro. The memorial was addressed to the Court of Directors, and petitioned for the redress of a number of alleged grievances. Of these the principal were, the reductions which, in consequence of the system of retrenchment, they had sustained in certain allowances; the abolition, among other matters, of the tent-contract; the partiality which, as the memorialists conceived, had been shewn to officers of the king's service; the inferiority of the emoluments of the coast-army to those of the army of Bengal; and the exclusion of the Commander in Chief, or, as he was styled, 'the *representative of the army*,' from a seat in council. This memorial being couched in intemperate language, the government received it with expressions of disapprobation, but with a declared purpose of referring it to the consideration of the supreme government. It is a curious circumstance that, about eight months before, General Macdowall had refused to forward to the government a memorial of similar tendency from the same quarter, and had accompanied his refusal not only with severe animadversions

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sions on the memorialists, but even with a strong menace of punishment.

On the 29th of January, General Macdowall sailed from Madras for England, with the design of sending back a resignation of his office, either from Ceylon, or from a point of the coast at which the vessel was to touch. On the following day it appeared that, previously to his departure, he had issued a general order, conveying, in very unqualified terms, a reprimand to Colonel Munro, for disobedience of orders and contempt of military authority, in having availed himself of the protection of the civil government against a trial instituted by the commander of the army. This order was, it seems, already in a course of circulation when General Macdowall embarked; but the transmission of the copy which, agreeably to an established practice in such cases, had been prepared for the Governor in Council, was delayed till the embarkation had taken place.

The government considered this paper as intended for an indirect, but a very outrageous insult to themselves. The vessel in which General Macdowall had sailed, not being entirely out of sight, a signal of recal was made, but was not obeyed. The government then published a general order, immediately removing General Macdowall from the situation of commander in chief; and, at the same time, suspending the Deputy Adjutant-general, Major Boles, who had countersigned the obnoxious order, from the Company's service. It being afterwards avowed by the adjutant-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Capper, that he had concurred in the circulation of this instrument, the sentence of suspension was extended to that officer.

The two staff-officers just mentioned were simply declared to be suspended, and not, as the sentence generally runs, 'until the pleasure of the Court of Directors is known.' It seems, however, that the former is the milder sentence. Every suspension, no less than every appointment, by the governments in India, is subject to a reversal by the Court of Directors. When, therefore, that reserve is expressly made, it is signified that the suspension shall last at least so long; while otherwise, the government leaves to itself the power of annulling, at any time during the interval, its own decree. Colonel Capper, however, and Major Boles avoiding, or rather declining to offer any apology to the government, the sentence on those officers was not recalled.

Considerable discontents, at this period, prevailed among the officers of the Company's army. Their grievances, real or imagined, had long been a current topic of complaint. It is proper to observe, however, that the late reductions do not seem to have made any very material encroachment on their comforts. The great

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great advocate,* indeed, for the officers, takes pains to prove that the abolition of the tent-contract was, in a pecuniary light, no sensible evil, and repels with indignation the charge that the rebellion commenced in motives of a sordid nature. We cannot go with him so far. That the reductions were felt, we have no doubt; indeed, we have shewn that they were not only felt, but resented. But, in the papers before us, we can easily trace the flame gradually communicating itself to other feelings. The great question of the supremacy of the civil power, first suggested by slighter disputes, was now evidently in a course of decision. The honour of the army was considered to be at issue, and this object gradually absorbed the consideration of its emoluments. The meaner interests which had provoked the contest, insensibly fell back into the train of those bolder and more hardy passions by which alone it could be conducted.

Soon after the measures last related, the government published an order with a view of allaying the rising ferment. It explained the principles on which they had interfered with regard to the arrest of Colonel Munro, strongly disclaimed the construction which had been put on the paper of that officer, now indeed a paper of the government, expressed the utmost tenderness for the reputation of the officers of the army, and earnestly exhorted that body to banish an animosity which, if farther indulged, could not but be productive of mischief to the public interests. There is no reason to believe, that this order was in any degree successful.

The officers concerted together, and took various steps to obtain a victory over the government. Among other plans, a memorial was projected to the Governor General, petitioning for the removal of Sir George Barlow from the presidency of Madras. A paper to this effect was actually written and circulated. It asserted the rights and privileges of the memorialists, as the children of a free country. It accused the Governor of Madras of 'an inversion of the fundamental laws of discipline,' and 'a most dangerous infringement of the military code.' It stated the writers to be actuated by an 'alarm, lest the repetition of acts which were not guided by any rule, might tend to wean their affections, and dispose them to consider as enemies those whose situations should make them their friends;' and concluded with an earnest entreaty that the supreme government would 'anticipate the extreme crisis of their agitation,' by releasing them from the controul of a ruler, whose measures were equally hostile to the army, and pernicious to the state. It being found, however, before this address was transmitted, that the supreme government approved of the mea-

* Postscript to the Discontents of the Madras Army.

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sures of Sir George Barlow, the intention seems to have been abandoned.

About the same time, a number of officers united to present an address to the suspended deputy adjutant general, Major Boles, signifying to him their 'marked approbation' of the conduct for which he had incurred the displeasure of the government, requesting permission to subscribe for his use the full amount of the pay and allowances which he had forfeited, and announcing their intention of affording similar support to all who should suffer in the same manner. It should be observed, that Colonel Capper had left India for Europe a few days after his suspension.

Whatever may be thought of the measures of the government up to this point, it seems plain that they could now scarcely recede. The address to the supreme government, and that to Major Boles, both came into their hands; and it was determined to punish the officers more particularly concerned in them, or at least those, whose criminality could be ascertained. Some of them, therefore, were suspended from the service; and others were displaced from particular situations. All these removals were, it must be understood, subject to the cognizance of the Supreme Government and of the Court of Directors. The officers generally demanded a court-martial, but we can find only one instance in which the charge of at least a full participation in the imputed offence was disavowed. The government consented to forward memorials from those officers to the Company at home, but refused to grant the court-martials required. That the government had the legal right to adopt those strong measures, there is no doubt whatever; the question that remains is, whether a resort to them was justified by the emergency. The Supreme Government however testified its full approbation of all the proceedings in question, and transmitted to Madras a long and eloquent dispatch, in which every part of them was canvassed and vindicated with no mean ability.

The general orders just described, were issued on the 1st of May, 1809. Besides the chief subject of those orders, they adverted to the merits of such branches of the army as had withheld their concurrence from the proceedings of the disaffected officers. In this view, they bestowed the thanks of the government on the king's troops, and on the Company's officers attached to the subsidiary force stationed at Hydrabad. Those officers, however, were nettled by the compliment; and, on the 18th of May, promulgated an address to the army, intimating their unqualified approbation of the acts of their disaffected brethren, their resolution to support the officers who had fallen under the displeasure of the government, and their readiness to join in any legal measures for their restoration. The Hydrabad force derived importance from its strength in

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in Company's troops, its position, and its complete state of equipment for field-service. The example of this force, therefore, animated the spirit of sedition throughout the coast-army. Committees of officers were organized at the principal stations, who corresponded with each other, in the intent of forming a combined plan of revolt.

The conspiracy was for some time conducted with secrecy; but, on the 22d of June, the Hydrabad officers addressed a letter to Sir George Barlow, pretty unequivocally stating their designs. Speaking of the order of the 1st of May, they observe;

'It has excited such great and general irritation, that we have strong reason to fear the most fatal and disastrous consequences. Under these impressions, we feel compelled to make some effort to avert the evils we see impending; or, what may be the possible, and probable consequences, the separation of the civil and military authorities.'

Two days after the date of this address, an open mutiny broke out in the garrison of Masulipatam. An application had been made to the Madras government by the naval commander in chief, for a party of European troops, to serve as marines on board his Majesty's ships. Orders having been received from England against the practice of detaching the men of the king's regiments on this duty, it became necessary to employ those of the Company's European regiment stationed at Masulipatam. The officers, however, persuaded the men, that this step was intended only as a preliminary to the measure of disbanding the regiment altogether. In the event, both officers and men refused to embark, seized the garrison, and placed the commander under arrest.

The Hydrabad force, including a detachment of it stationed at Jaulna, in the Berar country, resolved to support the mutineers at Masulipatam. This resolution was conveyed to the government in a style of truly laconic brevity.

'It is the firm determination of this force to afford the Madras European regiment assistance, and it is their wish that this intention should be made known to government.'—No. 2, Par. Pap. 26, 27.

On the 5th of July, the Jaulna detachment addressed Lord Minto in a letter, of which a single extract will suffice;

'You must, my lord, be already acquainted to what a desperate extremity this conduct has driven the northern divisions, and we earnestly request your lordship to be convinced of our positive and unalterable sentiments on that head, and beg that you will not consider this as an unavailing observation, but as the resolution of free-born Britons.'—No. 2, Comp. Pap. 34.

During all the transactions related, the hostile feelings and projects

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jects of the disaffected officers were declaredly confined to the local government of Madras. By this time, however, the dispatch of the Supreme Government, approving all the recent measures of Sir George Barlow, had been received there, and was in circulation throughout the army; but, (it is worthy of observation,) without at all affecting either the language or the conduct of the malecontents. They still united bitter invectives against the cabinet of Fort St. George, with ardent professions of attachment for their king and country; and still they continued in arms. Whatever they might attempt to persuade others, or succeed in persuading themselves, they were now, in fact, committed against all the authorities in India. At this point, therefore, we may without controversy say that the rebellion was begun; and, before we proceed farther in our sad narrative, we feel tempted to cast a retrospective glance on the previous proceedings of the Madras government.

The first which we shall consider, is the liberation of Colonel Munro from his arrest. The report of that officer respecting the tent-contract is the only important document connected with the Madras transactions, which we cannot find in the parliamentary papers. For ourselves, we do not conceive that the construction of that report materially affects the present question. In deference, however, to those who may think otherwise, and especially as circumstances have given to the obnoxious clauses a consequence scarcely their own, we shall bestow a short attention upon it.

The report, as we find by an ample extract from it given in the appendix to the 'Accurate and Authentic Narrative,' began with stating the grounds on which the system of providing camp-equipage had been originally adopted, and with observing that the measure had failed. After some farther remarks, it proceeded thus:

'Six years experience of the practical effects of the existing system of the camp-equipage equipment of the Native Army, has afforded means of forming a judgment relative to its advantages and efficiency, which were not possessed by the persons who proposed its introduction; and an attentive examination of its operation during that period of time, has suggested the following observations regarding it.'

The first and second objections to the system are, in substance, that it incurred an immense and unnecessary expense, *without accomplishing the purpose for which it had been established.* The third we transcribe entire.

'By granting the same allowances in peace and war, for the equipment of native corps, while the expences incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than in peace, *it places the interest and duty of commanding officers in direct opposition to one another.* It makes it their interest that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency

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ciency fit for field-service, and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties.'

In this passage, as connected with the preamble before quoted, the officers commanding native corps, professed to discover a strong and deliberate insinuation, that they *had in fact* yielded to the inducements here described, and sacrificed their most important duties to considerations of interest. The government, on the other hand, expressed their conviction, that, under the most tortured construction, the passage could not be so understood. The truth may, and, in our opinion, does lie between. It must always be remembered that the report is not a satirical or rhetorical composition, which must be taken to mean more than meets the eye, and in which, therefore, innuendoes are to be presumed of course, and to be construed strictly. It is a plain paper of business, and should be considered as entitled to the fairest and most honest interpretation. In this view, the passage in question does not appear to convey any thing more than that experience had afforded impressive proofs of a quality in the camp-equipage system, which had certainly been overlooked at the time of adopting it; namely, that (as Colonel Munro himself explains his expressions,) it 'produced considerable advantages to officers commanding corps in garrison, and immense expenses in the field,' and thus, by consequence, set the interests of those officers at war with their duties. In point of fact, indeed, the reader will observe that this obnoxious third objection, though governed like the rest, by the general word experience, is not connected with that word by any marked or emphatic reference; and farther, that it differs, in its very form, from the two former, by stating rather a *tendency* than an *effect*. Such is the candid interpretation; but then it must be *owned* that the passage, when once public, would be interpreted by those from whom candour was not to be expected, and could hardly even be asked. Men, jealous of their honour, and, in whatever degree aggrieved, yet aggrieved certainly, by the measure which had been adopted on the recommendation of the report, would naturally put a more invidious sense on its expressions; and a sense, at the same time, of which the expressions are plainly susceptible, though not without some force, and though, as we firmly believe, not so intended.

After all, however, this point strikes us as unimportant; and, as a proof that we so deem it, we shall now assume that the report would naturally be understood, as it was in fact understood by the officers. Still it appears to us, that under all the circumstances of the case, the desertion of Colonel Munro by the government would have been a baser act than any of which they have been accused. The honourably acute feelings of those at whose desire

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that officer was arrested, we deeply respect; but we have not the same respect for the understandings of those who, in cool blood, would have recommended to the ruling power the sacrifice of one of its servants for the discharge, to the best of his judgment, of an office imposed on him by itself. Let us suppose that the existence of great abuses directly occasioned by this system had come to his knowledge, in such a manner as to leave no doubt of the fact, while yet he could produce no legal proof of it:—Nothing surely could have been more incumbent on him, nothing more strictly within the line of his duty, than under the seal of confidence, to state the fact to his employers; nor any thing much less creditable to the latter, than that he should have been rewarded with obloquy, prosecution, and perhaps punishment.

It has been said, however, that the sanction of the government could not authorise its ministers in the commission of an illegal or criminal act; the government themselves afterwards urged a similar principle; and some rather subtle, though not equally sound, remarks have been struck out of this topic, with a view to confute them from their own mouths. Much might be offered on the subject, but, for our present purpose, it will suffice to point out one simple distinction. The ruling power of Madras could communicate to its confidential agents no privilege which it did not itself possess. So far as that power was responsible for acts committed by itself, so far, and, it seems to us, no farther, were its ministers responsible for acts committed by its orders. But to whom was that power responsible? Clearly to the superior authorities; to the Supreme Government, the Court of Directors, the King, the Parliament, the British Nation: not to the officers, civil or military, placed under it. With regard to the latter, its supremacy was beyond all question or challenge. From these, therefore, it might legally interfere to screen its official servants. In effect, that it legally possessed the right of such interference, was explicitly allowed by General Macdowall himself; and we must think that it would have been guilty of unpardonable meanness, if, completely sheltered under its prerogative, it had resigned to his fate the man who had offended only in the attempt to fulfil its commands.

What enhances the force of these considerations, is, that the alleged transgression of Colonel Munro, not only never would have taken place, except through the order of the government, but would never have been known, except through their approbation. Colonel Munro did not himself publish his report: on the contrary, it is made a charge against him by one of the party-writers before us, that he transmitted his slander to the government clandestinely, or, as this author somewhat absurdly terms it, *surreptitiously*. In truth, neither did

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did the government publish it; but still it became public, only in consequence of the sanction and acceptance which it met in that quarter. Had the Commander in Chief or the civil secretary flung it back on the reporter, it would have slept in silence.

Thus far, the discussion was personal with relation to Colonel Munro: but a trial of that officer on the charges brought against him, would have amounted to a trial of the government, inasmuch as it had approved the report on which those charges were founded. To this, it is answered, that the government, in acting on a paper presented to them, could not be necessarily considered as adopting every clause or sentiment which that paper might contain. Certainly, however, the preceding Commander in Chief had adopted the report even to this extent; for he had stated that 'the arguments set forth in it conveyed the result of the joint reflection of himself and the Quarter Master General upon the subject, and were the sum of that *experience* which arose from their respective stations:' and, though a Commander in Chief is unquestionably amenable to the civil government, we have yet to learn that he may be tried, literally or virtually, by a Court Martial composed of his own officers. But the answer is unsatisfactory even with regard to the government. It is true that the responsibility of the government might not extend to every clause or sentiment of the report which they had adopted; nor the measure, which they had in consequence taken, be founded on all the reasons advanced for it in that report. But were the officers bearing commissions under that government to be judges how far that responsibility was to extend? or to pare down, as they might think fit, the grounds on which that measure had been avowedly taken?

On the whole, it strikes us that the interference of the government, in releasing the Quarter Master General, was proper and praiseworthy. A heavy accusation, however, would still lie against them, if it could be proved that they had been guilty of publishing the document which occasioned all this ferment; but we have already stated that this assertion has been made without evidence, or rather, against it. The publication of the report was certainly, in every view, a most unfortunate, and we think also, a most culpable proceeding. We do not mean, for we do not know, and should be ashamed in a state of ignorance to insinuate, that it was effected at the expense of any breach of confidence; but undoubtedly it was most injudicious. We think too, that when the paper once appeared, the government only discharged a most sacred duty in disclaiming the sense affixed to it by the accusers of Colonel Munro; in this light, indeed, the construction put on the instrument by the government, however questionable in itself, becomes most important; but this, though as a disclaimer complete, is not equally

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equally satisfactory with the general order published on the 6th of February, that is, a fortnight after the release of Colonel Munro. From that order we make an extract.

'The governor in council desires that the officers of this army will be assured, that this government would not be less solicitous to vindicate their honour and reputation by rejecting all injurious imputations, if such could have been supposed, than the officers of the army could have been solicitous in their own vindication. The governor in council has accordingly, under this impression, been led to an attentive consideration of the expressions which are understood to have been deemed objectionable, and he has no hesitation in declaring, that it appears in his judgment impossible, under any correct construction, to attach an offensive meaning to words where injury was not meant, and where the intention of offence assuredly did not exist.'

We now proceed to examine the measures taken by the government in consequence of the order issued by General Macdowall, at the moment of his departure. As a good deal depends on that order, we shall here present it to our readers.

'(GENERAL ORDERS.)

'Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, 28th January, 1809.

'G. O. by the Commander in Chief.

'The immediate departure of Lieutenant General Macdowall from Madras, will prevent his pursuing the design of bringing Lieutenant Colonel Munro, quarter-master general, to trial for disrespect to the Commander in Chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the civil government in defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the honourable the President in Council, Lieutenant General Macdowall has received a positive order from the Chief Secretary to liberate Lieutenant Colonel Munro from arrest.

'Such conduct on the part of Lieutenant Colonel Munro being destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander in Chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service, Lieutenant General Macdowall, in support of the dignity of the profession and his own station and character, feels it incumbent on him to express his strong disapprobation of Lieutenant Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and considers it a solemn duty imposed upon him to reprimand Lieutenant Colonel Munro in general orders, and he is reprimanded accordingly.

(Signed) 'T. BOLES,

'Deputy Adjutant General.'

On the face of this order, no doubt, we should apprehend, can be entertained with respect to its meaning and tendency. It is a vehement censure on Colonel Munro for having preferred an appeal to the government, from the authority of the Commander in Chief,

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which appeal the government had sanctioned in the strongest manner, by not only accepting it, but acting upon it. It seems to us that some of the principles which we before laid down, in discussing the question respecting the charges against Colonel Munro, apply to the present question, and with increased force. If, in that case, Colonel Munro could not be brought to trial for one particular clause in a report which had been adopted by the government, still less, in this, could he be publicly rebuked for an act to which the government had given its most express and emphatic approbation. If in the former instance, the government itself would, in the person of one of its officers, have been put on its trial before an inferior and a subject authority, in this, the government itself, in the same person, and also by an inferior and a subject authority, was publicly condemned as having authorised proceedings, in a high degree criminal.

Such is the interpretation which, as we think, a plain man would naturally put on the instrument. But it has been asserted that this is not the right interpretation, that the instrument obviously, and indeed exclusively, admits of another, which would be consistent with its perfect innocence. It was, it seems, a reprimand of Colonel Munro, not for having appealed to the governor, but for having appealed to him otherwise than through the prescribed and established channel of the Commander in Chief; or, which is the same thing, not for the act, but for the mode of appeal. Our business here is only with the admissibility of this construction, and with its effect on the main question; or else we could observe, it places the unfortunate General Macdowall in no very amiable point of view: for it has already been shewn, that Colonel Munro had actually appealed through the prescribed channel of the Commander in Chief, that the Commander in Chief had flung back his appeal with indignation, and that he had then preferred the direct appeal which drew on him the order in question. But surely it would be a very whimsical refinement of cruelty, first to rebuke a subordinate officer for attempting to employ a certain channel of application, and then to reprimand him for not confining himself to the very channel from which he had been thus rudely repelled. With respect to the construction itself, we cannot help being of opinion, and shall hereafter shew, that even if admitted, it would not, in any degree, purge the order of the criminality attributed to it. In our mind, however, the instrument will, to a common understanding, coolly applied, convey but one meaning, and can be misconceived only by prejudice or inattention. In support of this position, it would be absurd to resort to those fine rules of construction, by which courts of law are in the habit of eliciting sense from ambignous documents. Our observations will

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will be directed almost solely to two questions; the first, in what sense the order of General Macdowall was, at the time of its appearance, understood by some of his immediate abettors; the other, in what sense Sir George Barlow and Colonel Munro, the persons most nearly concerned, were obliged to understand it.

It has already been said, that Major Boles was suspended by the Madras government, for having countersigned the obnoxious order of General Macdowall. In the memorial which Major Boles, on this occasion, addressed to the Court of Directors, he has, amongst other topics, argued that there was, in the paper to which he had affixed his signature, nothing of a palpably criminal or illegal nature. Had the distinction then occurred to Major Boles, between the mere *act* and the *manner* of the appeal addressed to government by Colonel Munro, he would scarcely have failed to assume this as one ground if not of defence, at least of explanation. Yet no insinuation to this effect can be discovered in his memorial; and it is sufficiently remarkable that, in referring to the words of the order, he has omitted the single expression in it on which it can be made to support the alledged distinction, the expression, 'appeal *direct* to the Honourable the President in Council.'

The same omission we find in the memorial addressed by several disaffected officers to Lord Minto, soon after the departure of General Macdowall, but we also find in it something more. It contains, in fact, a sort of loose commentary on the order under consideration; and the sense, which the writers affixed to that paper, is not to be mistaken: the length of the passage precludes the citation of more than a few sentences. 'By virtue of the warrant (it is said) which gave to the Commander in Chief, and to him only, the judicature over the Madras army, and vested in him alone the jurisdiction of it for the time being, Lieutenant General Macdowall placed Lieutenant Colonel Munro under arrest, from which arrest he has since reluctantly released that officer, in consequence of the interference of the civil government, who have thus disunited the chain, upon the integrity of which the principles of military subordination depend.' 2 A. p. 15. The memorialists then describe themselves as 'viewing the interference of the civil government to check the prescribed laws of military dependence as a dangerous innovation;' and, soon afterwards, make the following statement, 'in order to vindicate the character of his profession, and to maintain the integrity of his military authority over those under his command, Lieutenant General Macdowall directed the publication of a general order, conveying a reprimand to Lieutenant Colonel Munro, for disrespect to his Commander in Chief, in not abiding by the regular course of inquiry laid down for simi-

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lar cases.' These expressions, and others intermixed with them, might be considered as so many reverberated echoes of the sentiments conveyed by the general order, and seem, at the same time, and in no slight degree, explanatory of those sentiments. The whole effect and essence of the order, are pronounced to be, that it 'conveyed a reprimand to Lieutenant Colonel Munro, for disrespect to his Commander in Chief,' not, in appealing to government otherwise than through the prescribed channel, but—'*in not abiding by the regular course of inquiry laid down for similar cases.*'

The interpretation then, which the order received from its abettors and champions, cannot admit of much question. Let us next consider what sense the government were obliged to affix to it. On the supposition that Sir George Barlow had any doubt about the interpretation, he would naturally look to the letter which had been previously addressed to the government by General Macdowall, on their remonstrance against the proceedings respecting Colonel Munro. In that letter he would find the following words; 'I was totally unprepared to receive from the Honourable the Governor in Council, an implied censure on my conduct as Commander in Chief of this army, and a direct interference from the civil authority with the only prerogative almost remaining in his hands, *the power of judging of the propriety of bringing to trial every officer who may be accused of crimes or misdemeanors;* such interference, I presume to think, is unprecedented, and strikes me as encouraging a very dangerous example, by holding out to the army protection and support, *in defiance of the judgment and authority of the person appointed by the legislature to direct and controul the department placed under his immediate charge.*' No. I. p. 23. This is plainly nothing more than an expansion of that sentence in the general order, which charges Colonel Munro with a 'defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army.'

Colonel Munro also had a deep interest in the general order. Now this officer, as we have said, had first endeavoured to appeal to the government through the authorised channel of the officer at the head of the army, and had incurred, on that very account, a severe rebuke from General Macdowall, couched in the following terms. 'I think it will be allowed that your present attempt to make a reference to a civil government is novel and unexampled, and striking a blow at the root of military authority, which cannot be sufficiently reprobated. I trust that it will not be disputed that I have the uncontrolled and unalienable right of judging of the conduct of every officer under my command, and I cannot but view your present application as extremely indelicate and disrespectful.' No. I. p. 15. This reproof is, in its topics and

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and phraseology, almost precisely equivalent to the reprimand in the general order. The censure, therefore, Colonel Munro would naturally infer, must respect something common to the two cases; that is, it must respect, not the mode, as to which they differed, but the substance, in which they were agreed.

In the course of three or four days, General Macdowall could not have forgotten that he had written those letters. If, then, he had designed his order to point out some new offence, not complained of in those letters, it would have been his bounden duty to render this circumstance unambiguous and manifest, to define his new complaint with the utmost precision, to state specifically that his objection to the direct appeal was not, because it was an appeal, but because it was direct; and the obligation imposed on him to be thus accurate, increased in proportion as his objections in the two cases were in their general effect the same, and therefore ran a risk of being confounded. No such definiteness or discrimination appears in the order. The new transgression is designated, not as a resort to some other than the official channel of appeal, but as a *resort to the power of the civil government in defiance of the judgment of the officer placed at the head of the army.* The concluding reprobation is directed, not to a particular action done by Colonel Munro, but plurally to his '*unexampled proceedings.*'—The epithet *direct*, which, in one part of the order, is applied to the appeal, is neither conspicuous nor emphatic; it does not even occur in the body of the charge, but seems casually thrown into a supplementary sentence; and all the italic or capital types, in which mistake or design has blazoned it, cannot lift it into effectual prominence. In short, it would appear that in this criminatory proclamation, if the '*direct*' transmission of the appeal was intended to be considered as an aggravation of the misconduct imputed, it certainly was not considered as an important, or even a substantive part of it; far less as the whole.

But in what manner this point of construction is to be resolved, seems, after all, a consideration of no great moment. When the cabinet of Madras received and acted upon the remonstrance of their Quarter Master General, it appears to us that they committed themselves as much, with regard to the mode of procedure adopted by that officer, as respecting his general right to remonstrate; for surely it could not be more deeply incumbent on them to reject an application issuing from an improper quarter, than to reject one which was presented in an exceptionable and dangerous manner. In either case, the imputation aimed at him who received the sanction, must glance off on the government who gave it; and it must be remembered that the magnitude of an imputation is measured, not by the subject-matter of the offence imputed, but by its actual cha-

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racter and tendency. Turn, therefore, and wind this reprimand as we will, it will still remain, we think, a censure, an ample and unmeasured censure on the government; and consequently, the promulgation of it by a military officer subject to that government, must be regarded as a proceeding seditious and unruly, in a considerable degree.

It must be acknowledged also, we are afraid, that the peculiar circumstances under which this order was promulgated, precluded it from a very candid or gentle construction. We allude, not merely to the long contest which the author of it had previously carried on with the government, but to the postponement of the publication till after his departure. This act debarred all possibility on the side of the government, of question or remonstrance; on that of the commander, of explanation, reparation, or apology. It gave the instrument the positive and defying appearance of an *ultimatum*, and might be understood as a challenge to interpretation to do its worst. The absence of an individual, whose conduct has been ambiguous, if it be involuntary, entitles him to every charitable consideration which fancy can suggest; but a wilful or disdainful absence seems to imply a rejection of such consideration, and rather throws the burden on fancy the other way.

On the whole, our views of this subject coincide with those of Lord Minto in his powerful and eloquent dispatch to the Madras government.

'The reprimand to Lieutenant Colonel Munro was evidently intended only as a vehicle for circulating, throughout the army serving under the Government of Fort St. George, a vehement and intemperate public censure of that government, and an inflammatory address to the professional feelings of that army, and to topics thought likely to produce irritation and disorder. It was, in other words, a most seditious paper under the title of a general order to the army, and bearing the thin disguise of a reprimand to a particular officer.' No. III. p. 11.

For this misconduct, as has already been stated, General Macdowall, whose resignation of his office had not yet been received, was publicly displaced.

The propriety of this step on the part of the government, we need not discuss, as, to all intents and purposes, we have discussed it already. For Mr. Petrie is, we should conceive, the only sensible man in existence, who admitting, however cautiously, the criminal nature of the order of General Macdowall, would deny the necessity of a signal animadversion on the misconduct of that officer. A government, which should patiently submit to so open and so outrageous an insult, from such a quarter, must be a government, either in reality destitute of all power and independence, or on the verge of sealing its resignation of both.

Mr.

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Mr. Petrie, however, gives us to understand that, by the dismissal of General Macdowall from a command which he had in fact resigned, and after his departure for England, 'the government exposed their councils to the imputation of weakness, undisguised resentments, and an useless unavailing display of rigour.' He thinks also that

'We ought to have abstained from any act of personal severity to General Macdowall, to have cautiously avoided what would most certainly increase the agitation in the military mind; and, while we vindicated the supreme authority of government, by the publication of an appropriate general order to the army, have allowed the general to leave India without any farther marks of our displeasure.'

The policy recommended in these observations, is one on which we have sufficiently commented; the policy of *salving over at any rate a present wound*; a doctrine seldom safe for a state, and in the case of a contest with the military body, generally pernicious. But to counteract the effect of a general order which, as he himself admits, was calculated 'to increase the discontents' of the army, Mr. Petrie would have advised 'the publication of *an appropriate general order*,' 'vindicating the supreme authority of government.' It can hardly be meant, that government ought to have repaid General Macdowall reprimand for reprimand; for to reprimand an offender who is fairly out of reach, must at the least be as useless and ridiculous, as to dismiss an offender who is nearly out of office. The 'appropriate' proclamation, therefore, in question, must have merely been an *assertion* that, whatever might be said or even done to the contrary, the government remained after all supreme!—or, at the most, it must have been an *argument*, containing a masterly refutation of the mutiny of General Macdowall and his coadjutors, and opposing to his seditious general orders, an irrefragable body of general principles. But is there not some room to fear that while thus exerting its polemical abilities, such a government might find itself reduced to the exclamation of the unfortunate philosopher who happened to have embarked in a controversy with one of the Roman emperors; 'I find it impossible to argue against a man who is the master of legions!'

The case of General Macdowall has now detained us sufficiently long; and indeed longer than we had expected from its clearness; but the sophistry which has been employed to darken it, may plead our excuse. We shall next consider the suspension of the Adjutant and Deputy-Adjutant General.

It is hardly necessary to repeat that, in the first instance, the deputy, Major Boles, was alone suspended; and that the Adjutant-General was afterwards included in the sentence, in consequence of his avowal to government that his deputy had acted solely by his direction.

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rection. The suspension, however, of Colonel Capper did not effect the restoration of Major Boles. In fact, it is sufficiently plain, that, if the order of the commander in chief could not be admitted as an authority for the offence of which Major Boles had been guilty, neither could that of his immediate superior, Colonel Capper, be admitted as such authority.

The circumstance of the suspension of these officers seems to form the most conspicuous topic in the present controversy. This distinction, however, it has attained, as we cannot help suspecting, by accident. When the order of Sir George Barlow against General Macdowall and the two subordinate officers was promulgated, the former had already taken his departure for England; and, though he was followed, immediately after that promulgation, by Colonel Capper, yet Major Boles, the government not being able to grant him an instant passage, remained for some time in the country. The consequence was, that the affair of Major Boles, which included that of Colonel Capper, became the prominent object of attention, and the transactions more directly relating to General Macdowall sunk out of view. In England, this order of things would probably have been reversed; had not General Macdowall perished at sea, on his passage homewards. For, though Colonel Capper shared the same fate, yet Major Boles has lived to originate here in person those discussions, of which he constituted so principal a topic in the East.

We are well aware that this account is not agreeable to the representations of Mr. Petrie, who strongly and repeatedly implies that the complaints of the army, even in the first instance, principally respected the treatment of the Adjutant and Deputy-Adjutant Generals. The ground on which we venture to question the accuracy of these statements, we shall make known to the reader. The projected memorial to Lord Minto, which occasioned the orders hereafter to be considered, of the 1st of May, cannot but be regarded as an authentic record of the feelings of the disaffected officers at the period under consideration. But in the criminatory matter of that memorial, the conduct of the government towards Colonel Capper and Major Boles holds by no means the chief place. On the contrary, though pronounced to be '*equally* subversive of the foundation of authority' with the act of the removal of General Macdowall, it is, in point of fact, dilated on at far less length, and with a far less variety of acrimonious invective. The proceedings, in truth, with regard to General Macdowall, occupy almost the whole body of the paper in question, and the other subject seems to enter only as a sort of appendix. It does not therefore appear that the writers attached to that subject any paramount importance.

The alleged offence of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, in giving

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giving currency to the obnoxious order, differed in this respect from that of him who issued it; but their act may be considered as having been done in the course of office, and in obedience to the orders of their superior, the commander in chief. The law which defines, in the military service, the limits between the obedience and the responsibility of inferiors, we take to be stated with very tolerable fairness by Mr. Petrie:

'If subordinate officers are encouraged to judge of the legality of the orders of their superiors, we introduce a precedent of incalculable mischief, neither justified by the spirit or practice of the laws. Is it not better to have the responsibility on the head of the authority which issues the order, except in cases so plain, that the most common capacity can judge of their being direct violations of the established and acknowledged laws?'—Statement, pp. 21, 22.

Such unquestionably is the ordinance both of law and of reason. With regard, however, to one part of this exposition, we would suggest an additional principle, rather indeed from its general importance, than because it has any peculiar applicability to the case before us; but a principle, of which we have no doubt that Mr. Petrie himself would entirely admit the justice. It is, that the quality of an order is to be estimated, not merely on a view of the order itself, but, in part also, by the adjuncts of time, place, and situation. It must be taken in connection with the *context* of the attendant circumstances. An order may, from some carelessness in the construction of it, bear illegality on its face, while circumstances shall clearly demonstrate it to be proper. On the other hand, it may be in terms innocent, and yet in its effect and object highly and palpably criminal. The most common order, for example, in the most common routine of military duty, if issued by an officer, himself notoriously in a state of mutiny against some superior authority, is on that account vitiated; and to obey such a mandate is, legally considering it, a crime, because it is to recognize and accredit unlawful power.

Lord Minto has fully discussed, in the public paper to which we have before alluded, the problem of military responsibility; and it is observable that the duty of blind obedience in ordinary cases, is stated with still greater emphasis by this noble person, than by Mr. Petrie. It is, perhaps, not less observable that the opinions of Lord Minto and Mr. Petrie respectively, on the particular question now under consideration, are diametrically opposed. With respect to the principles by which the question is to be determined, we do not conceive that any doubt can be felt. The doubt is, how they are, in the present instance, to be applied. We shall take the liberty, therefore, of examining, in the first place, how far, from a view, both of the order itself, and of the circumstances under

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under which it was issued, there seems reason to conclude that its criminality must have been apparent to the Adjutant and Deputy-Adjutant Generals; in the second, how far the conclusion so derived appears, in point of fact, to be warranted; and finally, how far on these grounds, the punishment awarded to the officers in question may be thought justifiable.

The criminality of the order, viewed intrinsically, is, in our opinion, if the paper be read with any care, palpable to the 'most common capacity.' But the native evil of the order received, we think, deep additions of shade from the accompaniments of circumstances; nor can we readily conceive in what manner these could escape even the most careless or cursory view. On this part of the subject, we shall submit an extract of peculiar excellence from the dispatch of Lord Minto. Indeed, with the exception of one consideration which strikes us as important, and which we shall state presently, the topic seems absolutely exhausted in the exposition which we are about to copy. The extract will also convey a just idea of the merits of the dispatch referred to, which, though somewhat too declamatory, perhaps, for a state-paper, is yet on the whole, remarkable for force and ability.

'Before this order was prepared, it was not only known to those confidential staff officers of the commander in chief; but it was notorious to the whole army and settlements, that there was a warm and vehement dissension between the commander in chief and the government. These officers were acquainted with the prosecution of Lieutenant Colonel Munro, and the part which Lieutenant General Macdowall had taken in that proceeding; they knew that every step in that extraordinary transaction was a studied insult to the government; they knew that Lieutenant General Macdowall had become the patron and channel of a memorial to the Court of Directors, highly disapproved by the president in council of Fort St. George, which he had himself, at the instance of that government, and at no distant period, written circular letters to discourage and suppress, but which in a riper stage of hostility towards the person and authority of the governor, he had countenanced and promoted. It is in fine superfluous to prove, what is beyond doubt, and is not denied, that a warm passionate rupture had broken out between these two high authorities.

'The commander in chief of an army in open and ardent opposition to the government which he serves, is no trivial event, and constitutes a state of things, from which some consequences applicable to this question have appeared to us to follow.

'We consider these circumstances, therefore, as furnishing a new modification of the military principle first asserted; and we are of opinion, that in such extraordinary and momentous emergencies, it is fit and necessary to require, that an officer, whose duty it is to give currency to the orders of the commander in chief, should, contrary to the principle of blind obedience, which ought to prevail in ordinary times, carefully

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carefully consider these orders, and deliberate seriously upon their nature and purview, before he publishes them. The circulation, in heated and factious times, of a seditious address to the army, has no analogy to the principles of military obedience to a military order in the common dispatch of business, and cannot be governed by the same rules.

'We are, after much and serious reflection, decidedly of opinion, that this restriction of the military principle, the general importance of which we nevertheless feel most sensibly, cannot impair the obligations of military subordination and obedience, in any manner or degree, prejudicial to the natural and legitimate objects of military command; and that in times of trouble it may afford a most salutary and necessary protection to the government and people against the possible perversion of military supremacy to the purposes of sedition or faction.

'In a natural and wholesome state of things, the obedience of subordinate officers is to be implicit, admitting of no deliberation, and subject to no responsibility, except for plain and manifest crimes. In such distempered seasons of open contention with governments as are now in question, addresses from commanders in chief to their armies, having reference to such debates, are a fit subject of deliberation to those whose office it may be to transmit them, and a responsibility belonging exclusively to such occasions must attach even to their official and ministerial acts.'

To these observations, we cannot help making one addition. When the staff-officers received directions from General Macdowall for the publication of his order, they were aware that, before the transaction could come to the ear of the government, the principal in it would have evaded the reach of all question or expostulation. Under that consciousness, united with the considerations detailed in the preceding extract from Lord Minto, it surely behoved them to bestow a more than ordinary attention on the contents of the address. Reason, as we conceive, plainly pointed out this course; and, even independently of all formal argument, it seems scarcely credible that the air of darkness and suspiciousness, which the whole affair derived from these circumstances, should have failed to startle any mind of ordinary judgment or sensibility.

Were we swayed by the authority of one passage which we find in the statement of Mr. Petrie, we should push this argument farther, and, even if all other matter of defence were excluded, the justification of the government, we are apt to think, would be complete. According to Mr. Petrie—and we have before adverted to the sentiment—General Macdowall, at the time when the order appeared, was, to every practical purpose, irresponsible. He had virtually released himself from the controul of his superiors. The severest punishments which they retained the power of inflicting on him, were in effect utterly nugatory, and could only rebound in ridicule on themselves. The staff-officers, then, in question, who knew that

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that he was about to place himself in this situation, could, with very little propriety, shelter themselves under his mandate; for no principle in polity can be clearer than this, that the authority of a state-officer should be *co-ordinate* with his responsibility; and that, severed from that responsibility, it is nothing, or worse than nothing. On this supposition, therefore, those officers, or at all events the senior of them, had actually assumed, in the construction of reason, the *chief* responsibility of the act for which they were punished. Such at least, though not our doctrine, is or ought to be that of Mr. Petrie. It flows certainly from his premises; and the only tolerable ground on which he can resist the consequence, seems to be that he has elsewhere given to those principles a flat and unceremonious contradiction.

On the whole, however, we cannot suppress the conviction that, in the eye of law, the adjutant-general and deputy, must be presumed to have been fully aware of the criminality of the address: but how was it in point of fact? This is a question which, considering that the punishment decreed to those officers was *revocable*, the government had not, perhaps, in the first instance, any occasion, nor possibly even the right, to ask; but it will doubtless be asked by others, and the answer to it may lay open some interesting views of the whole subject.

It has been strongly asserted that the officers alluded to were unaware of the illegality of the order; but, amidst the loose and general terms in which this assertion has been made, a distinction of some moment seems to have escaped notice. Was it of the matter itself, or of the criminality of that matter, that those persons were unaware? Did the paper pass their hands unobserved; or, being observed, was it yet conceived to be legitimate? Did they overlook its purport, or misconstrue its character?

There can be little difficulty in answering these questions; but, in order to remove that little, we will refer to the memorial addressed by Major Boles, after his suspension, to the Court of Directors. In that memorial, not only does Major Boles not state that he had signed the order without observation of its contents, and not only does he seem to avoid making that statement, where it would have been greatly in his favour; but he plainly intimates that, at the time of his signing the order, it was in his deliberate judgment legal. The passage is as follows:

'Previous to the recent occurrences, there is no instance in the practice or the usage of the service, in which the authority of the commander in chief has been considered subject to a superior controul, in points that relate to the discipline, the courts of justice, or the practice and exercise of the army; a doubt respecting the integrity of this principle, would have been considered by every officer in the army as derogatory

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derogatory to the dignity of the chief command, and to the vital principle of military subordination.'—No. 1, p. 36.

Major Boles here affirms his own feelings, with respect to the order, to have been in unison with those of his brother-officers in general. It may be interesting, therefore, to subjoin the remarks which occur on that subject in the address to Lord Minto, already mentioned. This was written nearly a month before the memorial of Major Boles. It was written, in fact, during the first effervescence of passion, occasioned by the order of General Macdowall and the measures of government consequent upon it.

'They (the memorialists) see two officers of high rank, character, and respectability, publicly degraded, deprived of their particular rank, and suspended the service, for having obeyed their commander in chief in signing and publishing an order written by himself, for the purpose of vindicating the dignity of his military authority, which had been flagrantly violated by one of his own staff, who openly defied and disregarded the supreme military commission.'—No. 2, A. p. 15.

A strong disposition seems here evinced, to rest the defence of the adjutant and deputy, not on the apparent legality of the order, but on its obvious and peculiar merit. Those officers are not vindicated on the ground that they had no time, or had taken no pains, to judge of the document which they undertook to circulate, or even that to judge of it was not their province;—they are by implication vindicated, as *having* judged of it, and judged favourably.

Such appears to have been the opinion of the more disaffected part of the army; and such, we suspect, was that of the two officers more immediately concerned. Impressed, with splendid, though confused, notions of military authority, they felt, as we conjecture, a degree of professional interest in a manifesto by which that authority was asserted. The verbal decorum of that manifesto, in avoiding all direct collision with the government, satisfied the few scruples that might intrude, and superseded the task of very studiously considering how far the government had the right, or might have the power, or would have the inclination, to contest its claims. The real question, therefore, at issue, still as before, regarded the responsibility, not of subordinate officers, but of the supposed federal head of the army, the commander in chief; and was, after all, less concerned with the canons of military, than with those of civil obedience.

With respect to the punishment inflicted on the two officers, we have already shewn that it was milder in fact than in name, but the Directors, we perceive, are of opinion that, as the offenders 'were placed in a situation of difficulty,' a suspension of them from their staff-appointments would have been sufficient. Personal clemency holds among the judicial virtues a place of the first importance,

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portance, and we are therefore disposed to acquiesce in the idea of the Directors; although the effect would perhaps have been only to shew in a stronger light the necessity of vigour. For it is in vain to dissemble the real nature of the case. The chief part of the difficulty experienced by the persons alluded to, arose from their participation in the prejudices common to the army. But this was a difficulty, not so much on their side as on that of the government; it was a difficulty, which would probably have recurred in every instance; a difficulty, of which it was the essential property to presume on indulgence, and which, though in particular instances it might have been soothed and diverted, would hardly have been conquered on the whole, except by being beaten down and overcome. There perhaps has been a time, and possibly, by some rare mixture of sagacity and opportunity, that time might have been discoverable, in which the malady would have yielded to the force of mere regimen. But, long before the period under review, the happy moment had elapsed. The crisis was at hand. Matters were already on the brink of that ultimate case—a conflict between the civil and the military power; a species of warfare, in which the latter is almost always secure of success, if it be allowed to choose its weapons.

It has been said, indeed, that the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, provoked the disaffected members of the army; and Mr. Petrie in particular reprobates it as having laid *the match that communicated the flame to almost every military mind in India*. The assertion, however, of Mr. Petrie does not seem warranted; and his implied objection certainly is not conclusive. Aggression is generally tranquil till it is resisted; yet this is never considered as a reason for passiveness. It is of the very nature of defence, in the first instance to inflame attack; yet no man therefore disclaims the authority of the prime law of nature. But, if opposition necessarily provokes an enemy, it is conceivable that the most effective opposition may be that which gives him the greatest provocation. The wound which, in its first effect, most highly exasperates, often in the sequel, most completely enfeebles. In the present case, however, these obvious truths are perhaps scarcely worth citing, for their applicability to it is by no means clear. That the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles, very peculiarly or prominently aggravated the discontents of the army, we have before stated our reasons for disbelieving; and whoever reads with any care the address to Lord Minto, prepared immediately after that occurrence, will, we are persuaded, be inclined to adopt the same conclusion.

We shall here close our review of the steps taken by the Madras government previously to the undisguised breaking out of rebellion. The

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The general orders of the 1st of May are allowed, both by friends and foes, to have been so much in character with the prior measures,—are blamed, and must be defended, on grounds so nearly the same,—that we should consider it as an unreasonable encroachment on the time of the reader, if we criticised them with the same fulness. Those who have hitherto accompanied us in our sentiments, will unquestionably deem these orders generally right; though, with respect to one officer, we have our doubts. But the proofs are before the ruling authorities at home, and not before the public. We now resume our narrative.

As we are advanced to the very crisis of the rebellion, it will be interesting to the reader to peruse an extract from the official dispatch of the Madras government, furnishing an exposition of the views and feelings with which that government regarded the existing situation of affairs, and the principles by which their conséquent policy was shaped.

'We considered concessions to the demands of the disaffected officers to be pregnant with consequences more dangerous to the public interests than any which could result from the most strenuous efforts for the maintenance of our authority. Concession would have effectually confirmed the spirit of sedition and insubordination which pervaded the army; it would have established an ascendant power in the army uncontroulable by the government, it would have strengthened the presumption, contempt for authority, and confidence in their power, which were but too prevalent in the army, and, if it had not actually caused the subversion of the government, would have reduced it to a degree of weakness which would have led to the most fatal disorders. Any attempt, even for the purposes of conciliation, in the existing state of things, would have been productive of equally pernicious effects. To have endeavoured to conciliate at a time when the conduct of the army demanded signal punishment, would naturally have produced the conclusion, that our measures were dictated by a consciousness of our weakness, and would in fact have borne the appearance of submission to the outrageous conduct and menacing language of the army. These considerations derived force from the peculiar nature of the demands of the army. They required the repeal of orders issued by the government for the punishment of officers who had committed great offences. The repeal of these orders would in fact have been an acknowledgment of their being either unjust, or of the army having a right to skreen persons from punishment due to their offences. In either case, that measure would have transferred one of the most important rights of government to the army, and have made that body entirely independent of the law. We therefore resolved, after mature reflection on all the considerations which entered into this most important question, to avoid concession, and to maintain the just right and powers of the government by a firm exertion of its authority, and by a prompt employment for that purpose, of all the means at our command. This resolution was also founded

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founded on a consideration of the resources at our disposal for defeating the designs of the disaffected officers, if they should proceed to extremities. We knew that his Majesty's troops were entirely loyal, and we calculated on having at our command a force sufficient to overawe the disaffected officers, or, if necessary, to reduce them by force.

'We were not insensible to the great responsibility which we should encounter, in the execution of this resolution, to maintain the authority entrusted to us unimpaired, but we entertained no doubt of the ultimate success of that course of proceeding; and as we have already stated, we were convinced that it would involve no consequences which were not infinitely less dangerous to the national interests, than those which would have inevitably resulted from submission to the menaces of a revolted army.'

Before a regular plan of military operations, as a provision against the worst, could be formed, it was the business of government to secure to themselves a sufficient military force of unquestionable loyalty. The king's troops at the immediate command of the presidency were not a few; but, in addition to these, it was thought proper to apply to the governments of Bombay and Ceylon, for such troops of the same kind as they could spare. It appears that the corps of Europeans detached in consequence of this application from Ceylon, was accompanied by another of three hundred Caffres. It certainly would have been a curious spectacle to behold, on the plains of the Carnatic, a body of Caffres contending against rebellious British subjects in defence of the British authority.

Concurrently with this first measure, it was determined by the government, to distribute the Company's troops, so as to place the principal bodies of them in the neighbourhood of an overawing number of king's troops, and to break the rest into small parties. For this purpose, among other arrangements, orders were sent for the march of a battalion of Sepoys from Hydrabad, of three battalions from Travancore, and of a battalion of Sepoys and a company of artillery from Seringapatam. Whether these orders would be obeyed, was with respect to Hydrabad, at least, a matter of doubt; for the dispersion of the disaffected could not be more an object to the government, than concentration was desirable to the disaffected themselves. In the event, however, they were disobeyed, not only at Hydrabad, but also at Travancore and Seringapatam.

But with the measures stated, the government combined others of a less obvious and more strenuous nature. It was clear that the Sepoys in the Company's service had no personal interest in the success of the mutiny, and it was, in point of fact, believed that, to secure the co-operation of that gallant body, a thousand arts of deception had been practised on them by their officers. On the other hand, although the ringleaders of the mutiny had publicly assumed to themselves the credit of an unanimous support from their brethren,

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brethren, it was not clear that even the officers themselves were universally disaffected. These considerations, together with the obvious expediency, at such an emergency, of accurately knowing both the extent of the danger and the attainable means of encountering it, suggested to the councils of Madras two courses of proceeding, both of which have been the subjects of vehement discussion; and of which we may at least say, that they leave those who adopted them, no escape in mediocrity: they were evidently of a very bold and decisive character; if they can be excused, they ought to be applauded, and must, as we apprehend, be set to the account, either of a more than ordinary heroism, or of a most criminal temerity.

The first of the proceedings to which we allude, was the attempt to detach the Sepoys and their native officers, from the cause of the mutineers. The loyalty for which the native troops are distinguished towards the British government, has of course always passed through the medium of those by whom they have been directly commanded; and there might, therefore, seem to be some hazard, in repelling this feeling from its accustomed channels, of dissipating it altogether. It is a fair problem, however, in which case the feeling was likely to suffer the most; whether, when the government endeavoured to divert it from the officers, or when the officers endeavoured to divert it from the government. At all events, we must remember that matters were here reduced to a choice of difficulties. If a considerable portion of the native soldiery could not be severed from the standard of mutiny, it was morally certain that the mutiny would have issued in civil war, and but too probable that the rebels would, for a time, have been successful. Even the contingent success of their rebellion might probably have proved a less evil than that which would assuredly have followed on its first overt commencement, the pouring over the Decan of all those fierce spoilers whom only the terror of our arms contains beyond our northern frontier. It is difficult to imagine what future advantages would have compensated to us for such a sacrifice; and, even independently of these considerations, not very easy to discover, why the chance of some future revolt of our Sepoys, without these officers, was more to be deprecated, than the certainty of their immediate revolt under the superintendence of British skill and enterprize. We may add, that it would surely have seemed a most profligate act in the British government, had we, without a single effort, permitted these unhappy victims of delusion to be so cruelly inveigled into all the guilt and probable punishment of rebellion, and a rebellion too, in which they had no personal interest whatever.

The policy of detaching the Sepoys from their rebellious officers had

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had been adopted by Lord Clive, the father of our Indian dominion, on the mutiny of the Bengal officers in the year 1765. In truth, he, in 1765, carried this policy to a much farther extent than Sir George Barlow in 1809; for the former, finding that the refractory officers whom he had discarded, shewed some disposition to continue embodied in his neighbourhood, actually dispatched a corps of Sepoys to disperse those officers, or to bring them prisoners into his camp. So deeply did this illustrious commander venture to wound a feeling, which it is now asserted, should, under every extremity, be left inviolate; and a much greater authority than even Clive,—that of experience,—has fully justified his boldness. Yet there are not wanting those, who pronounce of the milder measure of Sir George Barlow, that a more unwise or unstatesmanlike action was never committed, and who predict from it the most deplorable consequences. It would seem to follow, then, either that Lord Clive was deficient in wisdom and statesmanship, which is impossible;—or that these accusers of Sir George Barlow are but indifferent judges of what may be wise and statesmanlike; which, perhaps, is not impossible. And either the proceeding of Lord Clive was attended with the most fatal effects; or the predictions of the persons aforesaid, with regard to that of Sir George Barlow, are founded on some other basis than that of experience.

In conjunction with this course of policy we must view another, —the requisition of a solemn pledge or declaration from all the officers of the Company's army, that they would, agreeably to the tenour of their commissions, obey the orders, and support the authority of the government of Madras. Here also, the justification of the measure rests in the extremity of the case. The government was, to all appearance, on the eve of a violent combat with rebels. The insurgents had publicly and formally announced that all their brethren in the service of the government shared in their disaffection; and the boast, though probably exaggerated, evidently had a better foundation than could have been wished. This was a state of things, in which doubtfulness would be even more pernicious than avowed hostility. At the same time, there seemed no indelicacy in demanding that those whose support was thus pleaded, should publicly repel a public imputation. It should be observed, farther, that the disaffected officers, while they disclaimed allegiance to the Madras government, uniformly took refuge in the salvo of an unalterable attachment to their king, their country, and their employers. It was particularly with a view to meet this quirk of conscience that the proposed declaration was framed, the officers being required by it to promise, 'in the most solemn manner,' and 'upon their word of honour,' obedience to the Governor in Council

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of Fort St. George. It could not be imagined that those officers, however deluded, would commit their personal honour on a shameless falsehood; and this especially, as the test was not offered to them by any official or state act of the government, but by the commanding officers at the several stations respectively, and, in most cases, before they could possibly have heard that such a measure was in contemplation.

It was directed that such officers as declined this test should be temporally removed from the execution of duty with their troops, still drawing, however, their ordinary allowances, and having the liberty of residing at any point, of a certain extent, of the sea-coast to the south of Madras, which they might prefer. The commanders of divisions were particularly instructed, at the same time, to conciliate the native officers of the Sepoys, and to impress on them their paramount duty of obedience to the state.

That these measures would secure the principal part of the native force stationed to the south of the Kistna, the government entertained no doubt; and, while the measures were in a state of execution, they proceeded, without loss of time, to frame a plan of military operations for the threatened contest. The great stations of the disaffected troops were three; within the peninsula, Seringapatam; without the peninsula, Masulipatam and Hydrabad. The peninsula, so called, is that part of the Decan lying to the south of the Kistna, a river which, flowing nearly from west to east, falls into the Bay of Bengal. Madras, we need hardly say, is situated far within the peninsula, and on the coast of that Bay. Seringapatam, the former capital of Hydra Ally and Tippoo, lies also within the peninsula, but inland, nearly west of Madras, and distant from it about 290 miles. Hydrabad lies inland considerably to the north of the Kistna, and about 350 miles from Madras. Masulipatam lies on the sea-coast, in fact, within the Delta, formed by the mouths of the Kistna, and is about 290 miles from Madras, and about 200 from Hydrabad. The plan of government was, on one hand, to collect such an efficient force about Seringapatam, as might blockade the insurgents in that city, supposing them to continue refractory; on the other, to prepare for the contingencies of a conflict with those in the north.

As it was well understood that the officers at Hydrabad had desired a detachment of their own body, which was advanced to Jaulna, to join them, they could not be believed to have the intention of moving northwards. The probability was, that they would adopt one of two plans. First, they might march towards Masulipatam, and, effecting a junction with the disaffected troops in that city and its neighbourhood, either maintain themselves in the northern division, or move towards Madras. Secondly, the junc-

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tion might take place at a more inland point, and the united body move down in a more inland line, through what are called the Ceded Districts, either towards Seringapatam, or towards Madras. A third course southwards, the nature of the country hardly allowed. With a view to provide against such events, the government arranged the formation of two principal corps; the one, in the neighbourhood of Madras; the other in the ceded districts. If the rebel army should attempt to proceed through the ceded districts, they would there find themselves opposed by a superior force. If they should march down by the other route, the corps collected about the presidency would be able to make head against them, while, at the same time, a part of the troops in the ceded districts, might be recalled, and the rest, marching onwards to Hydrabad, might secure the important interests connected with that station, the very key to the northern frontier of our dominions in the Decan. Lastly, if they should remain in the northern division, the corps in the ceded districts was to advance in quest of them. The details of this plan, as well as some minor arrangements which formed an appendix to it, we omit.

The plan described was in a course of execution during the latter part of July, and the beginning of August; but, by this time, other transactions were taking place, which, from their great eventual effect, it is necessary to relate.

The orders for the tender of the test, and the removal of such officers as should refuse to accept it, were carried into complete effect, through all the troops in the vicinity of Madras; and generally through the centre division of the army, as well as the stations in the ceded districts. All the Company's officers, with the exception of the staff, and a few others, being pledged to the common cause, declined accepting the test; they were, therefore, temporally removed, and officers of approved loyalty placed in their room. The transaction passed in perfect quietness. In every instance, the native troops, on receiving the explanations prescribed by the orders, cheerfully proclaimed their resolution to adhere to the state, and to obey no other leaders than those whom the state should approve. The seniors among the native officers declared, in the idiom of the East, that, having grown old in the service, 'they would not now acknowledge any other master than the Company, *whose salt they had eaten so long.*'

Towards the southern part of the peninsula, however, the execution of the orders in question was, in some cases, delayed; from no cause, as far as appears, excepting the indecision of the commanding officers charged to enforce them. It must be owned, indeed, that the task, however strongly enjoined, either by authority, or by policy, might have staggered even a bold heart. We question not the

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the personal gallantry of the individuals alluded to, which, we have no doubt, was infinitely beyond suspicion; but it requires one species of courage to provoke death in the field, and another to face the upbraidings, the resentment, or the despair, of those who have long and habitually been our friends and associates. Besides this, the disaffected officers took pains to instil into the minds of the commanders of divisions the idea that the connection between themselves and the Sepoys was indissoluble. From some of those commanders, and those too king's officers, letters appear, expressing the most lively apprehensions that any attempt to separate the Sepoys from these officers, would instantly unite both in a violent insurrection, and that the next occurrence would be a general rebellion of the natives of the country. Yet it is remarkable that, with the exception of the three principal stations of mutiny, and some posts immediately attached to them, scarcely a single instance can be found in which these gloomy forebodings were, in any degree, justified by the event.

Of the alarmists, if we may so call them, to whom we refer, one is the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, who commanded in Travancore. We make no scruple of mentioning the name of this gallant officer, since it has already been brought forward, on this question, somewhat obtrusively, and, as we think, very foolishly. For the truth is, that the strong predictions of Colonel Stuart, with respect to the fatal consequences that might be expected from the enforcing of the test in his own corps,—predictions, which have been paraded by the writers, hostile to Sir George Barlow, as demonstrative of the insanity of the measures adopted by that statesman,—received a full practical refutation, a very few days after they were uttered: The governor, unmoved by the expostulations of the officer in question, nor bating a jot of his confident expectation that his plan would be successful, required that his orders might, at all events, be carried into effect. Colonel Stuart did his duty, with much violence to his feelings, and, certainly, under his view of affairs, with great personal resolution. The majority of his officers declining the test, were accordingly suspended; and the effect of this proceeding on the native officers, whom it was expected to have irritated to madness, is thus described by Colonel Stuart himself.

'Immediately after suspending the officers, I assembled all the native officers, and explained to them the orders of Government; *they have unanimously declared their attachment to Government, and that they will punctually obey all orders, and any officers whom I may appoint to command them.*'—2 E, p. 35.

Surely, then, the reference, on this occasion, to the opinion, however respectable, of Colonel Stuart, is somewhat unfortunate,

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and the result of the transaction may be considered as justifying the feeling of honest pride with which the Government seem to advert to their own conduct respecting it.

'The native officers and men in Travancore manifested the utmost steadiness and attachment to the state, a circumstance which proved that the apprehensions which had been industriously excited in the mind of Lieutenant Colonel Stuart were without foundation.'

Other instances of exactly the same nature, the papers furnish; but to detail them would be tedious. It must not, however, be therefore supposed that the king's officers were unanimous in deprecating the strong measures of the government; nor, even if the governor had most unwarrantably abandoned his judgment to the authority of that body, is it by any means clear, that his course of policy would have been at all different from what it was. One decided advocate of Sir George Barlow's measures, close in the neighbourhood of Colonel Stuart, and like him a king's officer, we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of naming, especially as he has been named with some obloquy, by the opponents of the governor, Lieutenant Colonel Wilkinson, the commandant at Tritchinopoly. Of this able and gallant soldier we had never heard, before we saw his name in the parliamentary papers; but his letters have left in us an impression of sincere respect. It is remarkable, that the general idea of suspending all those among the Company's officers, whose fidelity might be impeachable, had occurred to Colonel Wilkinson, previously to the proposal of the test by the government. In a letter to the governor's military secretary, he recommends, on the supposition that the whole of the Company's officers were infected with disloyal sentiments, the removal of them all.

'I am convinced,' he observes, 'that with secrecy, proper arrangement, and a simultaneous movement, the most of the native troops in the Carnatic may be changed, in one day, from a seditious to a loyal army.'—2 C, p. 41.

We deny not that the scheme is somewhat violent, and that to have adopted it rashly would have been highly criminal. We must recollect, however, that it was merely a suggestion; and the subsequent letters of Colonel Wilkinson have persuaded us, that his method of carrying into effect the orders of Government was not more firm than prudent and considerate.

Thus far, then, the result of the proceedings of the cabinet of Madras had fully corresponded to their hopes; and the greater part of the native troops, stationed towards the south of the Kistna, were brought under the command of the state. It is now requisite to cast our eyes more particularly on the strong-holds of insurrection beyond the Kistna and at Seringapatam. Few things can be

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be more dull in the recital than the mere preparations for action, and of such dulness we have administered to our readers no very moderate quantity; but we fear that they will hardly find themselves better amused even by what remains. It is true, that the scenes which we have yet to describe, display somewhat more of life and movement than the past narrative, nor are they destitute of incidents distinguished by a feature the most interesting that can attach to a history of human actions—the developement of strong character; yet they are not, on the whole, sufficiently busy or picturesque to engage the attention deeply; and the prime duty which we have imposed on ourselves, of a scrupulous and elaborate accuracy, precludes us from all attempts to communicate to them a more dramatic effect than they originally possess.

The subsidiary force at Hydrabad, after their declared acquiescence in the views of the mutineers at Masulipatam, proceeded, in their counsels at least, from one stage of rebellion to another. On the 21st of July, they presented their nominal commander, Lieutenant Colonel Montresor, with an address, to be forwarded to Government, which they were pleased to denominate their *ultimatum*. This paper required, as the conditions of their submission, a public revocation of the obnoxious orders of the 1st of May; the full restoration of every officer who had been removed either from the service, or from his situation; the trial of Lieutenant Colonel Innes, by a court-martial, for his conduct at Masulipatam; the removal, from their situations, of such officers on the staff as had been the advisers of the late measures of Government; and, lastly, a general amnesty. With these concessions, the officers solemnly pledged themselves to be satisfied, and expressed, at the same time, their conviction, that all their disaffected brethren would be equally moderate. In order, however, to enforce, if it should be found necessary, these demands, they dispatched a requisition to the force at Jaulna to join them at Hydrabad, with a view to effect a combined march southwards. The project in which they seem finally to have rested, was that of proceeding directly down into the peninsula, and, after they should have accomplished a junction with such disaffected troops as they could find in the Mysore country, of marching against Madras. This, the reader will recollect, was one of the movements, the possibility of which, on their part, the governor had foreseen, and against which he had made provision. In these proceedings, it will not be imagined that they received the slightest countenance from their gallant and loyal commander Lieutenant Colonel Montresor. The authority of that officer was now, in effect, reduced to a shadow; but he continued in the cantonment, where they were stationed, with the

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hope, a hope but imperfectly fulfilled, of being able to moderate their violence.

The cabinet of Madras appears to have kept an anxious eye on this station, and to have seen the importance of endeavouring to dissipate, if possible, those elements of disorder which were here collecting. The means, however, were not very apparent. The policy of overawing disaffection, by the presence of king's troops, was, in this case, precluded by circumstances; His Majesty's 33d Regiment, which made a part of the subsidiary force, being the only king's corps stationed to the north of the Kistna, and being every where surrounded by battalions of the Company's army. The experiment of weakening the disaffected force, by detaching some portion of it to another quarter, never was very hopeful, and, in the issue, completely failed. Before the result, however, of this experiment could be known at Madras, it had occurred to the Government, that no method so probable could be pursued, of effecting their object, as by deputing to the stations some individual of eminent talents, rank in the service, and influence over the natives, who should exert his efforts both to reclaim the officers, and to disabuse the Sepoys. For the performance of this difficult, and, in some respects, painful office, they selected Colonel Barry Close, of the Company's service, at that time resident at the Mahratta Court of Poonah. This officer was, therefore, appointed colonel-commandant of the subsidiary force at Hydrabad, and was officially apprised of the object of Government in making that appointment.

The letter in which Colonel Close replies to the proposal of Government, does him, we think, great honour. The appointment he accepts with readiness, but, having been desired, in the official letter of Government, to state, unreservedly, his ideas with regard to the existing situation of affairs, he enters on the subject with all the frankness of a soldier. The general line of conduct adopted by Government he unequivocally commends, but not without an undisguised exception as to some particular points. With regard to the expedient of detaching the native troops from the European officers, he allows its applicability to an extreme struggle, but seems to imply some degree of doubt whether that crisis had yet arrived.

Not less creditable to those from whom it proceeded, is the answer of Government. With a warm encomium on the alacrity of Colonel Close in the service of the public, they express no displeasure at his comments on their conduct. (2 D. p. 2.) His doubts whether the moment for detaching the native troops had yet arrived, they ascribe to the defectiveness of his information, writing, as he did, at a very distant station. In this sentiment, they appear to

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to have been correct; for, subsequently to his visit to Hydrabad, we find Colonel Close plainly expressing his conviction that the mutinous officers were prepared to rush to all extremities, and would be subdued only by the force or the terror of arms. The circumstances, indeed, which attended that visit, rendered it tolerably evident, as we shall see, that matters were already reduced to that 'extreme struggle,' of which he had spoken. At the same time, it is worthy of notice, that the Government, confiding in their own better opportunities of judgment, and in the use which they had made of those opportunities, shew themselves, in no degree, staggered by the doubts even of so considerable and so favourite an officer.

The Government were rather sanguine as to the success of this experiment; for they well knew him to whose hands they had committed it. They knew him to be of a skill equally approved, and a courage equally clear, in action and in counsel. They knew that, by a native elevation of mind and intellect, he had risen above the prejudices natural to the members of a numerous provincial army. They knew that a long residence amidst the effeminacy of eastern courts, and the chicanery of eastern cabinets, while it had inured him to a perfect acquaintance with the native character, had yet left unimpaired the purity of his patriotic ardour, and the correctness of his military principles. They knew that his high qualifications, and eminent services, political and warlike, had rendered his name not more respectable, in the eyes of his countrymen, than venerable to the native soldiery. In such hands, the experiment would, at all events, be well tried; and if the result was not favourable, it would at least be decisive.

The mutineer officers had heard of the appointment of Colonel Close, had divined the purposes of it; and dreading his known influence over the minds of the sepoys, had originally determined to prohibit his approach within the distance of a stage from Hydrabad. This prohibition, had they persevered in it, they would have found it necessary to carry into effect by force; for Colonel Close had so fully entered into the mind of government respecting his mission, that he was resolved on obtaining, at whatever risk, an interview with the troops. Lieutenant Colonel Montresor, however, prevailed on the officers to abandon their purpose; but it was still doubtful whether they would permit Colonel Close to enter the cantonment. Whatever might at that time be their intentions on this point, it is well understood that they employed every art and the greatest pains, to preoccupy the minds of the native soldiery. Among other tales of a similar kind, they assured them that it was the determination of government to disband half the battalions, to reduce the pay of both officers and men, and in event of their resisting these arrangements, to march against them the king's troops,

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troops, and deliver them to military execution. Colonel Close was represented as the instrument chosen for the perpetration of these monstrous acts, and of course as an object of peculiar jealousy.

Having travelled from Poonah with extraordinary celerity, Colonel Close arrived at the residency in Hydrabad, on the 3d of August. Here he was received by Lieutenant Colonel Montresor and the officers of the staff, and the former resigned to him the command of the subsidiary force. Nor could this supersession at all wound the feelings of that excellent officer, considering the superior standing of Colonel Close, and his distinguished aptitude derived from long acquaintance with the native troops, for the office entrusted to him. At the residency, the senior major of the subsidiary force waited on him, announcing himself as the forerunner of a deputation of his brother officers who were on the road. Colonel Close observed that he had been appointed to the command of the subsidiary force, and that the proper place for a conference with his officers was the cantonment, whither he was immediately about to proceed. Being urged to declare the intentions of government, he replied that he would declare them at the cantonment, and that the communication would be such as, he hoped, might prove satisfactory. He then mounted his horse and rode to the cantonments, accompanied by Colonel Montresor, the general staff, and some other officers, and escorted by a troop of native cavalry from the residency.

It is to be observed, that, by this time, Colonel Close had received further instructions from government than those with which he set out from Poonah. He was also enjoined to enforce the test of allegiance on the Company's officers, a measure which had been devised subsequently to his appointment; by this order his anxiety to shew himself in the cantonment had been increased. At first it had occurred to him that he would do well to place himself, on his entrance, at the head of the single king's regiment contained in the enclosure, with a view, not of using violence, but of commanding respect. Such a step, however, would have excited the jealousy of the disaffected party; and besides was the less practicable, since the regiment in question happened to be quartered at a considerable distance from the entrance into the cantonment. The plan was therefore relinquished.

It had been expected that the attempt of Colonel Close to enter the cantonment would have been resisted by the main piquet, but the piquet saluted him respectfully and permitted him to pass. Then, halting in front of the lines of a native battalion, he summoned the chief officers of corps; he was joined, however, only by two majors; but of these, one was the senior Company's officer with the force.

These officers he addressed strongly, but in a temperate manner, describing

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describing to them the criminality of their conduct and the desperate situation to which they reduced themselves. Under present circumstances, it was necessary, he said, for the government to ascertain accurately the sentiments of its armies, and to distinguish the obstinately guilty from those who retained or who were disposed to resume their loyalty. He then tendered to them the test; stating at the same time, that, from a consideration towards the feelings of such officers as might have entangled themselves in culpable engagements with their brethren, government allowed them the alternative of a temporary retirement from the exercise of their military functions, still drawing their allowances. The officers were much affected by this address, but replied that a compliance with the wish of the government in either alternative was impossible; that the army had pledged itself to the prosecution of certain objects, and could not desist from the pursuit. They then desired time to deliberate and to consult with their brother officers; but Colonel Close, who knew what would be the certain result of delay, refused to grant it.

A long and anxious conversation now took place, in which Colonel Close pressed every appeal to the reason and the feelings of the two officers. He particularly addressed the senior major, reminded him of the long period of his service, his rank, and his particular situation in the force, and implored him to embrace this last occasion of returning with honour to the bosom of his country. The officers seemed deeply agitated, but finally refused to abandon their purpose.

Colonel Close, on this communication, altering his tone, informed those officers that their disobedience had left him at full liberty to follow his farther instructions. Then, turning to the troop of native cavalry which had formed his escort, he accosted them in their own language, explaining to them the situation of affairs, the misconduct of their officers, and their paramount obligation to obey him as their authorised commander. The native soldiers had long been acquainted with the name and services, if not with the person of Colonel Close. They listened attentively and *salamed* to him with great respect. The mutineers perceived the danger of this crisis, and while Colonel Close was yet addressing the troopers, he observed the sepoys of the battalion rushing to arms and forming with the greatest rapidity, under the direction of European officers. Not a moment was to be lost. Beckoning to the troopers to follow him, he rode into the divisions, and, with his breast at the points of their bayonets, expostulated with the sepoys. He called on the native officers to explain the cause of all this agitation and violence. He told them that he was himself an old officer in the same service with them, that with them he had served and fought, that he

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was their leader and their friend, and that the government was their benefactor and their support. He seized several of them with his hand, and entreated them to obey their commander. The confusion and bustle, however, were now so great, that much of what he said was lost on the sepoys. The officers too became more and more enraged and urgent; and the order was given for the troops to *wheel into line*. This was the critical point of the whole contest. An officer gave the word for his company to wheel into line: Colonel Close opposed himself to the order: the conflict was violent; the officer calling on his men to march, the Colonel with equal peremptoriness commanding them to stand fast. The sepoys confounded and agitated, paused for a while, but, at length, delusion and disobedience for the time prevailed. The company wheeled, the other companies followed the example; and all primed and loaded. The escort of cavalry drew their swords, and trotting off, took their place in the line. The other battalions had also in the mean while formed, and thus the whole force, together with the park of artillery, was arrayed in arms against their commander and prepared for action.

Even this strange scene, disgraceful as it might be to the principles of these misguided men, left some little salvo to their fame, in the credit which it did to their tactical discipline. In the midst of so much agitation and confusion, the troops formed with that perfect skill and precision, which have ever rendered the Madras sepoys the envy even of European warriors. An officer of the staff of Colonel Close on this critical occasion, seems to have surveyed the spectacle, awful as it was, and has since described it, with the involuntary sympathy of a soldier. 'The formation (he observes) was completed with the greatest order and regularity, and I never in my life saw a more beautiful line.'*

Colonel Close was not yet subdued, and made a last struggle to recover the sepoys to their allegiance. The officers, at least the juniors among them, were incensed beyond bounds, and demanded permission of the commander to fire on the colonel and his staff; but it was refused. The artillery-men, however, fell out in front of their guns, and seemed marching to seize his person. Colonel Close perceiving that the contest was at an end, once more addressed the senior major. 'As you, he said, are the senior officer present at the shameful opposition which has been shewn to my orders, I shall consider you as particularly responsible for what has occurred. My authority has been openly and completely rejected; and I am your prisoner.' The senior officers, however, had not thrown off their long established feeling of respect for his character. In the

* See the Appendix to the Accurate and Authentic Narrative.

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strongest terms they disclaimed the intention of subjecting him to personal violence, and expressed their deep regret at the necessity which had driven them to insult his authority. The colonel then retired from the cantonment; defeated indeed, but, as will hereafter be seen, not utterly unsuccessful.

Surely the whole of this picture wants not clear traits of dignity and greatness; nor will the transaction misbecome the pages of that historic chapter which confers immortality on our Clives and our Cootes. The officer whom we before quoted, accompanied his account of it with the following interesting comment. 'I was within three yards of the Colonel during the whole time, and a more awful or a more anxious scene I never witnessed. Every mind, even those of the very persons who were resisting his authority, seemed filled with admiration at the firm, manly, and soldierlike conduct of Colonel Close.'

Immediately after the departure of Colonel Close, the field-officers waited on him at the quarters of Lieutenant Colonel Montresor, with an address respecting the grievances of the army. Colonel Close declined receiving it; and, being requested by them to proceed to Madras, where, by his influence with the government, he might promote their interests and wishes, he replied that his orders did not give him the option of proceeding to Madras, and that he had no intention of undertaking the office they proposed to assign to him. On the following day he received from the officers a letter requiring that he would immediately leave the vicinity of Hydrabad on pain of their resorting to 'more unpleasant decisive measures.' The truth is, that a reflection on the events of his visits to the cantonment, acting on their conviction of the general estimation in which he was held by the native soldiers, had satisfied them that not only his presence, but even his neighbourhood, was dangerous to their usurped authority. This requisition Colonel Close had expected, and had determined to remain in defiance of it; but receiving in the interim an intimation from government, that in the event of the ill success of his mission, it was their purpose to place him at the head of the force destined against those insurgents whom he had failed to conciliate or to divide, he thought proper to comply.

But the attempt of Colonel Close to detach the native soldiery from their officers, did not merely alarm the military committees at the encampment of Hydrabad: it also irritated them; and, in the first instance at least, inflamed their rebellious purposes. On the very same day, fresh summons were dispatched to the detachment at Jaulna; and, in consequence of these, that detachment actually commenced its march southwards. The Jaulna officers, on commencing their march, issued a declaration, purporting that the object of this movement was to obtain from the government of Madras, an

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an amnesty to the army for their past acts, and a solemn assurance that the course of unnecessary severity which had led to the existing situation of affairs, would be abandoned; and protesting that they would use no force or violence in the prosecution of their purpose, *unless they should be opposed.* In accordance with the spirit of this last exception, the declaration disclaimed all personal hostility, on the part of the officers, towards Sir George Barlow, thus affording 'proof (as it was expressed) of *moderation unexampled,*' and further, stated that the detachment in addition to the designs already mentioned, marched in order '*to prevent the effusion of human blood.*' It is hardly necessary to observe that the Hydrabad force also expected to be joined by the rebel-garrison of Masulipatam.

In this stage, however, we must leave the councils and proceedings to the north of the Kistna; and turn our attention to the fortress of Seringapatam, where occurrences of equal importance were about the same time taking place.

It has already been observed that the official order for the detachment of a battalion of sepoys and a company of artillery from Seringapatatam had been disobeyed. This act of mutiny was committed on the 20th July; and the disaffected officers thenceforth advanced to greater excesses. Lieutenant Colonel Davis, who, as the commanding officer in Mysore, had entered the fort with the view of exerting his efforts to restore order, they placed under arrest for a day, although he was afterwards permitted to retire. The declaration prescribed by government, they rejected with scorn, two officers excepted: one of whom made it only to violate it. They seized the public treasure, and sent out a party of troops who intercepted a large sum on its way to the paymaster from the ceded districts. They also drew up the drawbridges of the fort, and cut off all communication with the country. Their number, and the scanty force present of the King's troops, enabled them to venture on these outrages with impunity.

Seringapatam, which the reader will perfectly remember, was formerly considered as the capital of the Mysore country, is a fortress of considerable strength. The tributary power, however, which the British government exalted to the throne of Tippoo, after the destruction of that prince, resides, not in Seringapatam, but in a city about eight miles distant, itself named Mysore. In this place the rajah or sovereign, who was yet minor, ostensibly held his court, under the superintendence, in fact, of his prime minister. Hither Colonel Davis retired on his departure, if we should not rather term it his expulsion, from Seringapatam; and here were thenceforward situated what may be called the head-quarters of the British interests in the Mysore district. From the two cities of Seringapatam and Mysore, as from two entrenched camps, the adverse

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adverse parties, of the rebels and the loyalists, overlooked and frowned on each other.

It was fortunate for the British interests at this point, that they were vested in hands deserving of so great a trust; and the events of the war, if we may apply to this contest so harsh a term, in the Mysore quarter, afforded, on the side of government at least, no mean display of talents and resolution. Among the foremost who distinguished themselves in this service, must be mentioned Colonel Davis himself. Feeble from sickness, and for a part of the time even confined to his couch, this officer unremittingly maintained such a vigour and wisdom of conduct, as could only have been expected from the soundest mind, acting under the fullest health. Equal commendation is due to the great coadjutor of Colonel Davis, the honourable Arthur Cole, acting resident on the part of the British government at the Court of Mysore. The letters contained in the parliamentary collection, from Mr. Cole, are remarkable for the contrast which they exhibit, of a certain juvenile ardour of manner, through which are evidently perceptible a judicial serenity and steadiness of councils. This union of qualities, generally, as we conceive, the sure characteristic of genius, communicates to those letters a still stronger hold on the attention, than they derive even from the narrative which they develope.

In the same cause with these zealous servants of their country, and no less worthily of it, was engaged a foreigner and an Indian; —Poorneah, the prime minister of the youthful prince of Mysore. The history and the character of this person, are both somewhat singular. He is a Bramin of high cast; and was originally prime minister to the famous Tippoo Saheb, who, though a bigotted professor of Islamism, yet, like most of the Mahomedan sovereigns throughout India, was glad to avail himself, in his government, of the official pliancy, industry, and address, of the Hindoo race. When the present family were preferred, or rather restored, to the musnud of Mysore, the new Rajah being an infant, the appointment of his chief state officers devolved exclusively on the British Government. To that government, the known abilities of Poorneah pointed him out as preeminently qualified for the supreme administration of affairs. The appointment was proffered and accepted; and Poorneah still retains his high situation, which, indeed, from the ascendancy of his talents, and the minority of the prince, has virtually amounted, under the acknowledged supremacy of the British power, to the lordship of the realm. The view of such a public life is not, perhaps, calculated to prepossess us with a very favourable opinion of the political principle of Poorneah. Yet it is certain, that, in his present post, he has, under some very trying circumstances, adhered to his duty with a constancy

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constancy and correctness, rarely attainable by the utmost rectitude of understanding, when not accompanied with a considerable honesty of purpose. During the agitation of the scenes which followed the Vellore mutiny, his fidelity to his engagements with the British, was particularly exemplary. At that period, his own brother, who held some high public situation in Mysore, having been charged with treasonable designs, Poorneah instantly suspended the accused from his employments, and freely delivered him over to be tried by the British government. It is gratifying to add that the trial resulted in a most honourable acquittal.

He was now placed in an emergency which made still severer demands, if not on his virtue at least on his judgment. On the one side, the British Resident claimed his assistance for the support of the constituted authorites of Madras. On the other, the officers in Seringapatam denounced to him those authorities as having forfeited the allegiance even of their own subjects, and menaced him with the vengeance of the supreme Government and of the Company, if he should comply with the Resident's application. This was a dilemma which might have embarrassed minds possessing a far more accurate acquaintance with the constitution of the Indo-British power, than could possibly have been acquired by the minister of an Indian *durbar*. The good sense, and, as we cannot but believe, the good feeling of Poorneah, completely extricated him from the difficulty. Of his own accord, he signified to the officers that his original engagements with the Company, engagements imposed on him by a former Governor-General, enjoined him to correspond with the Company through the medium of the Resident, that no other channel of such correspondence was permitted to him by those engagements, and that, of consequence, he could consent to acknowledge no other.

The private property, both of Poorneah and of the young prince, to an immense amount, were lodged in the Fort of Seringapatam; an arrangement, originally advised by Sir Arthur Wellesley, in consideration of the superior strength and security of the Fortress of Seringapatam, as compared with that of Mysore. Little did that officer conceive what would be the effect of advice dictated by a spirit of social faith and kindness. The insurgent officers, irritated by the opposition of the Mysore state, seized on this property, and intimated to Poorneah that they should retain it as a pledge for his good behaviour. The minister was nettled at the affront, but in no way shaken by the threat. 'The Rajah's property and mine (he observes in a letter to the officers,) are the same as the governor-general's, who is the preserver of us both. I have never done any thing contrary to my engagements, neither will I ever in future. Let

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Let what will happen, I shall always continue faithful and unalterable in my engagement to the Company.'

During some days after the secession of Colonel Davis from Seringapatam, the hostilities between the two parties were confined to a very limited extent. Some force was collected in the fort of Mysore, chiefly consisting of the troops of the Mysore state; but, without better means, it wouldhave been preposterous to attempt an attack on the strong fortifications of Seringapatam, particularly as Colonel Davis was almost destitute of artillery. For a while, therefore, his chief efforts against the insurgents were directed to the object of cutting off their supplies; a service, in which the desultory cavalry of the Mysore state rendered themselves highly useful. At this period, however, Colonel Davis and Mr. Cole were not utterly without apprehension of an attack from the enemy in the fort of Mysore; for the troops in Seringapatam were numerous, and furnished with a fine park of artillery. By the help, however, of the resources of the Mysore state, which had been placed entirely at the disposal of the British functionaries, such precautions were taken, that the assailants would have found the enterprise extremely hazardous. In the mean while, both sides remained watchful and expectant; but events were now hastening on, of a more decisive character.

Of the plan formed, by the Hydrabad officers, for the horrible campaign that seemed approaching, a sketch has already been given. It was their design to march down into the peninsula and to effect a junction with the mutineer battalions in the Mysore. This plan, or, at least, some general outline of it, appears to have been communicated to the self-constituted authorities at Seringapatam. Thus much is certain, that one great object of the counsels at Seringapatam, was to concentrate in that fort, and as quickly as possible, all the strength of disaffection which the Mysore district could furnish; with a view, either of awaiting the arrival of the army from Hydrabad, or of creating a diversion in their favour. Colonel Davis and Mr. Cole distinctly perceived the general danger which would redound to the cause of government from an augmentation of the garrison of Seringapatam. Any accession to that garrison, therefore, they determined to use every method of preventing. It is but just to those eminent benefactors of their country, to state that, throughout this unnatural quarrel, they were actuated by the most anxious horror of bloodshed. This sentiment breathes through the whole of their correspondence, and evidently was embodied in all their conduct. But, in the crisis which affairs had now reached, to have tranquilly suffered the means and the vigour of rebellion to condense themselves for a future and a mightier explosion, would have been, not forbearance, but cruelty. It was resolved,

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solved, therefore, that the march of every corps attempting to throw itself into Seringapatam, should be intercepted, and, by all practicable means, absolutely arrested; by intimidation, if possible; if necessary, by force. In this resolution, Colonel Davis and the President were subsequently confirmed, by receiving some hints of those particular purposes, which we have described as having led the authorities in Seringapatam to desire an increase of their force.

At Chittledroog, a city about 115 miles in a northerly direction from Seringapatam, there then happened to be two battalions of native infantry; the one stationed, the other on its way to some distant point; but the officers of both had refused the test with defiance, and were prepared for any outrage. These battalions the leaders at Seringapatam summoned to join their garrison; and, in an evil hour, the summons was obeyed. It may assist the chronological conceptions of the reader with regard to the events of this period, to mention, that the Chittledroog battalions commenced their march, so far as we can discover, on the very day of the memorable appearance of Colonel Close in the cantonment of Hydrabad, or, at the farthest, on the day following. In this affair, the system of deception by which it was the policy of the disaffected officers to secure the co-operation of their Sepoys, appears to have been carried to a peculiar degree of refinement. The Sepoys were made to believe that the Mysore state had, under the influence of Poorneah, revolted from its allegiance to the Company's government, and that the object of their expedition was to protect Seringapatam from capture by the Mysore troops.

Of this expedition, Colonel Davis received early intelligence, and he prepared to intercept it. The small British force, however, at Mysore, could not spare a detachment adequate to this service. He, therefore, dispatched orders for the immediate march, towards Seringapatam, of some troops forming the garrison of Bangalore, a strong city, which will be known by name to such of our readers as may have acquainted themselves with the history of the Indian campaigns of Lord Cornwallis. In the interim, Poorneah placed at the disposal of Mr. Cole, a body of Mysorean troops, consisting of 1500 infantry, armed with matchlocks, and 3000 horse. This force was instantly sent forwards, the command of it being given to Ram Row, a Mysorean of the highest rank, and an able and gallant officer. The orders of Ram Row were, to hover round the Chittledroog battalions, to distress their march, to cut off their supplies, and, as far as his strength extended, to prevent, at any risk, their junction with the garrison of Seringapatam. The general and his little army set out on the expedition with great alacrity.

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The detachment ordered from Bangalore was to consist of two squadrons of king's dragoons, two companies of king's infantry, and also a corps of Sepoys. They were to be commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Gibbs, the senior officer in that fort. In the march, however, of this body, a considerable, and, as it was to be feared, an unfortunate delay occurred. Colonel Gibbs having thought it expedient to suspend, with respect to the Company's officers under his command, the execution of the measure of the test, had not yet purged his troops of disaffection, nor placed his Sepoy force in a safe condition, either to march, or to be left behind. He was, besides, embarrassed by the want of money to pay the native officers and their men. It was an anxious interval for the guardians of the British interests in Mysore. There was the greatest room to fear that the march of Colonel Gibbs, if not instantaneously begun, would be too late; for the distance of Bangalore, though far less than that of Chittledroog, was by no means inconsiderable, being 74 miles. Day after day, renewed orders were dispatched to Bangalore, that the test might be enforced and the movement commenced; and day after day brought renewed disappointment. At length, to the great satisfaction of Colonel Davis and the resident, on the 10th of August, the Chittledroog battalions then being only half a day's march from Seringapatam, Colonel Gibbs arrived, and took up an encampment within three miles of that city.

The advanced force under the Mysorean commander, Ram Row, had fallen in with the Chittledroog corps, about 35 miles from the object of their march. And here took place one of those perverse occurrences, which have been called the malicious jests of fortune. The Sepoys of this corps, as we have said, had been deluded into a belief that Poorneah was in a state of revolt, and that the purpose of their march was to reduce him to obedience. When, therefore, they beheld themselves encountered by a large body of Mysorean military in a menacing attitude, their mistake was confirmed, past all suspicion. The commanding officer, however, of the insurgent force, was not disposed to come to blows with this unexpected enemy, and desired a conference with their leader. Ram Row complied, and being questioned as to his orders, stated them; when the insurgent officer, with a temper and discretion worthy a better cause, observed that the Mysorean might act as he thought proper, but the Chittledroog detachment were determined not to draw the sword. The Mysorean, who expected only hostility, was staggered by this reply, and sent an express to Mysore for farther directions. The resident repeated his former instructions, proposing, however, on a written paper which was to be shewn to the Chittledroog officer, the alternative of an immediate

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diate submission on the part of the insurgents to the British government. This communication did not reach its destined point in sufficient time to be fully acted upon; but it appears that, for a day and a half, Ram Row, while he closely hung on the march of the hostile troops, yet restrained his followers from all acts of aggression; thus proving, by his firmness and forbearance, that he was not undeserving of the post to which he had been chosen.

It was on the morning of the 11th of August that the Chittledroog battalions were first descried from the walls of Seringapatam; being then hard pressed by the Mysorean horse, with whom they were maintaining a species of marching conflict. For the Mysoreans, now, as may be presumed, either possessed of the intentions of the British resident, or guessing at those intentions, had begun to act with great courage and effect, and had even despoiled the hostile force of their baggage. The Sepoys, harassed by this desultory warfare, and wearied with their long march, yet almost touching, as they imagined, the termination of their difficulties, and upheld doubtless by the impulse of their abused loyalty, maintained themselves with steadiness, and retaliated with spirit on the supposed enemy. One of these battalions had greatly distinguished itself in the celebrated battle of Assye, and had in consequence received high compliments from the general who won that severe and memorable engagement. They were within view, too, of scenes adapted, beyond all others, to rouse, in the bosom of a Sepoy, the inspiring recollection of triumphs hardly earned by his own order, the rewards of unshaken fidelity, discipline, and valour.

Thus continued the contest, when a corps of dragoons, the advance of the party under Colonel Gibbs, unexpectedly made its appearance. It seems astonishing that the officers of the Chittledroog battalions should have received from their friends in Seringapatam no intimation of the vicinity of this party. But delusion was ascendant; and the discovery of the dragoons did not more surprise the Sepoys with the sudden hope of powerful assistance, than it confounded their leaders with the unlooked for prospect of a new and terrible antagonist.

Colonel Gibbs, solicitous to spare the effusion of blood, sent forward to the rebel line a lieutenant of dragoons with a white flag. The Sepoys, perceiving the British officer approach, began *salaming* to him; when on a sudden he received a shot in the face. In what manner this extraordinary incident took place, it is not very easy to discover. The insurgent officers afterwards declared that the shot must have been accidental; and it certainly seems clear, that nothing like a general purpose of opposition was at that time entertained by the Sepoys, nor even an idea that they were to consider the British squadrons as enemies. But, whether occasioned

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sioned by chance or by design, the circumstance could inevitably produce but one effect.—When adverse armies stand confronted—'*on the rough edge of battle ere it joins*,'—the minds of men are wrought to such a pitch of painful excitement, that the least impulse is irresistible. In that state of fulness, the passions overflow with the slightest movement. The consequence then may be guessed, when the dragoons beheld their officer galloping back wounded, and, as was obvious to sense, wounded by an act of unexampled perfidy. At once they charged on the opposite line; and at the same moment, and with emulous gallantry, the Mysorean horse charged also. Then it was, for the first time, that the Sepoys were dreadfully undeceived; and they not only discovered adversaries where they expected friends, but perceived themselves involved in a horrible contest with the power, whose salt they had eaten, and under whose banner they were arrayed. Unhappily it was too late for explanation. Amazed, distracted, only a few of the miserable wretches thought of resistance, and these were, of course, immediately cut down. The rest, flying in disorder, and without their arms, from this ill-omened field, but closely pursued by the sabres of the enraged dragoons, fortunately found their path crossed by one of those deep narrow streams, called Nullahs, so common in Hindostan. Into this stream they precipitated themselves, and the greater number, swimming across, were received into the fort. The officers all escaped, with the exception of the commander, who was wounded and taken prisoner. Of the Sepoys, more than two hundred were left, killed or wounded, on the field of battle; the wretched victims of a loyalty basely and fatally trepanned into the service of rebellion.

During the action, the fort cannonaded Colonel Gibbs's camp; and a party of artillery made a sally, but were driven back by the troops left for the protection of the camp.

The feelings with which the friends of humanity must contemplate the fate of so many true and valiant men, who thus fell a sacrifice, we will not say, to unconscious guilt, but to conscious innocence, no attempt shall here be made to disturb. Should there be those, however, among our readers, whom nature, severely kind, has disqualified for the bitter luxury of weeping with rage and pity over a history of cruel and unmerited sufferings, on the stern serenity of these Spartan tempers we may perhaps be allowed to obtrude one or two short reflections. The governor of Madras has been condemned for his attempt, to unmask to the native soldiery of that presidency the real designs of their officers, and to divert their allegiance from those officers to the state. Every shock, it has been said, which can be offered to the regard of the Sepoys for their immediate British leaders, is a shock to the sta-

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bility of the British empire in the East. We would, then, suggest the question, whether the regard of the Chittledroog Sepoys for their officers, could possibly have suffered so rude a shock by any previous rescue of them from the false impressions under which they laboured, as it sustained when the truth was fatally announced to them by their wounds and discomfiture before Seringapatam? The insurgent commander in Seringapatam, in a letter relative to the events in question, expresses his apprehension that the Chittledroog battalions would never again 'meet his Majesty's 25th light dragoons on friendly terms.' We should be glad to know, on what terms, and with what sensations, the privates of those battalions met their own officers at their next muster. We should wish to learn, how far those feelings of attachment which had resisted the seductions of the Madras government, survived the ordeal of the battle before Seringapatam. We should like to be informed, which party best consulted the stability of the empire; the government, which would have undeceived these unfortunate men in time, or their officers, who left them to be undeceived by the event.

Let it be remembered that this was not a single case; or, at least, that it would not have been a single case, if, by leaving the disaffected officers in all cases to command and to influence their troops, the rebellion had been permitted to proceed to greater lengths. That the Sepoys had no personal interest in rebelling, is admitted, and indeed evident. Whatever, then, might be their affection to their officers, they would hardly have dared all the risks of rebellion out of mere compliment. It would probably have been found necessary to incite them, either by representations which were not just, or by promises which could not be fulfilled. In point of fact, it is notorious that a system of false or exaggerated representations to the Sepoys, was, every where, more or less adopted at this crisis. In part, we are very willing to believe that the adoption of it was dictated by honourable motives; for we find the advocates of the officers making it a matter of boast that some of those persons had resolved never to divulge the state of affairs to their troops, and to pursue such a line of conduct 'as should impress the troops with the belief that a regular submission to government continued to exist,' unless in the event of the government first making the disclosure. This seems to us a pretty ample acknowledgment of the principle of deception; for, in such a case, silence was deception. Sooner or later, then, the fraud must have been painfully detected; and that fidelity of the native troops towards their officers, which, it seems, can never be touched without the utmost danger, would have received an incurable wound.

Recurring to the immediate occasion of these remarks, we have

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no wish to intimate that the deception practised in the particular instance before us, by the officers, was practised by them all. There is no evidence of it; there are many motives for believing the contrary. But that the men were actually deceived, we wish we could find any room to doubt. This fact stands, not merely on the uncontradicted assertion of the Madras government, who state it to have been fully ascertained, and on that of Colonel Davis and Mr. Cole, who had carefully examined into it; but also on the protestation of the survivors of the deluded Sepoys themselves, in an address written under the very eyes of their officers. We subjoin a part of this document; and those, who are not affected by the tone of simple, unpretending anguish which it breathes, may at least find a composition penned by Sepoys somewhat interesting as a curiosity. We should premise that, independently of its bad English, some verbal errors appear to have crept into it from the unskilfulness, as may be supposed, of the scribe employed.

'As we submissively beg leave to lay our miserable cases to your goodness, that, agreeably to the instructions of the commanding officer of the corps, we marched from Nugger with our families to Wallajahbad, in our way to Chittledroog; our commanding officer has given a fresh order to leave our families in that place, and to march together with the 1st battalion 15th regiment to Seringapatam; upon which we asked the officers of our corps, that what was the reason to march to Seringapatam, and to leave our families here? Then our officers of the corps answered us, there was some dispute raised between the honourable Company and Poorniah; so we totally trusted their words, and left in part of our families at Chittledroog; and we marched with the other battalion from thence, and after three or four [days], marched from Chittledroog, and we met the Poorniah forces near Cadopie; from that place to the Renna Cumbum we suffered very much by those forces, and arrived very near to the fort of Seringapatam, but where we met his Majesty's 25th regiment light dragoons; when our commanding officer told us as dragoons in coming into our part, therefore desired us not to attack with them, therefore we thought that it was true, and depended his words, and we did not attacked with them. Few minutes after the dragoon entered into our corps, and begin to cut in pieces, and in rear side the Poorniah's troops also begin to cut in pieces, likewise plundered us entirely; upon which we throw out all our arms, &c. there we ran away from spot of same, and come with [into] the fort with naked.

'Therefore we submissively beg your goodness, and consider to shew some means to us, and we glad to serve under your authority, if your goodness please to employ at any place; in so doing the favour, ourselves and our families will pray you for ever.'—*Papers relating to East India Affairs*, No. 2. F. pp. 49, 50.

After the affair of the 11th, Colonel Davis, though in a state of infirm health, personally took the field, and, for some days,

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blockaded the garrison of Seringapatam as closely as his want of artillery would permit. During this time, a determined air of hostility was worn on both sides, the officers of Seringapatam professing a resolution never to deliver up the fort, excepting on the order of Lord Minto only. But, at the end of about a week, the news arrived that the refractory officers at Hydrabad had consented to accept the test of submission imposed on them by the Madras government; and had dispatched messengers, exhorting their brother officers north of the Kistna to follow their example. This event took place on the very day of the melancholy fate of the Chittledroog battalions.

The causes which induced this change of counsels at Hydrabad, seem principally to have been, the unbending firmness of the government, and the impression eventually produced on the minds of the Sepoys by the recollected visit of Colonel Close. That this last circumstance concurred to produce the effect, is affirmed by the Madras government, and seems corroborated by the strong apprehensions which the Hydrabad officers manifestly entertained of the influence of Colonel Close over their troops, so long as he continued in their neighbourhood. At the same time, it was an auxiliary circumstance, that Lord Minto was daily expected at Madras, and that it was therefore open to the repentant insurgents, while they professed allegiance to the government against which they had immediately rebelled, yet to save in a measure their pride by tendering that profession to the governor general.

But, in whatever manner caused, the defection of the Hydrabad officers from the standard of rebellion was productive of the happiest consequences. The party at Seringapatam, after a short negotiation, surrendered at discretion. The test was universally enforced over the southern parts of the peninsula. The detachment, marching from Jaulna to Hydrabad, returned. Even the garrison of Masulipatam submitted. To enter into a minute specification of the steps by which these effects were brought about, would be uninteresting. It may suffice to say, that they happened, and that, when Lord Minto landed at Madras on the 11th of September, he found the rebellion, of which the beginning had been so portentous, already a matter of history.

The measures by means of which these evils were subdued, were confessedly distinguished by great spirit and decision, but surely, by great wisdom also and felicity. 'Whatever praise might have been due (says one of the fiercest opponents of Sir George Barlow) to the inexorable firmness of his measures—and all would have concurred in yielding praise, had there been even an alloy of justice in them;'—but, in our opinion, those measures were just; because they flowed from just principles. The two

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foundations on which the conduct of Sir George Barlow was built, seem to have been, a strong conviction that the civil government ought in all cases to maintain its supremacy, and a strong confidence in the power of the Madras government to carry that maxim into effect. In this confidence he was at first somewhat too sanguine, and his enemies exulted: but the event bore him out, and it is important to observe that, even when he hoped the best, he had fully estimated the worst. So much is acknowledged by Mr. Petrie himself, even when accusing the governor of short-sightedness and presumption. Sir George Barlow (he tells us) at one period assured him, that the discontents of the army were extremely partial, that a considerable number of the troops 'were untainted by those principles which had misled the rest of the army; but that, *whatever the danger might be, he was prepared to meet it; that the contest was now brought to a crisis, and we must see whether the government or the army is superior.*' We the rather refer to this passage, because the last clause in it has been disingenuously suppressed by some who have quoted the former part in illustration of the folly and blindness of Sir George Barlow's proceedings.

The success, indeed, of the policy adopted by Sir George Barlow, though not conclusive of its wisdom, yet so far affords a presumption to that effect, that it has considerably embarrassed the adverse writers. Mr. Petrie affirms that the army yielded, not to the local government, but to Lord Minto. The notification of his lordship's purpose to proceed to Madras, and some equivocal expressions in a general order which he published to the army of Bengal, operated, it seems, this wonderful revolution. A strict examination of the transactions which, as related in the parliamentary papers, immediately preceded the submission of the refractory officers, would, we believe, throw great doubt on this statement of Mr. Petrie; but the inference intended to be suggested is sufficiently invalidated by the circumstance, that Lord Minto stood pledged in the most solemn manner to support those obnoxious measures of Sir George Barlow, which the officers had represented as justifying their revolt. The difference, under such circumstances, of submission to the supreme and to the local government, could be little more than a difference in point of form;—a saving to their pride, not to their consciences. The author of the 'Discontents,' however, seems to acquiesce in the opinion which we have cited from Mr. Petrie; but he has added to it two others somewhat amusing. The first is, that the suppression of the disturbances was owing—to parties whom we should hardly have suspected of effecting it—to the disturbers themselves. 'The love of their country,' (the author says,) 'always

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'always present, seems not to have allowed them to think on any plan,' which would have injured the state. The second opinion, which would still less have occurred to us, amounts to this, that there was, after all, no disturbance or rebellion whatever:—'The success of Sir George Barlow' (observes the writer) 'has been derived, not from conflict, but *the forbearance and non-resistance of his adversaries—a victory without strife.*' We must confess that the author's own narrative had conveyed to us the contrary impression; and we believed that there had not only been disobedience, resistance, and strife, but hostile marches and bloodshed.

Such is our view of the transactions relating to the late military disturbances at Madras. We say *military* disturbances; because with these, as the reader probably may know, there were connected, or at least were coincident, certain *civil* disturbances, which form another head of charge against the Madras government, but of which no notice has been taken in the preceding pages. Any notice of them, indeed, on the present occasion, neither is very necessary, nor would be very possible. It is not necessary, because the military subject is of itself complete; for we must always recollect that the army were the main movers in the affair, and that their objects were not of a civil but of a military nature. It would not be very possible, because the documents requisite to the inquiry are not yet fully before the public. On these accounts, we have, in this article, cautiously abstained from deviating into this second field of discussion, in fully explaining the first.

We cannot but mention one circumstance which has rendered us greatly the more ready to express what we can venture to call our unbiassed approbation of the conduct of the Madras government on the points which have here been considered. Sir George Barlow has risen to the elevated office which he occupies, not by the agency of parliamentary connections or court favours; but through the recommendation of long, laborious, and eminent services. It is a consequence of this course of public life, that, notwithstanding the local influence conferred on him by his station, his personal interest at home is possibly rivalled by that of many of the individuals whom he has thought himself obliged to displace; probably much outweighed by that of the whole number collectively. It seems, therefore, peculiarly fitting that, as a defence against the clamour by which he is assailed, he should have the benefit of all the honest and independent opinion which can be mustered in his favour.

He is said, indeed, by Mr. Petrie, we know not how truly, to have contracted unpopularity by 'his cold and repulsive manners.' A deficiency in the charm of demeanour must always subtract somewhat

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somewhat from the personal influence of a statesman; but it has not therefore prevented many favourites of fame in this class from maintaining a wide empire over the attachments of mankind. It did not, for example, disqualify William the Third for attracting to his banner all the more masculine elements of the European commonwealth, nor snatch from Demosthenes the hearts of half Greece. Whatever unpopularity, however, Sir George Barlow may have acquired, we should be apt, on an authority considerably higher and less suspicious, it may be said without invidiousness, than that of Mr. Petrie, to attribute to a very different cause. 'Whatever odium' (says Lord Minto) 'has been malignantly cast upon his name, has been earned by the steady, inflexible discharge of public duty, and by efforts in the Company's service, not in themselves more grateful personally to him than to other men, but falling more particularly by the course of events within the period of his administration.'—'That his sovereign and country will honour the magnanimity and fortitude of the man, and appreciate the value of his eminent services, I cannot doubt; and that obloquy purchased by the pure and inflexible discharge of ungrateful but sacred and indispensable duties, will be effaced in its appointed hour by universal respect and esteem, my confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice persuades me firmly to believe.'

ART. IX. ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ. *Æschyli Prometheus Vinctus. Ad fidem Manuscriptorum emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit*, Carolus Jacobus Blomfield, A. B. Collegii, SS. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses Socius. Cantabrigiæ, Typis ac Sumptibus Academicis excudit J. Smith. MCCCX. pp. 160.

THE predilection which the Athenians entertained for the compositions of Æschylus, is well known. With such delight did they listen to them, that even their rage for novelty was overcome; for we learn that a special decree sanctioned the representation of his tragedies after the death of the author. And we may collect from several passages in Aristophanes, how passionately fond the audience were of the rich poetry and sonorous diction so conspicuous in the father of tragedy.

The applause bestowed on Æschylus by succeeding ages has been somewhat more qualified. He seems to have been much less read than either Sophocles or Euripides; and from the time of Quintilian to the present day, the critics have contented themselves with acknowledging his sublimity of conception and grandeur of expression,

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expression, while they lament that his style frequently degenerates into bombast.

The neglect however which he has experienced in modern times appears to us to arise from other causes than his own want of attraction. The language used by him was, even in his own days, of a somewhat antiquated cast, abounding in words either obsolete or exclusively poetical; words not to be found in any other writer, and of which modern Lexicographers have not given so full an explanation, as an industrious examination of the works of their predecessors might have supplied. Nor is this the only difficulty which the reader of Æschylus has to encounter. The ignorance or the carelessness of transcribers has produced gross and unpardonable blunders in the manuscript copies, from which the plays are printed: and though the detection of these may be a source of interest and amusement to the verbal critic; yet to the person who reads the poet for the sake of his beauties, they are infinitely vexatious and discouraging. Had the lovers of Greek literature an opportunity of perusing Æschylus in a text of tolerable purity, accompanied with satisfactory explanations and illustrations of his uncommon words, we venture to pronounce that his tragedies would recover something like the estimation in which they were held by his countrymen. It would then be discovered that pomp and sound are not his only characteristics, and that his merits are not merely those of an inventor. His characters are all strongly marked and well preserved; their manners and sentiments, though invested with high tragic dignity, represent the noble simplicity of the heroic age. The moral sentences, with which the writings of this poet abound, are well-timed and appropriate; they do not, like those of Euripides, proceed with scholastic gravity from the mouths of servants and insignificant personages, but command attention from the well sustained dignity of the speaker's character. The style of his dialogue is easy and perspicuous, presenting a happy contrast to that of Sophocles. The reader meets with few difficulties, except such as arise from the use of words of rare occurrence. The flow of his numbers is uncommonly harmonious, and the rich vein of poetry which runs through his scenes makes ample amends for the occasional offence produced by a few turgid expressions. The strong imagery and daring metaphors in which he indulges, betray the Oriental origin of the Dithyrambic style of poetry, in his time prevalent in Greece. It is impossible to read Æschylus, without being struck with the resemblance which many of his images and figurative expressions bear to some of the most sublime passages of Scripture. In the choruses particularly, the eastern style of poetry appears in all its boldness, and with much of its obscurity. In these parts of the plays,

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plays, the text is sometimes very corrupt; but where that is not the case, a steady eye may generally penetrate the veil which obscures them, and is sure to be delighted with the rich treasure which it discovers.

These remarks have been suggested by the publication of the first of Æschylus's seven remaining plays, by Mr. Blomfield, a Batchelor of Arts, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. From an expression in the preface, we collect that this is only a prelude to a complete edition of his works, which, if executed upon the same plan, and with the same ability as the present specimen, will, we venture to predict, introduce them to the more intimate acquaintance of every class of Greek scholars. This small volume contains the text of the Prometheus Vinctus, corrected by Mr. Blomfield, under which are notes, comprising a far more valuable critical apparatus than is to be found in any other edition. We have here the variations of Aldus, Robortellus, and Turnebus, and of no less than thirty manuscript copies, together with the editor's own reasons in favour of the readings which he adopts, and occasional critical remarks applying to different passages of the play. At the end of the text, is a glossary, in which all the uncommon words*, and many of the common ones are explained from the ancient grammarians, lexicographers, and scholiasts, and illustrated by apposite quotations from the poets, and particularly from Æschylus himself.

The foundation of Mr. Blomfield's text is the Glasgow edition, printed in the year 1794, from the corrections of the late Professor Porson. Though Mr. Blomfield, in imitation of others, has attached to this text the name of that illustrious scholar, yet it is sufficiently notorious that it was given to the world, in the first instance, without the consent or knowledge of the reputed editor. We are not perfectly acquainted with the circumstances of this transaction; but we believe that the professor merely intended to alter the text of Stanley, in places where he was enabled, from the abundance of his own knowledge, to restore the true reading. This being only a publication of the booksellers, for his share in which he received little or no remuneration, he did not conceive his own credit (of which no man was more jealous) to be at stake upon every lection that was suffered to remain. This text of Æschylus, therefore, though by far the purest ever printed, before the present specimen, must not be considered as bearing the seal of that great authority. To most of the places where errors are suffered to remain, an obelus is affixed, as a

* γάστρις, v. 654. ἐπαφᾶν. and perhaps two or three other words may be mentioned as exceptious. Their omission must be attributed to oversight.

notice

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notice that he designed an alteration. His modes of correcting many of these passages are now known; some from his notes on Euripides, others from his own manuscripts, or his private communications to his friends. Those with which Mr. Blomfield has enriched his edition of Prometheus, bear internal evidence of the unrivalled hand to which they are attributed. But besides these obelized passages, there are numerous others in all the plays, which, it is obvious, would not have received the sanction of the professor, had he himself prepared them for the press. This is mentioned as a caution to those, who in every reference to the Glasgow edition, fancy that they are appealing to the authority of Porson.

In the construction of his text Mr. Blomfield has shown the most judicious and laudable caution. He admits but few readings which have not some authority from old editions or MSS. or from ancient writers, by whom the passages are quoted. His good sense has preserved him from the practice, too common among editors, of altering their author's text, not because it is wrong, but because another word happens at the moment to hit their fancy; and he has employed his extensive and accurate erudition rather in vindicating the authorised readings, than in recommending conjectures of his own. In his notes, he seldom goes much out of his way to emend corrupted passages of other writers. The conjectures of this sort which he occasionally hazards are acute and plausible, and, we think, generally, though not always, successful.

The range of knowledge shown in this publication is considerable, especially when regarded as the stock of a very young man. In the mode of displaying this knowledge we perceive nothing ostentatious or affected: the object uniformly aimed at, is to inform the reader on the particular point under discussion. It is easy to observe that the whole style of Mr. Blomfield's scholarship is formed on the model of the late Greek Professor. In this imitation however there is nothing servile, and his assent to the positions of Porson is not invariable. But his critical caution, his accuracy of reference, his Greek orthography, and his style of writing, all conspire to show by what luminary he has guided his course. And it will be considered as not the least among the benefits conferred on ancient literature by that extraordinary man, that his example has contributed to form a scholar, who is so likely to advance our knowledge of the most interesting writers of antiquity.

In his imitation of Porson's Latinity we do not think that the present editor has been very successful. The Professor's style was formed by a long and careful acquaintance with the best models, assisted by the most chastised and delicate taste. Mr. Blomfield's language

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language is somewhat jejune, and adopts the phrases, without having acquired the ease and happiness of its original. This however is an imperfection, which longer practice in the trade of note writing will undoubtedly correct.

This edition of the Prometheus is enriched with several short notes, taken from the manuscript papers of Professor Porson, purchased by Trinity College, and which, the preface informs us, include whatever he had committed to writing on the subject of this tragedy. These notes, which are above thirty in number, consist principally of notices of passages in ancient writers where lines are quoted, but not observed by any former editor, and of references which his unbounded learning enabled him to make through the whole range of ancient literature, in support of particular readings or emendations. Mr. Blomfield, from a due sense of the propriety of giving to the world entire whatever proceeds from that revered source, distinguishes the notes of Porson by printing them in italics, and affixing to them the initials R. P. Indeed, we cannot too highly commend the scrupulous delicacy generally shown by Mr. Blomfield in attributing critical remarks and corrections to their real authors. The contrary practice, at all times discreditable, is to be reprobated in proportion to the difficulty of detection. The thievish propensities of Toup and Brunck are well known. The daring dishonesty of Schutz, in assuming the credit of Porson's readings in Æschylus, admitted of a ready exposure, and accordingly the culprit has been sufficiently brought to shame. But Fiorillo probably thought himself secure from detection, when, in his notes on Herodes Atticus, he not only plundered from an English Review* a whole series of emendations on Aristophanes, proposed by the same admirable critic, but in each instance loudly applauded his own sagacity in restoring the true reading. The value of Porson's corrections has made them peculiarly the object of such depredations. Many persons will recollect the indignation felt and expressed by him, a few years ago, at seeing some restorations of different fragments in Athenæus, which had been communicated by him to a friend, published in a review without the slightest acknowledgment, or allusion to their real author.

The part of this publication which has received the greatest share of the editor's attention, and constitutes its greatest value to the reader, is the glossary. We do not recollect to have seen any Greek author edited in a similar mode; and Mr. Blomfield has

* A critique on Brunck's Aristophanes in H. Maty's Review, July 1783. Some of the Monthly Reviews are pillaged by Fiorillo in the same publication.

a claim

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a claim to the gratitude of the learned world, as well for the judgment that has marked out the plan, as for the industry and ability displayed in its execution. We know of no place where so much pertinent information can be found, derived from the best sources, and given in the most useful manner. Not only have we the glosses extracted from Heyschius, Suidas, the Etymologicon Magnum, Phot. Lex. MS. Mœris, and other ancient Lexicographers, with care and discrimination; but the voluminous commentaries of Eustathius, of the Venetian scholiast on Homer, and of other scholiasts, particularly those on Plato and Aristophanes, have been ransacked for allusions to the lines, and explanations of the words in the Prometheus. Mr. Blomfield appears to have read the Venetian scholiast and Eustathius with an industry and care that cannot be too highly commended. If he pursues the same path through the remainder of Æschylus, he will have materially contributed to the restoration of the ancient Tragic Lexicon, the common source whence most of these glosses seem to have been derived.

The notes of all the commentators on the play, particularly those of Stanley, appear to have been examined, and whatever was important, sifted out of them. But the greater part of the matter contained in this glossary has never before been applied to the illustration of Æschylus. Mr. Blomfield is well versed in the productions of the Hemsterhusian school: in every page he has culled from the vast stores of erudition deposited in the various works of Valckenaer and of Ruhnken, something tending to elucidate the force of words, their etymology, or orthography.

For the confirmation of this favorable opinion, we must refer our readers to the book itself. Our limits will not admit of long quotations; otherwise we would transcribe the discussions on the orthography of ἀμοχθὶ and similar adverbs, v. 216, and on the different species of φάρμακα, v. 488, as specimens of Mr. Blomfield's accurate and precise erudition. The first of these notes should however be transferred to the critical observations given under the text. A few other notes are similarly misplaced.

This glossary is undoubtedly capable of improvement. Additional explanations will occur in the course of reading. Some of these shall be presently pointed out. It is but justice however to Mr. Blomfield to state, that our examination, as far as it has gone, has only tended to convince us of his industry and correctness. But we must observe, that there seems to have been an abatement of his diligence in the latter part of the glossary, in which marks of hurry are discoverable.

We do not understand Mr. Blomfield's motive in descending to the notice of a number of very common words, about which he has nothing

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nothing farther to communicate than the Latin interpretation supplied by every school-boy's lexicon, and for which the merest tiro will not thank him. We allude to such words as θαχέως, λευρὸς, δίαιτα, ἐκτήκω, τείρω, μαραίνω, γνάθος, δίνη, and some others, the notice of which may be omitted in the next edition, without detracting from the value of the publication.

In the choral parts of this tragedy, Mr. Blomfield has followed, with very few and slight exceptions, the readings and arrangement of Dr. Charles Burney, in his *Tentamen de Metris ab Æschylo in Choricis Cantibus adhibitis.* He says himself in his preface, '*in Melicis disponendis ducem habui Burneium, a quo rarissime, nec unquam sine pavore, discessi.*' That Dr. Burney must feel some obligation to Mr. Blomfield for this flattering adoption of his system, there can be little doubt: but we cannot help regretting that this judicious editor should so implicitly have listened to the authority of another, where he ought to have exerted his own taste and sagacity; and we are disposed to find more fault with this than with any other part of his publication. It is proper, however, to declare that we have as high an opinion of the great metrical learning of Dr. Burney, as Mr. Blomfield himself, or any of his admirers. We not only agree in thinking his arrangement of the choruses of Æschylus incomparably the best that has ever yet been published, but we fully believe that most of the *Antistrophic* odes are restored by him to the same harmonious and elegant species of lyric verses in which the poet himself left them. The frequent success of this *Tentamen* has furnished a sufficient reply to the scepticism of those who believed that nothing certain could be obtained on this difficult and delicate subject. But in his disposition of the verses of the *Monostrophic*, or, as he himself calls them, the *Antispastic systems*, we cannot allow that Dr. Burney is equally happy. ἐς ἀνὴρ οὐ πάνθ' ὁρᾷ. We will endeavour to explain in what respects, and in what degree, this part of his system appears to us objectionable.

The extension of the licences of Antispastic feet to more than sixty different forms, allows the admission of a number of verses, in which the ear cannot recognize the least rhythm, and for which the ascertained practice of the poets supplies no authority. Surely Mr. Blomfield cannot approve the numbers of such verses as these,

Prom. v. 433. μόνον δὲ πρόσθεν ἄλλον ἐν πόνοισιν δα—
443. παγαὶ θ' ἁγνορρύτων ποταμῶν στί—
590. πλανᾷ τι πῆστιν ἀνὰ τὰν παραλίαν ψάμμον.

Many lines equally unrhythmical might be selected from Dr. Burney's choruses in each of the other plays. They can undoubtedly be sanctioned by a canon, which not only allows an Iambic syzygy and a Trochaic syzygy to be the substitutes of the Antispastus, but admits

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mits in each case the Tribrachys, the Spondee, the Anapæst, and the Dactyl, instead of the Iambus, and the Tribrachys, the Spondee, and the Anapæst as representatives of the Trochee. We must however observe that the same Procrustean operations would, by proper divisions of the words, reduce all Greek poetry, and indeed all Greek prose, within the pale of the Antispastic system. Homer and Demosthenes are alike reducible to this mode of scansion. Frequently, too, while he is destroying the metrical harmony of the odes by such lines as we have quoted, Dr. Burney overlooks some of the most elegant as well as the most usual species of verse. Instances of this in the Prometheus shall be presently noted. In particular we are surprised at the general proscription of verses called Asynartete. That lines of this description were especial favourites with the Greek lyric writers, and with their imitator Horace, is too well known to need our illustration. Mr. Gaisford, in his notes on Hephæstion, has most judiciously drawn together the authorities of ancient writers on these metres, and illustrated them by the production of lines belonging to the description of Asynartete: for an account of which we refer the reader to that admirable publication, merely remarking that Dr. Burney does not appear to have defended his dissent from the metrical creed of ancient and modern scholars by sufficient arguments. We may mention as a verse of common occurrence in Pindar and in the Tragedians, an Asynartete consisting of a Trochaic syzygy followed by a Dactylic pentheminieris. This verse ought, we think, to be restored to Æschylus, in

Prom. 433-4. ἐν πόνοις δαμέντ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοις.
441-2. Ξενοφόνοις παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ πατρὸς.
553-4. μυρίοις μόχθοις διακναιόμενον.
920-1. μήτε τὸν γένος μεγαλυνομένων.
931-2. εἰσορῶσ' Ἰοῦς μίτρα δαιτομένων.

Each of the last four lines Dr. Burney has split into two. The frequent recurrence of verses of three and four syllables renders these odes less agreeable to the eye of the reader, and has increased the number of lines in the play from 1092 to 1129, the inconvenience of which alteration those persons, who are in the habit of attending to references, will readily acknowledge. To defer to high authority in cases of doubt and difficulty is certainly creditable to the modesty of a young man. But we can see no good reason for Mr. Blomfield's deserting, in this instance, the guidance which in others he has so sedulously followed. Porson, in his four plays of Euripides, sanctions the admission of such verses as those just described.

It may be remarked that a considerable proportion of the tragic choruses are written in dochmiacs, a species of verse so called from the pes dochmius, or antispastic monometer hypercalectic. These

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These lines consist, 1st, of a single dochmiac metre*, as ἄφερτον κακὸν; 2dly, of a double dochmiac, as κλύοντες θεοὶ δικαίας λιτὰς; 3dly, of some portion of an iambic line, and a dochmiac, as παροίχομαι, πάτερ, δείματι. and ὕπνῳ κρατηθεὶσ' ἄγραν ὥλεσα: or, 4thly, of a cretic and a dochmiac, as ὦ πόνοι τρέφοντες βροτούς. Under each of these heads we of course mean to include such forms as arise from the resolutions of long syllables. We have been induced to give what appears to be the proper division of dochmiac verses, for the purpose of remarking that Dr. Burney, while he freely adopts the first three species, has excluded from his arrangement the fourth. A close alliance may be observed between the cretic and the dochmiac, the former of which is composed of the three last syllables of the latter. Verses of these two descriptions are perpetually mixed in the same system; and where a single cretic is followed by a single dochmiac, we conceive that they ought to be included in the same line: as in the Prometheus,

V. 592-3. ἀχίτας ὑπηοδόταν νόμον.
V. 614-5. εἶπί μοι τᾷ μογερᾷ, τις ὢν.
V. 710-1. οὔποτ', οὔποτ' ἠύχουν ξίνους.

Whoever undertakes to reduce to order the odes of Pindar, of the Tragedians, or of Aristophanes, should make it his object to bring together as many verses of the same species of acknowledged metres as possible. But since few of these lyric pieces are entirely composed of similar verses, it becomes the next object of the metrical critic to ascertain, by close attention to the practice of these writers, what different kinds of verse are most frequently associated in the same stanza. This inquiry, by which alone we can hope completely to restore their original harmony, seems not to have been sufficiently attended to by Dr. Burney. In this uncultivated department of ancient literature, we naturally look for improvements to the present editor of Æschylus. We wish him to pursue the path marked out by his predecessor, so long as it is clear and practicable: but when it becomes rugged and doubtful, let him have recourse to his own industry and ingenuity to discover, if possible, one more eligible†. The importance of this pursuit he will acknowledge, when he recollects how frequently the measure of a verse enables him to decide between the conflicting claims of different lections. And the restoration of these beautiful

* We would include under this denomination such forms as δοσίστον πέφν, and ἀκήρυξ ἄτα, with some of their resolutions. But we are not convinced of the propriety of further extending the title of dochmiac.

† Particularly on the choruses of the *Septem contra Thebas*, we hope that Mr. Blomfield will not place the same implicit confidence in Dr. Burney's dispositions, which appear to us frequently violent and improbable.

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odes from the disjointed state in which the ignorance or inconsiderateness of copyists has transmitted them to us, not only conduces to the purification of the text, but makes a sensible addition to the pleasure derived from this harmonious and inspired poet.

In the numerous references to passages of ancient writers, where lines of the Prometheus are quoted, we have another proof of Mr. Blomfield's extensive reading, and industrious discharge of his editorial duties. Much of this labour had already been performed by Stanley and the other commentators whose notes are collected in Mr. Butler's Variorum edition. But that much remained undone, has been proved by Mr. Blomfield, who notices no less than *forty* such passages, which had escaped the united researches of preceding critics, and with which Mr. Butler appears to have been unacquainted*. The cause of literature is seriously indebted to any scholar who has industry and memory sufficient to collect references to passages of this description, in which the real words of the author are frequently preserved, when they have been corrupted in all the MSS. extant. Nor is the benefit of these authorities only perceived, when they supply various lections: since if it appear that the old copies used by Ælian, Lucian, Plutarch, &c. coincide in a particular reading with the MSS. which we now possess, a strong support is thereby afforded to it, against the attempts of critical empirics.

Before we proceed to a minute examination of particular passages of the Prometheus, we must take the liberty of saying a few words on the subject of the numerous manuscript authorities referred to in Mr. Blomfield's notes. The first two in his list are MSS. in the late Royal Library at Paris, some of whose various readings were given by Brunck in his small edition. The five next are collations of other MSS. preserved in the same library, which were published, with a description of the copies, by Vauvilliers, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi.* Four of these collations appear in the first volume of that work, published in 1787, and the fifth in the fourth volume, published in the year 1798. Of these seven collations not the least notice is taken by Mr. Butler, though they contain some variations of importance in settling the text of Æschylus, which no other copies supply. Then follow, in Mr. Blomfield's catalogue of authorities, collations of four Paris MSS. in the Royal Library, and two in the Colber-

* These *forty* references are on v. 1—6. 2. 7. 22. 44. 59. 60. 64-3. 77. 79-80. 105. 256. 258. 335. 337. 358. 363. 373. 386. 387. 447. 463. 591. 609-10. 630-1-2. 635. 636. 641. 646. 687. 751. 752. 793. 820. 821. 829. 865. 878. 902. 1007. In this list we mean to refer only to quotations which are independent of those noticed by the commentators in Mr. Butler's collection, as will appear to any person who takes the trouble of comparing the two editions. Several of Mr. Blomfield's references are drawn from Porson's papers.

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tine Library. These were made by certain learned ecclesiastics for Bernard de Montfaucon, who transmitted them to Needham, the editor of Theophrastus, by whom they were noted in a copy of Stanley, now deposited in the University Library at Cambridge. Relative to these collations, a curious circumstance is alluded to in Mr. Blomfield's preface. Dr. Askew, having procured Needham's book, transcribed them entire, together with the preceding Notices, into a similar book, to which he affixed the signature *Antonius Askew*, M. B. 1744. Needham's book contains also a collation of the Medicean MS. of which he gives the following account: *Mediceus Codex MS. membranaceus, vetustate insignis, quo Petrus Victorius usus est; nunc repostus in Pluteo XXXII. No. 9. Laurentiæ Mediceæ Bibliothecæ; cujus collationem confecit et transmisit Ds. Maria Salvinus, Græcarum Literarum publicus in Academia Florentina Professor, A. D.* 1715. These words, as well as the collation itself, are faithfully transcribed by Askew, except that for the date 1715, he substitutes that of the year in which he was writing, 1745. From this artifice, and from his omission of the name of Needham, it may be imagined that Askew entertained hopes of deceiving some future editor of Æschylus into a belief that the merit of having procured these collations from the Continent belonged to him. Indeed, he communicated the readings of these MSS. on the *Septem contra Thebas* to Burton, by whom they are published in his Pentalogia, as it would seem, without any intimation of the quarter whence they were obtained. But whether the trap were intentionally laid or not, Mr. Butler appears to have fallen into it; he calls these MSS. including the Medicean, *Codices ab Askevio Collatos*, though the presence of Needham's autograph in the same library, and on the same shelf with the copy, might have preserved him from such a mistake.

It has been suggested, that some of these MSS. are among the number of those afterwards collated by Brunck and Vauvilliers. This notion has arisen, not only from a frequent resemblance in the readings, but also from the following circumstance:—Between the periods at which these different collations were made, the Colbertine copies were incorporated in the Royal Library, a fresh catalogue made of the whole, and new numbers affixed to each. Thus, it is thought, that Mr. Blomfield, being deceived by the numerical marks, which, in Needham's MSS. are totally different from those given by Brunck and Vauvilliers, has, in some instances, treated as distinct authorities, what are, in fact, only different collations of the same copies. This theory, though plausible, and promulgated with sufficient confidence, will, we apprehend, turn out to be erroneous. The writer alluded to identifies Needham's MS. C. (Mr. Blomfield's K.) with No. 2788 of the Royal Library, (which Mr. Blom-

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field calls F.) Now K. is 'codex MS. chartaceus *satis vetustus*'; F. according to Vauvilliers, is, *écriture du XVII siècle*, and its readings often differ from K. He also identifies Brunck's MS. A. with Colb. 2. They are both *bombycini*. but in v. 397. A. has θακοῦντι, and Colb. 2. κρατοῦντι. v. 409. A. ἔτεγξε, Colb. 2. ἔτεγξα. several more points of difference may be observed between them. He makes Needham's MS. H. the same with No. 2787, viz. Brunck's MS. B. Now H. is *Codex Chartaceus*, and B. is *Codex Bombycinus*. These are strong facts against the hypothesis, and more might be mentioned were it necessary. The circumstance of the catalogue containing only nine copies of the Prometheus, does not prove much; the disappearance of MSS. from libraries not being an unheard-of accident: nor can the frequent coincidence in readings establish the identity of the copies, though it leads us to conclude that they were transcripts from the same original, made at no very distant period. We certainly wish for an opportunity of settling this question by examining the copies themselves in the Imperial Library. In the mean time, we commend Mr. Blomfield for availing himself of all accessible collations, and only regret that he has not given them more fully. Occasionally, testimonies are omitted which tend to the defence of the true reading, as in verses 225, 583. We hope to see, in the progress of the work, a greater degree of precision in this particular; which is, indeed, indispensable, if Mr. Blomfield intends that his notes should save the critical reader the trouble and inconvenience of referring to other editions. The MSS. of this play, if we except the Medicean, are of a modern date; and their agreement in the same errors greatly diminishes the value of the separate testimony of each. But the total benefit derived from them is considerable; and many passages are indisputably restored by their assistance, which might otherwise be tossed about, without chart or compass, in the sea of conjecture. Every scholar, therefore, is entitled to our gratitude, who executes, with fidelity, the uninviting task of collecting, and weighing these authorities.

Among the critical commentaries upon the Prometheus, we shall have frequent occasion to notice one executed with considerable ability, which appeared in the 33d number of a contemporary Review.

V. 2. Mr. Blomfield has at length restored to Æschylus the true reading ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρημίαν, by the direction of Professor Porson's manuscripts: the authorities for this restoration are given in the note; and we have only to remark, that this adds another to the numerous instances noted in Mr. Blomfield's Glossary of Æschylus's attachment to Homeric words and phrases; and that Sophocles ὁ φιλόμηρος adopts the same word ἄβροτος in the Antigone, v. 1134.

V. 17.

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V. 17. ὐφαιρίζειν is also a correction of Porson, and is fully justified by the authority of Hesychius, and the MS. Lexicon of Photius. The meaning of this word is satisfactorily explained in the Glossary from the Etymologus Magnus. Mr. Blomfield notices a remarkable instance of bad faith in Schutz, who applied the explanation of ὐφαιρίζειν, which he found in Hesychius, to the corrupt word ἐξαιρίζειν, which exists neither there, nor any where else; and thus endeavoured to perpetuate the error which he found.

V. 21. Mr. Blomfield says in his note, '*του et τῳ pro τινὸς et τινὶ rariora apud Æschylum.*' He should have said *rariora apud Æschylum quam apud Sophoclem et Euripidem.* *του* for τινὸς occurs three times in this play, v. 21, 635, 786.

V. 22. '*φοίβη Eustath. in Il. A.* 47.' Eustathius *twice* cites ἰλίου φοίβη φλογὶ from this passage; on Il. A. p. 38, l. 3, Ed. Rom. = p. 28, 49. Ed. Bas. and again p. 40, 36 = 30, 46.

V. 27. λωφάω. Mr. Blomfield must correct a slight mistake in his glossary, arising from inadvertency; and to the authorities of Photius, Hesychius, and the Scholiast on Apollonius, which he has given in explanation of the common meaning of the word, he may add that of the Scholiast on Homer Il. Φ. 292. Λωφήσει. λήξει, παύσεται. μετήνεκται δὲ ἡ λέξις ἀπὸ (τῶν) τὰ φορτία ἀποθεμένων τοῦ λόφου ὑποζυγίων.

V. 30. Πέρα. *Ultimam semper producit; quare male Marklandus πέρα ἴκεις in initio trochaici edidit Eurip. Iph. Aul.* 396. *pro παρὰ δίκην. Cf. Sophoc. Electr.* 521. *Restituendum est Damoxeno Athenæi I. p.* 15. *B.* πέρα τι κάλλους ἀνδρός. *ubi vulgo* πέρας ἴτι.

These observations, on the quantity of πέρα, ought to have been placed not in the glossary, but in the notes. This word is used as an iambus in the Electra of Sophocles, 633. 1506. Œdip. Tyr. 343. Œdip. Col. 257. 651. Philoct. 332. 1277. Eurip. Hippol. 509. All which passages Markland overlooked. We cannot, however, approve of Mr. Blomfield's emendation of Damoxenus. The passage referred to stands thus in the editions,

> ἐν τῷ τι λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἰφαίνετο
> πέρας ἴτι κάλλους.

The mode of correction suggested by Professor Porson is,

> ἐν τῷ τι πράττειν ἢ λέγειν ἰφαίνετο
> τέρας τι κάλλους.

V. 51. The ordinary reading of the editions and MSS. is ἔγνωκα, τοῖσδε κοὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω. where the copula καὶ is obviously misplaced. Mr. Blomfield reads ἔγνωκα, καὶ τοῖσδ' οὐδὲν ἀ. ἔ. an emendation which we entirely approve. His words are, *tutissimam*

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emendandi rationem secutus, καὶ transposui; quod, cum οὐ vicinum κα excidisset, librarii imperitia post τοῖσδε inseruit.

V. 53. Mr. Blomfield has a learned note upon the different modes of writing ἐλινύειν and ἐλιννύειν, and on a similar uncertainty respecting Ἐρινὺς, and Ἐριννύς. To his authorities in favour of Ἐρινὺς he may add Herod. Attic. Inscrip. I. 39. But the note of Brunck on the Septem contra Thebas, v. 490, contains the portentous doctrine that this, as well as certain other words, may have a syllable made long or short, by the insertion or omission of a letter, as suits the pleasure or convenience of an editor. Accordingly, he reads, in v. 979 of that play, Μέλαινά τ' Ἐριπὺς, ἢ μεγασθενης τις εἶ, in order to obtain a tribrach in the second place. This correction he had, in fact, taken from Heath, as usual, without acknowledgment, and is himself treated in the same way by Schutz, who assumes the credit of this notable discovery. The true reading is,

πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιὰ,
μέλαιν' Ἐριννὺς ἢ μεγασθενής τις εἶ.

as it stands in the Glasgow edition.

In lines 490, 549, of the same play, which severally begin with the words Ἱππομέδοντος, and Παρθενοπαῖος, some would restore the metre by spelling them Ἱππωμέδοντος, Παρθηνοπαῖος, others Ἱπποομμέδοντος, Παρθεννοπαῖος. We must enter a strong protest against such daring attempts to violate the integrity of the language. We venture to propose, as a correction of the first passage, to insert the word φῶς at the beginning of the line. The passage will then be read,

Τίταρτος ἄλλος, γείτονας πύλας ἔχων
Ὄγκας Ἀθάνας, ξὺν βοῇ παρίσταται
φῶς, Ἱππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μίγας τύπος.

The same word occurs before a similar periphrasis in verse 622.

Ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα, Λασθένους βίαι,
Ἐχθρόξενον πυλωρὸν ἀντιτάξομεν.

The verse of the Ajax of Sophocles, 210, which is adduced as another instance of the necessity of doubling a letter *metri gratia*, is corrected by Porson by the insertion of σὺ — παῖ τοῦ Φρυγίου σὺ Τελαύταντος. As for Brunck's remaining example, Sept. c. Th. 709. where he would make the first syllable of θαλερωτέρῳ long, by doubling the λ, all difficulty has been removed by Dr. Burney, who writes the corresponding line of the strophe, εἶσι δόμους Ἐριννὺς, ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν.

V. 99. πῇ ποτε μόχθων Χρὴ τέρματα τῶνδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι; Aldus, Robortellus, and several MSS. give τέρμα, whence the Reviewer proposes to read Χρὴ τέρμα τοίωνδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι. This alteration is, at all events, unnecessary, since the common reading, authorised by Turnebus,

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bus, and some MSS. is defended by v. 731. ὡς ἂν τέρματ' ἐκμάθῃς ἰδών. Eurip. Bacch. 1105. Επεῖ δὲ μόχθων τέρματ' οὐκ ἐξήνυτον. But we have a farther objection to it, as injuring the numbers of the verse. Οἷος, τοῖος, τοιοῦτος, τοίοσδε, ποιεῖν, are sometimes found in Æschylus with the diphthong short, but less frequently than in the other Tragedians; and, we believe, never in a system of regular Anapæsts.

V. 112. We entirely concur with Mr. Blomfield in thinking that the old forms *ἁπλάκημα, ἁπλακεῖν, et similia*, should always be written in Æschylus; but we are farther convinced that the same forms ought also to be adopted in Sophocles and Euripides. The two notes on this line will be consulted with advantage. *In Euripidis Iph. A.* 124 *legi debet (legitur a VV. DD.)* λέκτρων ἁπλακών, *quemadmodum in Alcest.* 247. *restituit Editor Oxoniensis* ὅστις ἀρίστης ἁπλακὼν ἀλόχου. The indisputable correction of the line in the Iphigenia is, if we mistake not, to be attributed to Dr. Burney; and the other line was restored by Mr. Wakefield, in his edition of the Alcestis, published in the *Tragœdiarum Delectus*. So seldom can the efforts of this indefatigable, but unfortunate critic be mentioned with approbation, that it is but fair to bestow on him the meed of praise in the few instances where he has deserved it. To the passages, in which this mode of writing is required by the metre, may be added Soph. Œdip. Tyr. 472. Trachin. 120. We have no doubt, that future editors of Sophocles will adopt the readings, κῆρες ἀναπλάκητοι, and αἰὶν ἀναπλάκητον Ἅιδα σφε δόμων ἐρύκει, which are necessary to the sense as well as the metre. In the Hippolytus of Euripides 846, the verse recommends ἁπλακίαισι τῶν πάροιθέν τινος, and we think it not improbable that the gloss of Hesychius, which is properly corrected by Mr. Blomfield, ἁπλακίῃσι, ἁμαρτίαις, refers to this passage.

V. 122. Mr. Blomfield retains the Ionic form εἰσοιχνεῦσιν, though in verse 666 he changes πολεύμεναι, the reading of all former editions, into πολούμεναι. We cannot assent to the opinion of the Reviewer who would exclude these Homeric forms from Æschylus. It appears to us highly probable that this poet, whose language was of a very old cast, might purposely retain some occasional remains of the Ionic dialect, which was the parent of the Attic, and particularly such poetic forms as were not incompatible with the severity of the regular tragic measures. It is certain that he indulged in this licence more than his successors, since, besides the Ionic forms κοῦφος, ξεῖνος, μοῦνος, δουρὶ, Οὔλυμπος, οὔνομα, γούνατα, which are used by the other tragedians, we find in Æschylus *Extra Choros*, τοκέες, Pers. 63; τρομέονται, 64; ποθέουσαι, 540; ἐξεκείνωσεν, 758; and a few others which the metre prevents us from altering. Mr. Blomfield himself remarks, in a subsequent note, '*neque profecto coarctanda est Æschyli dialectus intra severioris Atticismi*

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Atticismi limites.' These considerations make us hesitate respecting the propriety of changing the Ionic terminations of the datives plural *ναύτησι, γαμφήλησι, πέδῃσι, ῥίζῃσιν*, as Mr. Blomfield has done, into the common forms *ναύταισι, πέδαισι*, &c. We, however, commend him for preserving a consistency in the same tragedy, though in so doing he acts against the authority of Porson's example. This is a point respecting which the transcribers of MSS. cannot be relied on, nor any certainty be obtained; but we feel inclined to leave Æschylus in possession of the Ionic forms, even though we take them away from Sophocles and Euripides.

V. 136, 137. We do not think that Mr. Blomfield has adopted the best of the two metrical arrangements proposed by Dr. Burney. We would read,

ἔπληξέ μου τὰν θεμερῶ—

that the metre may be the same as in six out of the eight preceding lines of the strophe.

V. 140, 141. Mr. Blomfield may add to the instances of similar pleonasms given in his note, Eurip. Hippol. 10. Ὁ γαρ μὲ Θησέως παῖς, Ἀμάζονος τόκος, Ἱππόλυτος.

V. 148. He appears to have proposed to himself the rule of adopting universally the common Doric forms ἀχώ, γᾶ, ἀρχά, ἔπα, &c. in the choruses, and of totally abstaining from them in the anapæsts. Of this practice, in each instance, we approve; and accordingly suggest that in this verse ὁμίχλη, in verse 607, ὄπη, and in verse 595, πῇ should be changed into ὁμίχλα, ὅπα, πᾶ, and that in the anapæstic, 580, should be read ποινή σ'.

V. 160. δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις Ἀγρίοις πελάσας, ὡς μήτε θεὸς, Μήτε τις ἄλλος τοῖσδ' ἐπεγήθει. Instead of the common reading ἀγρίως, Mr. Blomfield has, upon the authority of several MSS. edited ἀγρίοις, which is clearly more Æschylean, and is defended by v. 182, πρὶν ἂν ἐξ ἀγρίων δεσμῶν χαλάσῃ. The Reviewer has proposed two alterations, which seem to us not only to be unnecessary, but materially to impair the ease and spirit of the passage. He would read ἀλύτως and μήποτε θεὸς Μηδεὶς ἄλλος. Respecting the first change, we shall only observe, that fifty instances of Æschylus's fondness for double epithets might be produced from the play before us. In the words ὡς μήτε θεὸς, there is the same suppression of τις, as was remarked in v. 21. Besides, the reading of the Reviewer makes θεὸς a monosyllable *in nomin. sing.* a licence very seldom assumed by Æschylus, and never, we believe, in an anapæstic system. We agree, however, in thinking it very probable that Æschylus wrote τοῖσδ' ἐγεγήθει.

V. 168. ὁ δ' ἐπικότως ἀεὶ Θέμενος ἄγναμπτον νόον, δάμνησι ὠμοσύνᾳ Γένναν. We are really surprised that the Reviewer should approve τιθέμενος, the reading of Pauw. In all the instances which can

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can be adduced of this expression the aorist *θίσθαι* is found with *πάρ* or *θυμὸν*, (see the note,) and *ἀεὶ* is to be joined in construction not with the participle, as he supposes, but with *ἐπικότως δάμνατου*. A comma is required after *ἀεί*.

V. 208. *Στάσις τ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ὠρούνετο, Οἱ μὲν θέλοντες ἐκβαλεῖν ἕδρας Κρόνου*, κ. τ. λ. Neither Mr. Blomfield nor any of the preceding commentators has remarked that this passage is an instance of the *pendens nominativus*, or nominative of a participle, in place of what is called the *genitive absolute*. As in the Supplices, v. 455, *Καὶ γλῶσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια, Γένηται μύθου μῦθος ἐν θελκτήριος*, for *γλώσσης τοξευσάσης*. Several examples of this Atticism in the tragedians have been pointed out by Valckenaer in Phœniss. 290, and by other critics, but this passage of the Prometheus seems to have been overlooked.

V. 240. *Καὶ τοῖσιν οὐδεὶς ἀντέβαινε πλὴν ἐμοῦ*. We concur with the Reviewer in thinking that we ought here to read *τοισίδ'*, which word was indisputably used by the tragedians, though it has so frequently been changed by transcribers into *τοῖσιν*. In the line of the Medea, which he quotes, *τοισίδ'* was an emendation of Canter, adopted by Porson, v. 1292. He properly reads v. 146 of the Heraclidæ, *Ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοισίδ' ἔσταμεν λόγοις*. We find *τοισίδ'* in Heracl. 968, Helen. 321. In Hippol. 405, we would read *ἐκείδη τοισίδ' οὐκ ἐξήνυτον Κύπριν κρατῆσαι*, as Brunck has edited; in v. 1411 of the same play, *ἔστ' ἐν τόποισι τοισίδ' Ἄρτεμις θεά*; in Iphig. Taur. 754, *Τίν' δὴν ἐπόμνυς τοισίδ' ὅρκιον θεῶν*; in two of these lines the common reading is *τοῖσιν*, in the third *τοῖσδέ γ'*. It is however fair to remark, that Mr. Blomfield's adoption of *τοῖσιν* for *τούτοις* is not indefensible. The prepositive article is very commonly used by the tragedians for *οὗτος*, when followed immediately by the particles *μὲν*, *δὲ*, or *γάρ*. But other instances may be found, though very rarely, of this Homeric usage of the article *ὁ, ἡ, τό*. Prom. 245. *Τῷ τοι τοιαῖσδε πημοναισι κάμπτομαι*. Sept. Th. 387, *ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ Χαλκήκατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον*. Suppl. 448, *Ἢ τοῖσιν ἢ τοῖς πόλεμον αἴρεσθαι μέγαν Πᾶσ' ἐστ' ἀνάγκη*.

V. 276. *Οὐ μὴν τι ποιναῖς γ' ᾠόμην τοιαῖσί με Κατισχνανεῖσθαι πρὸς πέτραις πεδαρσίοις*. In the construction of this passage we see nothing objectionable. The Reviewer proposes *τοιαισίδε*, a word which we do not believe ever to have been used by a tragedian. We should however have no hesitation in preferring *τοιαῖσδε* to *τοιαῖσι*. Our readers are referred to Mr. Blomfield's notes on the words *ἰσχναίνω* and *ἰσχαίνω*, in which we are inclined to think that he has successfully combated the opinion of Porson.

V. 333. *Καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν εἶμι, καὶ πειράσομαι, Ἢν δύναμαι πῶλόν σ' ἑκλῦσαι πόνων*. The Reviewer can hardly be serious in supposing

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posing that Mr. Blomfield would render this by the Anglicism, *I'll try if I am able;* particularly as a comma is placed after πειράσομαι. We recommend, however, the insertion of another comma after δύνωμαι.

V. 355. Οὐ δητ', ἐστει με χ'ἁι κ. τ. We conceive the Reviewer to be clearly right in pronouncing the whole of this speech, from verse 348 to verse 384 to belong to Prometheus. The remark οὐ δητ', ἐστεί με, &c. applies most appositely to what he had said immediately before; and verse 381, Σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄπειρος, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ διδασκάλου Χρήζεις, has an obvious reference to the terrifying narrations which he had been giving of the sufferings of his brother Atlas, and of Typhon. The account (v. 375) of the eruption of Ætna, which took place in Æschylus's own days, suits the prophetic character of Prometheus, who in like manner is made to foretel (v. 749) the migration of the Amazons from the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus to the river Thermodon. Several other remarks will occur to the reader in confirmation of this opinion.

V. 361. Ἑκατογκάρανον πρὸς βίαν χειρούμενον Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, ὅστις ἀντέστη θεοῖς. Ἑκατογκάρανον is, we think, a very judicious restoration of Mr. Blomfield, which he learnedly defends in his note. The next line is at last free from a most offensive anapæst in the fourth place: before this edition it was read, Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀντέστη θεοῖς. We find a long list of passages enumerated by Porson, in which the different cases of πᾶς have been unjustifiably inserted by the transcribers or the quoters of ancient authors. This note furnishes a remarkable instance of the memory and accuracy which accompanied the unbounded learning of the professor. Instances of the omission of τις may be found in the addenda to the second edition of the Hecuba, p. 82. In v. 363, Mr. Blomfield very appositely defends the reading συρίζων φόνον (i. e. *cruorem)* by quotations from Sophocles, Apollonius Rhodius, and the Homeric hymn to Apollo, which ought to be collected in the same note.* These passages Mr. Butler appears to have overlooked, and not observing the sense of φόνον, prefers the other reading φόβον. *Nam Deos occidere Typhœus haud potuit!*

V. 377. λευρὰς γύας. We think the Reviewer right in preferring λευρούς, the reading of Robortellus, as we conceive γύας to belong to the masculine noun γύης, and doubt whether the feminine γύα (or γύη) was used at all by the tragedians. The obelus of Porson renders it probable that he was of the same opinion. We agree with the same critic in ejecting the copula, after ὑψίκρημνον, v. 429;

* Soph. Aj. 1412., ἔτι γὰρ θερμαὶ Σίφιγγος ἅμα φυσῶσι μέλαν Μίτος. Apollon. II. 1215, Ἔνθα Τυφάονα φασὶ Διὸς Κρονίδαο κεραυνῷ βλημένον, ὑπτιόωντα οἱ στιβαρὰς ἐπερείσατο χεῖρας, θερμὸν ἀπὸ κρατὸς στάξαι φόνον. Hymn. Homer. I. 361, λίπτε δὲ θυμὸν θοὸν ἀπημοσύνης.

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and in preferring τὸν μακρὸν βίον, the reading of the manuscripts, v. 458.

V. 392. Mr. Blomfield adopts ἔα με τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ νοσεῖν, after Aldus, Robortellus, and many MSS. instead of the common reading τήνδε τὴν νόσον, and, we think, with justice. Soph. Trach. 544, Νοσοῦντι κεινῷ πολλὰ τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ.

V. 403. ἅσμενος δέ τ' ἂν Σταθμοῖς ἐν οἰκείοισι κάμψειεν γόνυ. Mr. Blomfield is undoubtedly aware that τ' ἂν is here the crasis formed by τοι ἂν, which however we ought perhaps to write τἂν to distinguish it from τε ἂν. The ignorance of this crasis among transcribers of MSS. and modern editors has produced numberless corruptions in the Attic poets. Three or four of these passages have been corrected by Porson in Med. 863, and several others by Mr. Elmsley in his edition of the Acharnenses of Aristophanes; a publication which we cannot name, without expressing our high sense of the ability and accurate learning which it exhibits. In the *Septem contra Thebas*, 564, we ought perhaps to read Θεῶν θελόντων τἂν ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγώ.

V. 433. We take the liberty of proposing a new arrangement of these verses:

> μόνον δὴ πρόσθεν ἄλλον
> ἐν πόνοις δαμέντ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοις
> Τιτᾶνα λύμαις εἰσιδόμαν θεῶν
> Ἄτλαντ', ὃς αἰὲν ὑπέροχον
> σθένος κραταιὸν οὐράνιον πόλον
> νώτοις ὑποστενάζει.

The only new reading is in the last line but one, where the editions give οὐράνιόν τε πόλον. We have the authority of the scholiast for expunging the copula, which is as destructive of the elegance of the passage, as it is contrary to the practice of Æschylus. This line is now, like the third, an Alcaic Hendecasyllable; the 5th syllable of *Greek* verses of this description being common. The last line is so printed by Mr. Blomfield on the authority of a host of MSS. in preference to Dr. Burney's Antispastic νώτοισιν ὑποβαστάζει. The Reviewer seems to think that an antistrophe corresponding with these lines, may be extracted from the remainder of the chorus. Hermann has made the attempt, and the frightful spectacle exhibited by the chorus after the havock of his pen, will, we trust, deter all other critics from such an exploit.

V. 488. Οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ' οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ βρώσιμον, Οὐ χριστὸν, οὐδὲ πιστὸν. We ought to read οὔτε βρώσιμον, Οὐ χ. οὔτε π. The Selden MS. gives οὔτε βρ. Respecting the word πιστὸν, which is not to be found in this sense in any other poet extant, the ancient grammarians have supplied abundant information. The scholiast on

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on the Plutus of Aristoph. v. 717, explains πιστὸν, τὸ πινόμενον. Eustathius gives a similar account of the word in two passages referred to by Mr. Blomfield, and in a third which he has overlooked, on Iliad. Π. p. 1050, 48, ὁ μέντοι πιστὸς, ἤγουν πότος, τούτεστι πινόμενος, κατὰ τὸ, χριστὰ καὶ πιστὰ φάρμακα, ἐκ τοῦ πίω πίσω παρῆκται. These different glosses, taken, we conceive, from a Tragic Lexicon, distinctly apply to the line of Æschylus, and appear to us a sufficient defence of the ordinary interpretation. The Reviewer is unaccountably inclined to render οὐδὲ πιστὸν, *neque certa spes salutis.*

V. 513. Οὐδεὶς, σάφ' οἶδα, μὴ μάτην φλῦσαι θέλων. Porson obelizes οἶδα. We have little doubt that Mr. Blomfield is right in conjecturing σάφ' ἴσθι, which occurs as an interjectional sentence more frequently than σάφ' οἶδα, and is in the present line much more appropriate.

V. 535. Μηδάμ' ὁ πάντα νέμων Θεῖτ' ἐμᾷ γνώ-μᾳ κράτος ἀντίπαλον Ζεύς. Mr. Blomfield renders this passage with Garbitius, *Minime Jupiter omnia admiu strans, indat animo meo vim rebellem.* This interpretation he gives in an unusual tone of confidence; but he has evidently overlooked the force of the middle verb θεῖτο. We understand the passage as the scholiast and Stanley did; *Never may all-ruling Jupiter set his power in opposition to my will.* The passage adduced by Mr. Blomfield from the Medea of Euripides seems quite ἀπροσδιόνυσον.

V. 562. οὐδ' ἐδέρχθης Ὀλιγοδρανίαν Ἀκικυν, ἰσόνειρον, ἃ τὸ φατῶν Ἀλαὸν * * * γένος ἐμπεποδισ-μένον; on v. 565, Dr. Burney says '*Deest vox trisyllaba. Forsan ἀλαῶν ἀλαῶς χ.*' Mr. Blomfield proceeds thus: In v. 563. *MS. Guelph. habet* ὀλιγοδρανοῦσαν, *unde forsan legendum* Ἀκικυν οὖσαν, ἰσόνειρον, ἃ τὸ φατῶν ἀλαὸν γ. ἐ. *vel etiam, quod magis placet,* Ὀλιγοδρανίαν Ἀκικυν, ἰσχὺν ἰσόνειρον, ἃ τὸ φ. *Scholiastes B.* Ὀλιγοδρανίην. ἀσθενῆ δύναμιν Ἀκικυν. φυλὴν ἰσχόν. *Hæc vox, ob litteras ικυν proxime præeuntes, facile intercidere potuisset.* To this mode of supplying the deficiency we must decidedly object. In the iambic lines of the antistrophic odes, though a spondee is sometimes found answering to an iambus or tribrach, yet in a great majority of cases, the feet of the strophic verse agree accurately with those of the antistrophic. The same correspondence is *generally* found in the quantity of the final syllables of short verses. Now the line constituted by Mr. Blomfield's last proposal,

ἄκικυν ἰσχὺν, ἰσόνειρον, ἃ τὸ

answers to the antistrophic,

-φὶ λουτρὰ καὶ λίχος σὸν ὑμεναίουν.

Here are two violations of the ordinary practice, (the final syllable

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liable of *ἰσχὺν* being long,) which can hardly be allowable in conjectural alteration. It should also be recollected that this mode of reconciling the strophe with the antistrophe, supposes these lines to be divided by Dr. Burney exactly as they were by Æschylus: of which probably neither Mr. Blomfield nor his readers may feel altogether convinced.

V. 583. *Χρίει τις αὖ με τάλαιναν οἶστρος Εἴδωλον Ἄργου γηγενοῦς, ἄλαὸ, ὦ δᾶ· φοβοῦμαι.* The Reviewer is indisputably right in inserting *τὰν* before *τάλαιναν*, on the authority of three MSS. which Mr. Blomfield has overlooked. The line is a trimeter catalectic Iambic, like verses 564, 573, 585, 587, 714. The following line we would separate into two; and verses 588, 589, 590, we would divide thus—

ἀλλά με τὰν τάλαιναν
ἐξ ἰνίων πιρῶν
κυνηγετεῖ, πλανᾶ
τε πῆστιν ἀνὰ τὰν παραλίαν ψάμμον.

The Reviewer has shown that the remainder of these verses, from 591 to 608, are a strophe, the antistrophe corresponding to which is from v. 613 to 629. It has been demanded, 'Will any man affirm that the wild ravings of Io in the Prometheus were written antistrophically?' What will be the fate of those who have now the hardihood to do this, we cannot pretend to foretel. But whatever it be, it is certain that these lines have as perfect a claim to the title of antistrophics as any in Æschylus: there is an almost perfect correspondence of the metres, without the torture of transpositions, rejections, or insertions, or indeed any change, which is not authorised by the testimony of manuscripts. Mr. Blomfield's next edition will, we hope, exhibit this chorus with its proper divisions; in the mean time we shall take the liberty of offering one or two suggestions. In v. 620, *φοιταλέοις* answers to *ἐν σιμωναῖς*; the second syllable of this word is also made long in the Orestes of Euripides, v. 321, where *φοιταλέου· φεῦ μόχθων*, corresponds with the antistrophic, v. 337, *δεινῶν πόνων, ὡς πόντου·* nor does Porson intimate any suspicion of an error. In v. 622, we propose to read *Λαβρόσυτος ἦλθον Ἥρας Ἐπικότοισι μήδεσι δαμεῖσα*, when the first of these lines will correspond with the strophic *Παράκοπον ὧδε τείρεις.* The insertion of *Ἥρας* seems almost as necessary to the sense as to the verse; and this word seems to have been in the copy of the play used by the scholiast A.

V. 700. *Ἀτροσδόκητος δ' ἀιφνίδιος αὐτὸν μόρος Τοῦ ζῆν (ζῇν) ἀπεστέρησεν.* Every preceding edition has *αὐτὸν αἰφνίδιος μόρος*, which words present an anapæst for the fifth foot, (for nobody will believe, upon the authority of Mr. Butler, that *αἰφνίδιος* becomes a cretic.) Mr. Blomfield has, by the direction of Porson's papers, restored

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restored the measure, by transposing *αὐτὸν* and *αἰφνίδιος*. However simple this mode of correction may appear, it does not altogether please us, since it produces a kind of verse which is certainly inharmonious, and of which we recollect but three examples in Æschylus. They are Sept. c. Theb. 1022. *Καὶ μήθ' ὁμαρτεῖν τυμβοχόα χειρώματα.* Pers. 491. *Δίψει τε λιμῷ τ' ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν τάδε.* Eumen. 107. *Χοάς τ' ἀοίνους, νηφάλεα μειλίγματα.* Porson, in his note on Medea 139, cites four lines of this description from Euripides, to which may be added Orest. 60, Phæn. 77, Iph. Aul. 1280. The suggestion of the Reviewer which has also occurred to others, is by no means unlikely, viz. that Æschylus wrote *ἀφνίδιος*, a word which is analogically derived from *ἄφνω*, and which would give the numbers of the verse unimpaired, *ἀπροσδόκητος δ' αὐτὸν ἀφνίδιος μόρος.*

V. 708. Upon this short choral song Mr. Butler has remarked, 'Credibile est Æschylum, ut perturbationem et stuporem chori ex gravissimis Iûs infortuniis ortum exprimeret, metra paulo impeditiora consulto adhibuisse.' Now we cannot help believing that the verses admit of an arrangement in elegant and easy measures. The following is proposed for the consideration of Mr. Blomfield and the readers of Æschylus:

ἔα, ἔα·
ἄπειχε φεῦ·
οὔποτ', οὔποτ' ἦῦχουν ξενοὺς
μολεῖσθαι λόγους ἐς ἀκοὰν ἐμὰν,
οὐδ' ὧδε δυσθίατα καὶ δύσιστα
πήματα, λύματα, δίματ' ἀμφί-
κειε κέντρῳ ψύχειν
ψυχὰν ἐμάν· ἰὼ, ἰὼ,
μοῖρα, μοῖρα πέφρικ' εἰσ-
ιδοῦσα πρᾶξιν Ἰοῦς.

In the last line but one, which is a Pherecratean, Mr. Blomfield has most unfortunately, in our opinion, expunged the latter *μοῖρα*. 'Repetitiones verborum non sunt nisi gravissimis de causis tollendæ,' said the late Greek professor. The reason given for the change is still more unfortunate, viz. that the verse might be made trochaic monometer hypercatalectic, a title which we should hardly chuse to give to *Μοῖρα, πέφρικ' εἰσ.*

V. 738. *Χρίμπτουσα βαχίαισιν ἑκατερᾶν χθόνα.* Dawes, in his Miscellanea Critica, asserted that a final short vowel is, in the Attic poets, universally made long before an inceptive *ῥ* in the following word. This rule has been embraced, as certain, by Brunck, and other critics, who have overlooked the passages that militate against it. This line and v. 1028, *Πρὸς ταῦτα ῥιπτέσθω μὲν*

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μὲν αἰθαλοῦσσα φλὸξ, contain exceptions: five others, in senarians, are adduced by Mr. Gaisford in his notes on Hephæstion, p. 220, to which Mr. Blomfield refers. The canon, like several others in Dawes, was delivered in too hasty and unqualified terms. We shall venture to state what appears to us to be the metrical law respecting the inceptive ρ, actually observed by the writers of iambics. When the final short vowel is in the second syllable of the foot, the power of the ρ, in the following word, coinciding with the metrical ictus, makes the syllable long; as v. 1059, Διαῤῥαμήσει σώματος μέγα ῥάκος: but when it is in the first syllable of the foot, it continues short. An inspection of the different instances adduced of the lengthening effect of this consonant, and of the exceptions, will evince the truth of this rule, which has not, to our knowledge, ever before been advanced.

V. 795. Οὐ δῆτα, πρὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθείς. The copies are divided between πρὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἐκ δ. λ. and πρὶν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δ. λ. Both these readings being incompatible with the metre, Mr. Blomfield prints ἂν both before and after ἔγωγ', and proceeds to give many instances of the repetition of this particle in the tragedies. Respecting this emendation the Reviewer says, 'Versum ita constituit B. οὐ δῆτα, πρὶν ἂν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δ. λ. satis ingeniose—sed proculdubio fallitur juvenis doctissimus. Ἂν geminatum cum indicativo et optativo sæpissime, cum subjunctivo nunquam conjungunt Attici.' This is not quite correct. The double ἂν is continually found in conjunction with an optative, much seldomer with an indicative, and sometimes, though very rarely, in the tragedies, with an infinitive; as Eur. Med. 368. Δοκεῖς γὰρ ἄν με τόνδε θωπεῦσαί ποτ' ἄν. But we do not recollect any instance, in poetry, of its being joined with a subjunctive; and we must leave Mr. Blomfield to defend or to alter his reading. The Reviewer adds, 'Nihil inter πρὶν et ἂν interponi debet, nisi particula.' This remark, to the truth of which we subscribe, sets aside the reading of Pauw and Heath, which Mr. Butler embraces, πρίν γ' ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δ. λ. But the Reviewer's own emendation will, we fear, no more stand the test, than those which he has overturned. As three MSS give πλὴν for πρὶν, he proposes to read Οὐ δῆτα, πλὴν ἔγωγ' ὅταν δ. λ. But we apprehend that whenever πλὴν ὅταν occurs, these two words keep as close together in the sentence as πρὶν ἂν, and that the interposition of ἔγωγε is not allowable. Nor is this our only objection to the proposed emendation: it produces a line with the quasi-cæsura, of which, we believe, only a single instance occurs in this play, (v. 633) and two in the *Sept. c. Theb.*

V. 796. Τίς οὖν ὁ λύσων σ' ἐστὶν ἄκοντος Διός; We should prefer τίς γάρ σ' ὁ λύσων ἐστὶν ἄ. Δ.

V. 854. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ γάπεδα. Mr. Blomfield

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has properly restored γάπεδα on the authority of Porson, instead of the common reading δάπεδα, which gives a pyrric in the fifth place. That γάπεδον was a tragic word appears from a passage of Stephanus Byzantinus quoted in the note. Its Doric form form is similar to that of other words which occur in the tragic dialogue, γάπονος, γαπετὴς, γάμορος, γάποτος. It seems strange that Mr. Blomfield and the Reviewer, while they both approve and defend γάπεδα, should offer other readings, of their own. Mr. Blomfield says, '*sed forsan scribendum* δάπεδα πρὸς Μολοσσικὰ,' an alteration which is, to say the least, unnecessary. The Reviewer concludes his observations with '*non prorsus absurdum foret* πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδά τε.' This we must call a most improbable conjecture. Not to mention the very inelegant position of the copula, we cannot agree that a line ought to be obstruded upon Æschylus, so very unpleasing to the ear, as one which ends with a Tribrach followed by τε or γε.

V. 884. φθόνον δὲ σωμάτων ἴξει θεός· Πελασγία δὲ δίξεται θηλυκτόνῳ Ἄρει δαμέντας νυκτιφρουρήτῳ θράσει. Great difficulties have been found in this passage, nor do we pretend to think that they can readily be removed. But we have no doubt that Mr. Blomfield is in an error, when he adopts the interpretation of Siebelis, who refers σωμάτων to the daughters of Danaus; '*sed illarum Deus invidebit corpora i. e. non committet, ut iis potiantur Ægypti filii.* That of Hermann is not less objectionable; he renders σωμάτων *propter cæsa sponsorum corpora.* Mr. Butler includes the words Πελασγία δὲ δέξεται in a parenthesis; but we wish that he had given us one or two instances of words similarly interposed in a sentence. Almost all the authorities are in favour of δαμέντων. Mr. Blomfield gives δαμέντας at the suggestion of Pauw. To this we do not object, though the the true word may possibly be δαμέντας, which is found in one MS. subaud. σώματα.

V. 923. Μήποτε, μήποτέ μ' ὦ μοῖραι **** λεχέων Διὸς εὐνάτειραν ἴδοισθε πέλουσαν. Four syllables are wanting to make this antistrophe correspond with its strophe. Mr. Blomfield properly forbears to touch the text, but suggests the insertion of the word σύγκοιτον, which he finds in the scholia, the transposition of μ', and the further assistance of δ', to produce a perfect coincidence of measures. We cannot call this happy, or probable. No additional word appears requisite for the sense; and were we driven to the necessity of chusing between omission in the strophe, and insertion in the antistrophe, we should declare for the former. The scholiast A. does not appear to have read the word πρῶτος in v. 913. and it is not very improbable that Æschylus wrote in the beginning of the strophe

ἦ σοφὸς, ἦ σοφὸς, ὃς γνώ-
μᾳ τόδ' ἐβάσταασε, καὶ γλώσ-
σᾳ διεμυθολόγησεν.

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and that ἦν and πρῶτος are interpolations. At all events this would produce a correspondence of the strophic and antistrophic measures, and the concurrence of three verses of the same description.

V. 934. We have long remarked that this epode, as it is called, contains a strophe and antistrophe, though two or three corruptions which have been introduced into our copies, render it impossible to restore its original form with certainty. The Reviewer has given an arrangement of these verses; we propose one which seems to us somewhat more probable:

Strophe. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτι μὴ ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος
ἄφοβος, οὐ δίδυκα· μήδ' ἄφυκτον
κρεισσόνων θεῶν ἔρως
ὅμμα προσδράκοι μοι.

Antistrophe. ἀπόλεμος ὅδε πόλεμος, ἄπορα
πόριμος, οὐδ' ἔχω τις ἂν γενοίμαν.
τὰν Διὸς γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ
μῆτιν ἃ φόβημ' ἄν.

We trust that a more eligible one will be discovered; for we still suspect a fault in the second line of the strophe. We have little doubt that the fourth lines are correctly given. προσδράκοι μοι was a conjecture of Salvini, which he sent to Needham with the collation of the Medicean MS. and will be admitted by every one who casts his eye over the variations of the different copies, προσδέρκοι μι, προσδάρκοι μι, προσδράκῃ μι, προσδράμοι μι. One advantage at least results from the detection of the antistrophic nature of these lines. We are guarded against Mr. Blomfield's rejection of ὧν and against the expulsion of ἄφοβος and ἔρως, which Mr. Butler recommends.

We agree with the Reviewer in preferring the readings τοῖον v. 944, τὸ μὴ οὐ v. 954, and πρὸς ἄν v. 984, to those given by Mr. Blomfield.

V. 980. Σὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν, τὸν πικρῶς ὑπέρπικρον Τὸν ἐξαμαρτόντ' εἰς θεοὺς ἐφημέροις Πορόντα τιμὰς, τὸν πυρὸς κλέπτην λέγω. The obelus of Porson was, we conceive, attached by mistake to the word πικρῶς, instead of τὸν ἐφημέροις immediately below it, by which the metre is disturbed. His emendation was, we are told, πάφημέροις. Mr. Blomfield omits the article on the authority of four MSS. and renders the sentence, *qui contra Deos peccânti, beneficia mortalibus præstando*; which interpretation had already been proposed in the Variorum Edition as Mr. Tate's.

V. 1093. This line may be called the bane of critics. The true reading is enveloped in so thick a mist, that most of those who have endeavoured to find it, have not only failed in the attempt, but run into some new and distressing error. Mr. Blomfield has been unfortunate with the rest. Desirous of adhering as closely

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as possible to the reading of the Medicean, the best and oldest of the MSS. which is ἢ τοῦδ' εὐτυχῆ τι χαλᾷ μανιῶν; he has printed in his text, εἴ γ' οὐδὲ τύχη τι χ. μ. where εἴ οὐδὲ is an unjustifiable substitution for εἰ μηδέ. About this passage there is nothing certain, except that the readings of all the copies are corrupt. Many modes of emendation will suggest themselves to the Greek scholar; but none that we have ever heard, bear satisfactory marks of the genuine words of Æschylus. The correction proposed by Professor Porson was, if we mistake not, εἰ μήτ' ἀτυχής τι χαλᾷ μανιῶν; respecting which we have only to say, that it may serve till something more satisfactory be suggested.

V. 1096. μετά που χωρεῖτ' ἐκ τῶνδε θοωῖς. Here is a fault which has not, we believe, been noticed by any editor. που ought not to be attached to a verb of motion, either as an interrogative or an enclitic. We should here read μετά νοι χ. ἐ. τ. θ.

In our examination of the merits of this volume we have generally avoided touching upon those notes (by far the greater part) which demand full and unqualified approbation. Our review has already proceeded to an extent, which nothing but its great excellence could justify; and we thought our pages would be more usefully employed in suggesting what might tend to its improvement than in soothing the ears of the editor with the unvaried exclamations, *Pulchre, Bene, Recte.* The work itself is a valuable acquisition to Greek Literature, and the most successful attempt yet made to restore the text of Æschylus, and to illustrate and explain his language.

We must not omit to express our warm commendations of the mode in which Mr. Blomfield notices the labours of his predecessors. Instead of making his notes a *criticæ vannus* on the editions of Pauw, Schutz, Bothe, and Butler, he receives with due acknowledgments whatever he finds in each that is good, while he forbears to expose or exult over their errors. Generally speaking, he only mentions those by which the readers of Æschylus are in danger of being misled. His commendations are simple and unambitious; his censures totally free from arrogance or ill-nature. His good sense and good feeling have preserved him from the acrimonious and virulent style which critical scholars too often exercise against one another. We trust that no provocation will ever engage him in that disgusting species of literary warfare, which, not only makes the combatants themselves ridiculous, but reflects discredit on the studies which they profess.

This book is the first printed in the beautiful Greek types, cast after the patterns given by the late Professor Porson. It appears under the patronage of the Syndics of the Cambridge press; and those who have lamented that Mr. Butler was not employed by that body,

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to publish a corrected text of Æschylus, will not now be displeased to see the task devolved upon a scholar, so well qualified to do justice to this noble tragedian. We trust that Mr. Blomfield will pursue with diligence and spirit the work so auspiciously commenced, in the prosecution of which he will be cheered by the applauding voice of every lover of ancient literature. In the mean time we congratulate our readers, not only upon the acquisition of this very useful volume, but upon the appearance of a scholar, who, at a very early period of life, has displayed so great a share of judgment, ability, and learning, as to justify the most sanguine expectations of his future excellence.

ART. X. *The History of Mauritius and the neighbouring Islands, &c. &c.* By Charles Grant, Viscount de Vaux. 4to. pp. 571. London. G. and W. Nicol.

THE unfortunate result of the gallant attack by the four frigates under the orders of Captain Pym, gave to the enemy, for a few days, the naval ascendancy in the seas contiguous to the Isle of France. In the first moments of dismay, this event was considered to be fatal to our meditated expedition, the armament, prepared for this purpose, being actually on its passage from India. As soon, however, as the gloom began to disperse, exertions were made at the Cape of Good Hope, and at the neighbouring Isle of Bourbon, to dispute the superiority of the enemy, which were probably never surpassed. Four ships in the East India Company's service were speedily manned and equipped for the purpose: but the gallant Rowley, whose conduct appears above all praise, had already accomplished this object. By the capture of the French commodore's ship La Venus, and the recapture of the Africaine and Ceylon, the command of those seas was again our own; and from that instant the success of the expedition could no longer be doubtful. The result has deprived the enemy of his last colony, and of the only means of annoying our extensive and valuable commerce in the Indian seas.

With a view of communicating to our readers a concise, but comprehensive, sketch of the probable advantages to be expected from this acquisition, we had recourse to the volume before us, as being the largest and, we believe, the latest work which professes to describe those islands, if we except a small pamphlet by 'An Officer of the Expedition against Bourbon.' We knew, indeed, that the Viscount's book contained the greater part of all that had been written or published on the Isle of France within the last century, together with other matters which had little or no

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connection with 'the History of Mauritius.' We knew, too, that it was made up from the 'sailing directions,' the 'remarks,' the 'observations,' and the 'descriptions' of navigators and hydrographers from D'Aprés de Manivillette to Alexander Dalrymple; but we were not prepared to meet with so many agreeable biographical digressions as we actually found there. We have the 'Life' of M. de la Bourdonnais, 'An account of the Greville family,' the 'Life of D'Aprés de Manivillette, of M. l'Abbé de la Caille, M. le Gentil, Royal Academician, Count de Lally, and, strange asit may appear, of Hyder Aly Khan; from whom we are transported back to that distinguished barbarian Timur Beg. The reader will wonder how the viscount contrived to bring these scraps of biography into a 'History of the Mauritius,' but his surprize will cease when he opens this huge quarto, and finds it 'a mighty maze,' resembling the variegated patchwork of some industrious lady; with this difference however that, in the latter, the coloured remnants are disposed on something like system, whereas the patchwork before us is thrown together at random. We verily believe that of the 571 pages in this closely printed volume, there are scarcely 50 which can be ascribed to the editor, and even these perhaps might have been omitted without much injury to the book. The following *morceau* of natural history, which we conscientiously believe to be original, will enable our readers to judge for themselves.

'The scorpion, which has very long claws, encreases its shell every year. Its old claws become useless; and it forms new ones. It may be asked, what it has done with the old ones? In the same manner the porcelaine has a thick mouth, which is formed in such a way that it cannot augment its revolutions on itself, if it does not succeed in destroying the obstacles to its opening. It is not improbable, that these animals possess a liquor capable of dissolving the walls of the roof, which they wish to enlarge, and if this dissolvent exists, it might be employed for the stone in the bladder, and to destroy those glutinous humours, which resemble the *prima materia* of shells.' P. 62.

We have nothing farther to offer on the viscount's book than our frank avowal that it bids defiance to the analytic art, and is beyond the power of criticism: we shall proceed therefore to give a summary account of our newly acquired possessions, endeavouring to point out in what way, and to what extent, they are likely to become subservient to the commercial and political interests of the British empire.

The first discovery of the Isles of France and Bourbon appears to have been made by Don Pedro Mascaregnas, a Spanish navigator, in the year 1505; to the former of them he gave the name of Cerné, and on the latter conferred his own. At that time they are represented as being uninhabited by man, and even destitute of every

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every species of quadruped. After this period, the two islands were occasionally visited by Spaniards and Portugueze; but it does not appear that any attempt was made by either nation to form establishments upon them. They served merely as points to touch at for refreshing their crews and replenishing their stock of water. In the year 1598 the Dutch admiral, Van Neck, landed on Cerné, and, finding it unoccupied, thought fit to confer on it the name of Mauritius, in honor of the Prince of Orange.

In August 1601, the Dutch navigator, Hermansen, put into Mauritius for water. The boat was absent nearly a month, and, on her return, brought off a Frenchman who had been discovered on the island. The account he gave of himself was, That he had embarked in London on an English vessel bound to the East Indies; that she was lost near Malacca, where all the crew died except himself, four Englishmen, and two negroes; that these seven people seized an Indian junk, with the intent of returning to England; that the negroes, after failing in an attempt to get possession of the vessel, threw themselves into the sea; that she was driven upon the coast of Mauritius, whence the English put to sea again to continue the voyage, but that he, the Frenchman, was resolved to remain there, rather than encounter new hardships; that he had been nearly two years without the sight of a human creature, and that his sole sustenance was the fruit of the date palm and the flesh of turtles. His bodily strength, it seems, had not failed him, but his understanding was considerably impaired. His clothes had gradually fallen to pieces, and he was found in a state approaching to nakedness.

From this period the Dutch were in the practice of calling at Mauritius for water and turtles; but it was not until the year 1644 that they began to think of making a regular establishment upon it. Whatever that establishment might have been, it is certain that it failed of success; for, towards the end of the century, they abandoned the island altogether.

In the mean time M. de Flacourt, a director of the French East India Company, who had proceeded on a mission to the Island of Madagascar, passed from thence to Mascaregnas, and, finding it unoccupied, formed a settlement upon it in the year 1657, and gave it the name of Bourbon. From Bourbon a few families went to Mauritius, which the Dutch had abandoned, and in 1712 established themselves on the island, changing its name to that of the Isle of France. The neighbouring island of Bourbon, in the heat of revolutionary frenzy, was named, we know not why, Reunion, which, in the servility of adulation, was afterwards sunk in that of Buonaparté; at the same time Port Louis, the capital of the Isle of France, was dignified with the name of Port Napoleon.

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poleon. It is to be hoped, however, that we shall not sanction these names of modern prostitution.

The Isle of France, situated to the eastward of Madagascar, between the 20th and 21st degree of southern latitude, and about 58° 30′ of eastern longitude, is, according to the measurement of the Abbé de la Caille, about 35 miles in length and 23 in breadth. It can scarcely be called a mountainous island, though there are some considerable ranges on the northern and eastern coasts. The chain which encircles the town of Port Louis is considered as the highest; one of the peaked rocks of which, bearing a fancied resemblance to the figure of a woman, is estimated at somewhat more than 3000 feet. On the southern, western, and central parts of the island are plains of considerable extent. The greater part of the island was once, and the mountains and rising grounds are still, covered with wood, among which are several kinds of timber of good quality; but, where the approaches to the forests were not difficult, the trees have been so wantonly destroyed, that at present very little remains. Streams of water, but few of them perpetual, rush from the high lands in every direction. The soil is not generally rich. It consists mostly of a brown volcanic rock of argillaceous lava, abounding with iron, which easily crumbles into mould. The shores of the island are girt with reefs of coral rock, in some parts of which, especially at the mouths of the rivers, are intricate passages for small vessels. In no place is a sandy beach to be found; the margin of little bays or coves are covered with the calcareous fragments of those extraordinary submarine fabrics, supposed to be the work of worms.

The only town in the island is Port Louis, situated in a narrow valley at the head of the harbour, of the same name, on the north-western coast. From the range of broken mountains behind it, a copious rill of water flows through the middle of the town. The houses are principally constructed of wood, only a single story in height. In the skirts of the town are the government store-houses, and the military parade: the naval arsenal, we believe, is complete in all the requisite buildings; but as the tide does not rise above three feet, there are no docks for repairing ships. The port, however, affords every convenience for careening.

On the opposite coast of the island there is another and a more spacious harbour, called Port South East. The Dutch made this their principal port. Being on the windward side of the island, its entrance is easier than that of Port Louis, and, from the free circulation of the air, it is a much healthier situation, but as the wind almost perpetually blows into it, the difficulty for ships to get out counterbalances the advantage of the facility with which they enter. It is supposed, however, that, by blowing up a few rocks, a northern passage

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passage might be opened, which would remedy the inconvenience.

No data have yet been made public, on which any correct estimate can be formed of the population of the island. The viscount de Vaux states it, (on his own authority apparently,) in 1779, to consist of 65,000, of which 10,000 were whites and mulattoes, and 55,000 slaves. We have reason to believe that the number is nearly double. Port Louis alone is supposed to contain, 30,000 inhabitants.

The colonists of the isles of France and Bourbon are distinguished for simplicity of manners and hospitality. Here, as every where else, the ladies (far the gayest part of the population) are fond of displaying their figure in dancing. They are in general well made, of good features, in possession of a tolerable share of wit and vivacity, and have more taste than might be expected in so remote and secluded a colony. They marry at an early age, and are remarkable for attention to their domestic duties, and for attachment to their husbands and children. 'Both men and women,' says Admiral Kempenfelt, 'are strong and well made; they breathe a wholesome air, are in continual exercise, and are distinguished for their moderation and temperance. The women are remarkable for the beauty and elegance of their shape, in which they surpass those of old France.'

The climate is moderate, and, on the whole, so delightful, that we have little doubt the Isle of France will speedily become the Montpelier of the East, to which the invalids of Hindostan will repair for the restoration of health. We can scarcely venture to pronounce this an advantage to the colonists, unless the making of money cheap, and every thing else dear, may be so considered. According to M. Perron, the greatest heat, excepting on particular occasions, does not rise beyond 82° of Fahrenheit, and the least descends not below 64°. The general range of the mercury, from May and November, when the S. E. trade blows, is from 66 to 72°; and, during the rest of the year, when the winds are variable from the N. W. to N. E. from 66 to 78°. The hurricanes, which seldom fail to take place about once in five years, are commonly in the month of December.

The products of the island, as may be supposed, from its favourable position, are very various. Almost every species of fruit, grain, &c. might be raised, and, in fact, almost every valuable plant has had its trial. The cinnamon, pepper, cocoa, tea plant, and the cactus cochinellifera have indeed failed; but sugar, coffee, cloves, manioc, cotton, and indigo, may now be reckoned as the staple commodities of the island. The native trees, shrubs, creepers, and herbaceous plants, are equally numerous and elegant.

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The inhabitants sow but little grain; two thirds, at least, of this article being drawn from the neighbouring isle. They have few cattle, and depend chiefly, for what beef they consume, on Madagascar; but they have no want of pigs and poultry. The sea supplies them with various kinds of fish, and the rocks on the coast, with crabs, lobsters, and oysters.

The Isle of Bourbon is about 100 miles W. S. W. of the Isle of France. It is nearly circular, without a bay or indent on its coast. It rises gradually, from every side, to a high peaked point, near the centre, which is volcanic, and almost perpetually emitting either flame or smoke. Its altitude has been estimated at 9000 feet above the level of the sea. There are two towns on this island, St. Dennis and St. Paul, the former of which is the principal, being the residence of the Governor, the Supreme Council, and the other public functionaries. Not only is the soil of this island more fertile than that of the Isle of France, but the colonists have a better system of cultivation, and the produce is more abundant. The quantity of grain may be much increased; the plantations of cotton, which is here of a superior quality, may also be extended. The coffee is excellent, being reckoned little inferior to that of Moka.

The population of Bourbon, according to viscount de Vaux, is stated (but on no better authority, we presume, than before) at 66,000, of which 8,000 are whites and mulattoes, and 48,000 slaves. In the pamphlet by 'An Officer of the Expedition,' its population is said to consist of 90,346, of which 16,400 are whites and creoles, 3,496 free blacks, and 70,450 slaves. In the same book, the total value of the agricultural produce of Bourbon is estimated at 1,430,800 dollars, and the public revenue at 230,000.

The island of Rodriguez should not be forgotten. Situated to windward of the other two, it was, with great judgment, first taken possession of by Colonel Keating, as the outwork to the others. It is about 18 miles long, by six broad, abounds with wood for fuel, and has a plentiful supply of excellent water. There are two good roadsteds for shipping; one on the north, and the other on the south. The climate is delightful; myriads of land turtles are found on it: sea turtles are also abundant on the coast. Three families only inhabited the island. The viscount gives us (p. 103.) the history of a M. Le Guat, one of its first settlers. This person was one of the refugee protestants of France, who went from Holland with a view of taking refuge on the Isle of Bourbon; finding it, on their arrival, in the possession of the French, they landed on Rodriguez. This little narrative, which is given in the adventurer's own words, is, in our opinion, much the best part of the book; and is, indeed, interesting and amusing in a very high degree.

Among

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Among the number of our acquisitions must also be included the group, or archipelago, of small islands, situated to the northward, called the Amiranté, Mahé, or Sechelles islands, the principal of which is the Great Sechelles, containing about 600 inhabitants. It abounds with wood and water, and possesses an excellent harbour. Another of these islands, called Praslan, has also a good harbour. They must all now cease to be what they have been, the resort of marauders, and the receptacles of French plunder and slaves from Mozambique, Madagascar, and the Comoro islands.

We now proceed to inquire in what manner, and to what extent, our recent conquests are likely to prove advantageous. In the first place, then, we do not conceive that any immediate benefit to the commercial world will result from the addition of the Isles of France and Bourbon to the number of our colonies. As colonial territories merely, we should consider them as of no great importance. With all possible economy, the retention of them must add something to the national expenses. Coffee, cotton, and sugar, we cannot be said to want; and these are their principal products. The colonists have little, at present, to give in exchange for the few manufactures of Great Britain and India, which they consume. Except the petty traffic carried on with Americans, consisting chiefly in exchanges of provisions for hard money and lumber, their trade was confined to the coasts of Madagascar, the Comoro islands, and the Arab settlements on the eastern coast of Africa. This trade consisted in the barter of prize goods, spirits, fire arms, and ammunition, for black cattle, rice, gold dust, elephants' teeth, and slaves. Such was the legitimate commerce of the islands; but of late, a number of small piratical privateers, fitted out by speculative adventurers, infested the channel of Mozambique, plundered the defenceless settlements of the Arabs and Portugueze, and made prize of every embarkation unable to resist them. Having thus worked themselves into a full cargo, they stood to the northward of Zanzibar, crossed to the Mahé islands, and, remaining there till the hurricane season approached, and our squadron was, in consequence, withdrawn, they slipped into Port Louis.

The Americans, we should have added, were likewise the purchasers, or the carriers, of the numerous and valuable cargoes captured from the East India Company.

It is obvious that some of those resources have ceased; but the legal trade will rapidly extend itself to every part of the great island of Madagascar, the Comoro islands, the whole range of the eastern coast of Africa, and thence along the shores of Arabia to the mouth of the Euphrates.

Casting

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Casting our eyes to the eastward, we may observe how very favourably situated the Isle of France is as a central point of communication with those innumerable islands which constitute the great Asiatic archipelago, from the Phillipines on the north, to Van Dieman's Land on the south, containing a population, probably, not inferior to that of the whole of Hindostan.

The intercourse with those islands has been hitherto carried on by the Dutch, the Americans, the Malays, and the Chinese. They are without the scope of the East India Company's trade, but, unfortunately, not considered as without the range of its charter.

We feel confident, however, that the time is not far distant, (and the fall of the French islands must hasten the event,) when that bar will be removed which, though closed against British subjects, has unaccountably been open to all the world besides. We pretend not to draw the precise line where exclusion and toleration should meet, but we may be permitted to question the policy of allowing a free and uninterrupted trade in the Indian seas to the Americans, while a British vessel is not permitted to double the Cape of Good Hope! Surely, under the difficulties with which British commerce now labours, it is not too much to hope, that these parts of the East, with which the India Company have no immediate intercourse, may be thrown open to the private trader. The plea of a want of capital to embark in Indian commerce, which has been sometimes alleged in justification of the interdiction, appears to us utterly inconclusive, in the present case, judging, as we do, from the example of the Americans. We speak from authority, when we say that more than 300 of their ships touched at the Isle of France alone, in the course of the year previous to the embargo.

It was a favourite project of the French, before the Revolution, to make the Isle of France, not only the grand entrepôt of their commerce in the East—another Tyre, surpassing the ancient mart in wealth and magnificence—but also to render it the bulwark of all their settlements in Asia, the cradle of future conquests. To them, indeed, it was of infinite importance; but to us, who hold the Cape and Ceylon, it cannot be considered as equally valuable. It will be found, however, particularly useful, on account of its safe and commodious harbour, and its abundance of refreshments. The commanding situation of the island not only opens a wide field for commercial enterprize, but holds out considerable encouragement for the extension of that important branch of commerce and navigation, the whale fishery; both the black and the spermaceti whale abounding in those seas.

If, then, no immediate advantage to the commerce of this country may be expected from the possession of those islands, yet we have no hesitation in affirming, that they must, eventually, lead to great

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great public benefit, unless, indeed, the intercourse with them shall continue to be cramped by the East India Company.

But the importance of the conquest is not, in our minds, to be measured merely by the balance of profit and loss in the merchant's ledger, or by the amount of the custom-house receipts. It is important to the interests of humanity, that these colonies should be wrested from France. By this event an immediate and total stop must be put to that part of the slave trade which was carried on from those islands. No plea can now exist for the continuance of that odious traffic, either with Madagascar or any part of the eastern coast of Africa, not included within the narrow limits of the Portugueze settlements. Even there it ought, and, we venture to prophecy, very speedily will cease. The sovereign of these wretched remnants of former splendour has pledged himself, by a solemn treaty, to put an end to this trade throughout the whole of his dominions, merely reserving to his subjects the right of purchasing slaves within the African possessions of the crown of Portugal. Now as these possessions have reference chiefly to the western settlements, and as Portugueze subjects are not permitted to carry on the trade without the limits of their own territories, the result must be a gradual abandonment by the slave dealers of those miserable spots which they now occupy, and where they feebly drag on a life of perpetual dread, amidst privations and dangers of every kind. We are the more inclined to hope this, as the Portugueze vessels which carried off slaves were very few in comparison with Americans, French, Arabs, and, sorry are we to add, English. The Portugueze were the collectors and wholesale dealers; the others were the carriers. If, however, any of the former are now caught trading *without* their settlements, or of the latter *within* them, they will become equally seizable by our cruizers.

The great and populous island of Madagascar will feel immediate benefit from our conquest. The unhappy natives of this island have long been cursed with the restless and unceasing activity of that description of Frenchmen recently known by the name of Commercial Agents, not less than forty of whom were dispersed round the coast, to encourage war among the natives, as the most fertile source of a supply of slaves: and as the whole island, large as it is, was unable to satisfy their demands, the natives of the north-west coast of Madagascar have, for many years, been in the practice of fitting out formidable expeditions consisting sometimes of three hundred large boats, and from ten to twelve thousand men, against the peaceful inhabitants of the Comoro islands, for the purpose of carrying them off and selling them to the French. By these predatory invasions the beautiful island of Johanna,

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hanna, of which we have so interesting a description from the pen of Sir William Jones, has nearly been depopulated.

The whole, indeed, of eastern Africa must equally participate in the benefits that will result from the capture of the Isles of France and Bourbon. The natives on the coast will find an inducement for the cultivation of a soil extremely fertile, under a climate favourable to the growth of every description of grain and fruit; and those of the interior will, as in ancient times, flock to the ports with gold dust, elephants' teeth, and such other marketable articles as their country produces. On this side of Africa, there is the most encouraging prospect for bettering the condition of the natives, who, from all accounts, appear to be deserving of a better fate than has fallen to their lot. The least civilized, as far as discoveries have been pushed, are the Koussi, or Kaffers, bordering on the colony of the Cape of Good Hope; yet these people live in considerable societies, and in a state of subordination to their rulers. Private property is respected, and they are remarkable for their gentle disposition and hospitality to strangers. Beyond these are the Boshuanas, next the Barraloos, of the same race with the Koussi, but advanced beyond them in civilization: they reside in towns, containing from five to fifteen thousand souls. Their lands are in a state of cultivation. They have granaries for the preservation of their produce; and vast herds of cattle; nor are they unacquainted with some of the arts of civilized life. There is also great reason to believe that the farther we proceed to the north, the more enlightened are the natives, the more populous is the country, and the more productive the soil. This we learn from the few notices which have been received from the late Dr. Cowan, who, while he proceeded towards the north, found the inhabitants so good and benevolent a disposition that, had he fortunately continued his journey in that direction, there is no reason to suppose that he might not have pushed his discoveries to the banks of the Niger or to the sources of the Nile. But turning off to the eastward, along a branch of the Zambezé, with a view of reaching Soffala, he had the misfortune, as we stated in a former number, to fall into the hands of traffickers in human flesh, and from that moment no further intelligence has been received from him or from any of his unfortunate companions.

While in a moral and commercial point of view, an intercourse with the interior of Africa from the east is a desirable object, such an event would, at the same time, tend to the enlargement of the sphere of human knowledge. The pernicious effects of the slave trade on the minds of the natives, added to the extreme jealousy of the Portugueze, have prevented our acquaintance with the interior. The Portugueze it is true formerly navigated the Zambezé for

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for some hundred miles up the country, but the little which they have thought fit to communicate, through the most authentic historian of their conquests and discoveries, tends rather to excite than to gratify curiosity. We are told by De Barros that near the gold mines of Soffala are some very ancient stone buildings, bearing several inscriptions equally unintelligible to the Moorish merchants and to the Portugueze. It is not probable, therefore, that they were erected by those Arabs who are known to have settled on this part of the coast before the commencement of the Christian era. Nor can they be considered as the works of the Chinese Colonists, who, according to Marmot, formed a settlement at Soffala; the strength and solidity of the buildings being very different from the light and airy houses inhabited by their countrymen. It is still a question, indeed, whether the Chinese, at any period, traded so far down the coast of Africa. It is not easy to conceive how a nation whose dwellings are their ships and boats should cease to have ships and boats; yet it is very certain that Vasca de Gama did not observe a single embarcation of any kind, from the bay of Saldanha to the mouth of the Zambezé. A parallel has been drawn by a modern traveller between the Chinese and the Hottentots, and the resemblance is sufficiently remarkable; he observes too that the latter have not a single canoe for fishing, nor a raft to cross a river.

Looking at the isles of France and Bourbon in a political point of view, an immediate and most important advantage presents itself. The valuable trade of the East India Company, and of the private merchants in India is now exempt from those ruinous losses by capture to which they have been exposed since the commencement of the war. Not a single port is left open to the enemy throughout the Indian seas; the inner, the middle, and the outer passages from the Cape are now all equally safe. Before the capture, no force on our part was equal to protect so wide an expanse of ocean. The squadron employed in these seas will now be greatly reduced. It appears, from Steele's list, that the force actually employed on the Cape and Indian stations amounted to six sail of the line, two of fifty guns, thirty-two frigates, and six sloops; the expense of which cannot, in those seas, be estimated so low as 1,500,000*l.* a year. Supposing one half of this force to be withdrawn, and we doubt not that more than one half will be so, an immediate and positive saving will be effected of 700,000*l.* a year. But the most material saving is that which will be effected in the expense of human life, by withdrawing so large a proportion of our seamen from an unhealthy climate. This consideration alone is worth all the cost of the expedition.

The revenues of the islands, from an increased trade and influx of shipping, will probably more than defray the civil establishment;

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ment; and we conceive that a small military garrison will be sufficient for the protection of the two islands, whose security appears to us to depend rather on a naval than a military force.

It is the Cape which must be considered as the great military depôt; and the Isle of France, with its commodious harbour, as the general naval establishment for repairing and refitting the squadron employed on the Cape station. The military works for the protection of Port Louis being all that are necessary to be kept up, and being already, as we understand, complete, the talents of an engineer cannot be required, and the expenditure of that department, which seldom knows any bounds, may be altogether spared.

But, for other reasons than that of expense, it may be politic neither to extend, nor indeed to keep in repair, the military works on the island. When the great question of peace comes to be agitated, if such an event can be looked to during the life of the present ruler of France, we may be assured that the restoration of the two islands will be made a *sine qua non*. This consideration will undoubtedly have its due effect on the minds of those who may have to negociate, and they will not, we are well assured, fail to exact an equivalent in some other quarter in which our interests and our wishes are equally concerned, for a sacrifice to which the enemy attaches so decided an importance.

Looking forward to such an event, we should be inclined to say, pull down rather than build up; demolish rather than repair; encourage agriculture and commerce, and contribute by every possible means to the comfort and prosperity of the inhabitants; but repress the expenditure of British capital on the permanent property of the islands, and, above all, on military works, which may one day be turned against us.

The Cape of Good Hope is the colony on which British capital may be laid out to individual and national advantage. Why this delightful region has been so totally neglected since it came into our possession; why a tract of country equal to the immediate subsistence of ten thousand families, and eventually to ten times that number, is suffered to remain a waste, is a mystery in political economy which we do not pretend to unravel. This grand outwork of India cannot by any possibility be ceded at a peace. To whom indeed should it be ceded? Obtained by conquest from a power that no longer exists, whose very name is blotted out of the map of Europe, we should as soon yield up one of our ports as listen to a proposal for surrendering this important colony. Here unquestionably should be established our great military depôt, where the climate is favourable for the soldier, and where his subsistence can be afforded at a cheaper rate than in any other part of the world.

We have stated that the Isle of France was considered as highly important

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important for the commerce, &c. of the enemy. It was, in fact, the only source from which he could draw a small supply of colonial produce. To his marine it was of more consequence than would at first appear. It was the only place to which his frigates could run. The safe return of any one of them was a great feat; an escape was hailed as a triumph; the officers and crews, now become sailors, were distributed among their line-of-battle ships, to instruct the amphibious and sea-sick officers and landmen, who had been so long pent up in port. By the capture of the islands we have cut off this little nursery for training sea officers, and narrowed the means of raising seamen. Napoleon may build 'ships' till his ports and harbours are choaked with them; he must have 'colonies and commerce' before they will be of much use to him; they are machines that will neither fight nor sail of their own accord, nor can they ever be fought or moved by landmen. Our obvious policy, therefore, is to prevent him, which we can easily do, from making seamen.

The Isle of France was the spot in which was hatched and nurtured the spirit of disaffection and revolt among the Mahrattas and other powers of Hindostan. It furnished a ready and never-failing supply of adventurers in search of military fortune. It supplied arms and ammunition, and officers to teach the use of them, to the disaffected in Persia, through those ready instruments, the commercial agents, stationed at Muscat and Bussorah. All assistance and co-operation from this quarter with any of the powers of India is completely cut off; and so commanding is our situation in those seas, that were we, by any unforeseen event, compelled to abandon the peninsula of India, we verily believe that no power on earth would hold it to any advantage, or in any state of tranquillity, while the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, and Ceylon remained in our possession. This last magnificent island, possessing harbours in which the whole navy of England might lie in perfect security, might become, by proper culture, the granary of the Indian empire. To England it should be considered as the brightest jewel in the Indian diadem. It is the spot on which, in case of misfortune, our army will find a safe retreat, and from which alone we could hope to regain a footing on the continent. In short, it is the key of India. Here should be our grand establishment. Our empire is insular; and while we confine ourselves to islands we are secure.

Having thus concisely pointed out the several views under which the conquest of the French islands may be regarded, we have only further to observe, that no event of equal importance to the state of the war, has, in our opinion, taken place, since the memorable and unparalleled victory of Trafalgar.

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ART. XI. *Chalmers,—Hill,—Bosanquet,—Ricardo,—Atkinson, —E. Thornton,—Rutherford,—Lyne,—Cock,—Coutts Trotter,—Fonblanque,—Eliot,—Smith,—Wilson,—Hoare,—Maryatt—on the Report of the Bullion Committee.*

SINCE the publication of the Report of the Bullion Committee, the pamphlets on that subject have been innumerable, but we profess to have found our intellects confused, rather than assisted by these successive attempts to throw new light upon the question.

Most of them are on one side. The Bullion Committee, (with which Mr. Huskisson is considered as identified,) is the common enemy, and is attacked from the right and from the left, in the front and in the rear, by a numerous musquetry and by a few light field pieces, but not, so far as we have yet observed, by any artillery of a large calibre. The adversaries indeed do not act much in concert, and hence it occasionally happens, that they pour in their fire upon each other.

It is not our design to review fully any of the works before us, or to touch on all the various parts of this extensive question. Our object is to give the character of several of these publications, to enlarge on a few leading points, and to expose some fundamental and very dangerous errors.

One of the most ponderous of the pieces of ordnance employed on this occasion against the Committee is directed by Mr. CHALMERS, but being somewhat of the mortar kind, it is not pointed with precision, and never hits the citadel. His shells however hiss through the air, and burst in ten thousand strange and most unexpected directions. In plainer words Mr. Chalmers begins in anger, and maintains his rage through his whole 237 pages. He is disposed to quarrel with almost every sentence in the Report. He tells us of a society formed in Paris for the purpose of depriving us of our specie; he sees nothing but the spirit of innovation and jacobinism in the exhortations to return to the ancient and unabrogated law, and to the accustomed standard of our currency. He shews by dint of document after document, that our commerce is prodigiously and progressively increasing, and that we are a nation thriving beyond all example; he treats a little of the *balance of trade* to which he refers the state of our exchanges, and affirms in language to which we shall hereafter advert, that the Committee are mistaken in supposing that bullion is the foundation of our money system.

Mr. HILL, on the other hand, begins calmly, but gathers warmth as he proceeds, and is for the most part, as we think, satisfactorily answered by his own statements and admissions. He commences by describing three situations through which a commercial country may

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may be supposed to pass, the stationary, the improving, and the declining, and it is remarkable that *he* dates our declining state in respect to trade, and in respect to exchanges as the necessary result, from the æra of the suspension of the cash payment of the Bank of England. He differs altogether from the Bullion Committee:—'You will perceive,' he says, 'that I attribute the evils so loudly complained of (the rise of the price of bullion and great depression of exchanges) solely and exclusively to the absolute scarcity of specie and bullion in this country; and that so far from considering this scarcity as the result of an excessive issue of paper, I consider that that issue is the only circumstance which has prevented the scarcity of precious metals from being more severely felt.' (p. 41.) '*That there are cases*,' however, 'in which a circulating medium not convertible into specie *may* become excessive, and by excess *may* occasion a rise in the nominal price of commodities,' he does not 'as an abstract position take upon him to deny.' We feel curious to know what *are* those excepted cases in which a nominally high price of commodities may be referred to an excess of paper, and we also should have been gratified if he had enabled us to discover what is the meaning of those words so often used in the course of the present controversy, both by this writer and others, that the doctrine of the Bullion Committee as 'an abstract position' is not to be denied. The concession is apparently very flattering to that body, and proceeds from a quarter little disposed to compliment them. We are therefore anxious to understand what are the means, by which the wisdom of the doctrine of these visionary men is to be reconciled with the folly of adopting it.

But we have a much stronger admission in the sequel. Mr. Hill having dismissed the price of bullion, is occupied about the balance of trade, and is eager now to shew that a reduction of paper will not improve, nor in any respect alter that balance, a position in which, after some little qualification of it, we should agree. But in order to enforce this wholesome truth, he finds it necessary to assert, and he accordingly does assert most explicitly and unreservedly, that doctrine which he had before but half conceded, by denominating it an abstract position, and which for all present practical purposes he had in the outset of his book most manfully denied. In illustration of his new position, that a diminution of paper will not improve the balance of trade, he puts the supposed case of the 'reduction of the circulating medium to exactly one half of its present amount.' He shews, first, how such a reduction would operate on our internal affairs, namely, by reducing all prices, and then how inoperative it would be in respect to foreign commercial transactions, since these are purely of the nature of barter. It would produce, he plainly says, 'a *proportionate* reduction in the

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nominal price of every species of property.—'Land, buildings, shipping, merchandize, labour, *and every other species of saleable commodities* would be reduced in value one half.' Indeed! Would a reduction of paper produce this effect on the price of every species of saleable commodities? We beg leave then to remind Mr. Hill that among 'saleable commodities,' bullion is unquestionably one. If a reduction in the value of paper would lower the value, in exchange for paper, of manufactures of every kind—of hardware, of broad-cloth, and cotton goods—and of all the produce of the soil—of corn, of fruits, and of wines, we presume that it would also lower the value, in exchange for paper, of all the produce of the mines—of iron, of brass, of copper, of silver, and of gold. Thus, according to Mr. Hill's own shewing, a reduction of paper *would* lower the price *of gold*. 'It would produce,' he says, '*a proportionate* reduction.' If therefore bullion should at any time be 20 per cent. higher than paper, (as in fact it now is,) or if 50 per cent. the case put by Mr. Hill, a proportionate diminution of paper would not fail to equalize their value.

Mr. Hill begins to perceive this consequence of his position as he closes his sentence, for he adds, that 'at first sight it might appear that this is the most desirable effect which could be produced, as it would enable us to return to the original and salutary principle of a circulating medium always convertible into cash.' Assuredly it would. The diminution of paper would make the value of paper rise in proportion to that of bullion. It could not fail, if carried sufficiently far, to cause the tide of bullion to flow into the country instead of flowing out of it, and thus to facilitate the opening of the Bank of England. This result is very plain and obvious. Mr. Hill does not stop to controvert it, but proceeds very contentedly in his inquiry, regardless of the fact, which he appears to have suspected for a moment, that by this admission, he had altogether overturned the fundamental principle of his work. He takes leave of the subject, by remarking, that 'this reduction,' however, 'of our paper, which would so evidently,' as he again says, 'reduce the price of *every other* kind of property (bullion of course included), would *only* have the effect' (we complain here most grievously of the ambiguous use of the word *only*) of raising money proprietors to twice their present height in society.' It would *only* have this effect!—It would *also*, he himself admits, enable us to resume our cash payments. But we are not, it seems, to revert to the ancient standard, because the restoration of that standard would disturb that new order of things which our own recent departure from it has occasioned; and one advantage of which is that it has already degraded 'many proprietors' 20 per cent. below their legitimate 'height in society.'

Mr. Hill allows, that if the Bank Directors are compelled to return

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turn to payments in specie, their issues of paper would not fail to be reduced. These being reduced, he has, as we have shewn, admitted that the price of bullion would fall; for he cannot deny it to be a saleable commodity. The fall having reached a certain point, it is clear that the Bank might safely open. Mr. Hill, nevertheless, after speaking of the *desirableness* of a return to cash payments, once more utterly denies its *practicability*, and on this point he is not very civil to the committee. 'Though the committee,' says he, 'have made no hesitation in avowing their opinion, that the Bank should be compelled to resume its payments in specie within two years, they have given themselves no concern whatever about the means by which the Directors shall be enabled to do so.' Have not the committee proposed the limitation of paper as 'the means' to be previously resorted to for the accomplishment of their object? Is not their report full of this suggestion? But Mr. Hill compares their report to the prescription of a company of physicians, who should direct a bed-ridden patient merely to rise up and walk. Undoubtedly, if this comparison were just, the great point of the whole controversy would be settled. On one side it is asserted that the Bank is passive, that it cannot alter the course of exchange; and that the course of exchange and the course of exchange *alone* produces the price of bullion: on the other, that the Bank is not merely passive, for that the quantity of paper influences the price of commodities, of which bullion is one; and that the price of bullion operates as one cause of the state of exchange, instead of being the effect of it. The Bank indeed, according to the one hypothesis, are like the bed-ridden patient; but according to the other, there is a restorative to which the Bank, not believing in its virtue, (if we may judge from the evidence of the Directors of that establishment,) profess not yet to have resorted, and which they seem unwilling to try unless it be prescribed by the legislature. That the proposed prescription is unpalatable both to the Bank and to the merchants, that, unless cautiously administered, it may produce serious evil, and that some time may elapse before the cure can be perfected, are points freely admitted in the Bullion Report.

We shall enlarge hereafter on this branch of the subject. We would only further suggest at present, that even granting the high price of bullion to be exclusively the effect of the balance of trade, and in no degree referable to an augmentation of paper, the admitted principle of this writer, namely, that *a diminution of circulating medium tends to a* PROPORTIONATE *reduction of the price of all commodities* (of bullion among the rest) is a concession which appears to us to dispose of the whole of the case. Be the cause of the high price of bullion what it may, limitation of paper, by effecting a reduction of that price, must operate in the way of

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remedy. Although the Bank, therefore, should not have produced the evil, they can contribute to remove it. They can work that miracle, the very idea of which is to Mr. Hill's mind so inconceivable. They can turn that golden tide which is thought both by him and many others to flow by some necessary law of nature for a given time in a given direction. They can say to the stream,

'Xanthe, retro propera versæque recurrite Lymphæ.'

and it will obey them. The word *propera* may indeed be inapplicable. The current will not instantly run back with vehemence. The impulse which has been given must be mitigated before it can be completely counteracted. That the influence, however, of a reduction of paper, upon the price of all commodities, would be though slow, perfectly sure, is as susceptible of demonstration as any proposition of Euclid.

We must not extend our remarks so far in treating of the other ten or fifteen pamphlets on our table.

Mr. BOSANQUET presents himself as one of the most formidable of the champions against the Bullion Committee, and professes to fight them not with arguments but with facts. Their doctrines, indeed, he despairs of disproving. They are true in theory; or, to recur to the words of Mr. Hill, they are undeniable as 'abstract' principles. What is affirmed by them and others on the same side to be impossible, 'I admit,' says he, 'to be impossible, I only say that I nevertheless find it to be a fact.' Mr. Ricardo has fortunately delivered us from the necessity of endeavouring to reconcile positive facts and admitted impossibilities, by shewing that Mr. Bosanquet had resorted to an erroneous table in one important instance; that the high seignorage in France solved another of the paradoxes which demanded explanation; and that the exchange with America, about which the Committee had been silent, and which Mr. Bosanquet had represented as favorable, was, like all the other exchanges, against this country, and served therefore to confirm the opinion of the Committee respecting the depreciation of our paper. Mr. Bosanquet concludes a new edition of his work by admitting, in substance, that there is *no longer* any standard of value for our currency, the dividends on our 3 per cents. (which dividends consist in a mere paper payment) being, so far as he can judge, the only criterion of value which remains to us.

From the melancholy reflections excited in our minds by these parting words of Mr. Bosanquet, we turn for relief to the declarations of Mr. JASPER ATKINSON. This author, indeed, a little perplexes, but he at the same time comforts us, for he observes that '*even a total want of intrinsic value in a national currency has an active tendency to increase exportation.*' P. 13.

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He also endeavours to dissipate the general confusion, by assuring us that 'a fixed or settled par of exchange, originally perhaps correct, may continue to be assumed as such, and may be *conveniently* made the basis of calculating comparative values, although circumstances should arise which may make the real and intrinsic parity of value different from that which is still assumed to be such.' His general doctrines are the same as those of most of the other combatants.

Mr. E. THORNTON enters the list with considerable advantage from the authority of his diplomatic name. He had resided at Hamburg; he had himself dealt in that mysterious and inscrutable thing which is called exchange, being largely employed in this business on government account. The distinctions of this author between 'actual and virtual' depreciation, have, like some passages of Mr. Atkinson, at once confounded and consoled us. Depreciation, if we understand him right, is no evil, if it be merely 'virtual;' and such, he assures us, is the present depreciation. If it were 'actual,' he would cry out against it as much as any one; but this want of 'actuality,' or reality as we should call it, is a sufficient security to rest upon till the thing, for we must not say the evil, (though he himself has called it *evil* in his concluding page,) shall correct itself. This metaphysical question of reality, actuality, and virtuality, must be deferred for the present; but we shall soon be compelled to undertake the task of unweaving some part of the mystic web in which the subject is here involved. Mr. Thornton's remarks on the state of the continental trade are not unimportant, and will also call for subsequent discussion.

Having read the hints from Hamburg by Mr. THORNTON, we proceeded to peruse the 'hints from Holland' by Mr. RUTHERFORD; and here we found that the 'passage of gold' (page 56) is literally 'compelled,' by the peculiar circumstances of the present day, 'independent of its price'—'ours is a case *sui generis*.'—It certainly is a case *sui generis*, if the speculations of our merchants are now governed, not by the temptation of profit arising from the relative prices of things, but by pure and simple force. We shall not detain our readers by an investigation of the several calculations of Mr. Rutherford. We confess that we are of opinion with Mr. Huskisson, that the difference between the market price and mint price of gold in our own country is in itself alone the test and measure of depreciation; and that the state of the exchange, a question with which it is easy to perplex ourselves, is even, when clearly elucidated, merely an auxiliary part of the argument.

Mr. LYNE, *cum multis aliis*, refers the whole depression of our exchange, and the high price of gold, to the balance of trade—a point in which he says all practical men are agreed; and he rests much

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much upon the fact of there being no discount between our remaining guineas and our paper. We will answer this fact by a story. An Irishman having a bad guinea, from which he had found it difficult to deliver himself, slipt it in among his halfpence as he was paying his toll on a dusky evening at a turnpike. It is thus with the few guineas which at present keep company with English paper. They who pay them away among their paper act somewhat like the Irishman; they sustain, like him, a loss of the difference in value between the articles, though, like him, they may be unconscious of it. They moreover are, like him, induced to mix guineas with their paper, by having experienced some difficulty in disposing of them in any better manner, not indeed from the lightness, but, as it whimsically happens, from the weight of their guineas; for the law obstructs their delivering themselves from the burthen of the few pieces of gold coin which they may possess at any other than the paper price, unless under weight. That guineas, in point of fact, do not generally pass at the same rate with the paper which professes to represent them, is proved by the case of *De Yonge*, against whom a prosecution was brought, on the very ground of his profiting by the difference between them. It is proved by another recent and still stronger case. It is proved, above all, by the acknowledged fact of the almost universal disappearance of our guineas, every one of which has been taken clandestinely out of circulation for the purpose of realizing the premium upon them.

Mr. Cock is one of the most candid and reasonable of the objectors to the Report. He admits some of its main principles, but affirms, 'that circumstances may arise out of an unnatural state of commerce to occasion so extensive a demand for bullion in one country, as to raise the price *greatly* beyond the expense of removal, and to keep it up for a *considerable* length of time.' It is to the words 'greatly' and 'considerable' that we hesitate to give our assent. Bullion is an article in the value of which there cannot be any rise merely local that can be either *great* or *durable*. It is mainly on this account that it has been universally adopted as the standard of value.

The pamphlet of Mr. Trotter has the merit of expressing the author's meaning in clear and simple language, of being written in good temper, and of being very short. It is divided into two parts. In the first he endeavours to shew that 'there is no excess in our paper circulation, that there is a sufficient check on all the issues of it, and that it is in no degree depreciated'; and in the second part that the 'high price of bullion is owing to the present state of our European commerce, being *entirely unconnected* with the extent of the paper circulation; and that our present unfavour-

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able exchanges are in no way caused by our paper currency.' This work may be considered as a summary of the general tenets of the opponents of the Bullion Committee.

We shall here take occasion briefly to remark, that the doctrines of Mr. LAW, so famous in the beginning of the last century, exceedingly resemble those of this gentleman, and of the generality of other writers on the same side. Mr. Law, in his book entitled 'Money and Trade Considered,' affirmed that paper money ought to be given out when it was demanded, whenever good security was offered; since it was in that case both 'a hardship to any person to be refused, and a loss to the country;'—'for few,' said he, 'if any, borrow money to keep by them.' The quantity, according to him, being always equal to the demand for it, it will keep its value, and buy the same quantity of goods fifty years hence as now, unless the goods alter in their value from any change in their quantity, or in the demand for them. The doctrine of Mr. TROTTER, in this leading particular, is exactly the same; namely, 'that no man will now demand a greater quantity of paper from the Bank than is proper', because no one desires or 'keeps' more than is suited to his own 'convenience' and 'supposed necessities,' and that consequently there cannot be an excess.' Of the fallacy of the doctrines of Mr. Law there has been abundant practical experience. Neither he nor Mr. Trotter perceived that the demand for paper, especially if it be afforded in the way of loans at a low interest, and at a period of eager speculation, will go on increasing, not indeed by sudden and immense over-issues, (for a large additional quantity cannot be immediately absorbed,) but by gradual progress. The facility of obtaining paper money tends to encourage and diffuse a spirit of mercantile speculation. This eagerness to extend purchases causes a rise in the prices of commodities: the commodities, of which the nominal value is thus enhanced, serve to employ an augmented quantity of paper, and their advanced price seems to justify the issue of it. The facility of obtaining still further money continuing, and the mercantile world being more and more encouraged by the experience of rising prices, they naturally become still more eager in making purchases, and those purchases again appear to afford a more than ordinary profit. Thus it is that if the supply of paper is freely afforded, the demand for it will go on increasing; and if this course is not obstructed by a necessity imposed on the issuers of paper, to give gold or silver in exchange for it upon demand, there may undoubtedly, as the experiment of Mr. Law practically proved, be no limit to the amount to which the paper may at length be carried, nor to the extent of its depreciation. Mr. Law insisted much on the necessity of having good security pledged for the payment of the paper, and he considered

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dered land as the fittest and most satisfactory. On the known unquestionable and superabundant value of such security he founded his confidence of the impossibility of the depreciation of the paper. The modern followers of this theorist, we mean the practical men of the present day, reject the idea of land, (they are mostly, indeed, themselves merchants,) and say that bills drawn at two months date on the occasion of real sales, are the proper and only true security, and that those can never be multiplied in such quantity as either to call forth an excessive emission of paper, or to occasion any depreciation of it. Mr. Law, like some of them, dwelt much on the variability of the value of bullion, and recommended the use of paper on account of the greater steadiness of its price, always meaning (we judge from the tract before us) paper not convertible into cash.

Mr. Fonblanque professes to express his 'doubts as to the expediency of adopting the recommendation of the Committee;' but he evidently entertains more than doubts, if we may judge from the language of his pamphlet. He considers coin, not bullion, to be the standard of value; and because the law forbids the melting and exportation of coin, he affirms that the price of it may be very different from that of bullion. We shall presently advert to this argument; but we must remark in passing, that if the law in question could be executed with such rigour as totally to preclude the melting and exportation of coin in every possible case, there is no degree of depreciation to which coin and paper circulating together might not be subjected, by an indefinite increase of only the latter article. This gentleman seems to think that the value of Bank notes depends not on their amount, but altogether on their credit, and suggests improvements in the security on the faith of which they should circulate. He falls in this respect into one of the errors of Mr. Law, to which we have just adverted. Mr. Law forgot that the utter nonconvertibility of his projected paper into a definite quantity of silver, at either the existing or any subsequent and known period, would render its value dependent partly on the caprice of the holders, and partly, no doubt, also on the extent of its issue.

We now advance to the work of Mr. Eliot, a gentleman who, though he dwells on many of the more common topics, has laid the foundation of his system in a very extraordinary doctrine, which we propose to examine at some length. We confess that we had not anticipated either the argument, if such it can be called, with which the Committee are assailed from this new quarter, or the entertainment now at last introduced into this beaten and dull subject. Mr. Eliot, it is true, is himself apparently very far from being generally romantic; he keeps to sober prose through his 170 pages,

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pages, and he moreover classes himself among the plain practical men; but his main doctrine is so refined, so mysterious, and transcendently sublime, that we have found it difficult to accompany him in his flight. After all, however, he is only the humble follower, we will not say exactly of Mr. Law, but of a Mr. Smith, who, as we have but lately discovered, led the way some three or four years ago in this aërial excursion.

We shall first and chiefly apply ourselves to the theory of Mr. SMITH, and then shew the agreement of the principles of these two gentlemen.

Bullion, according to Mr. Smith, is not the standard to which it ever was intended or expected that our currency should conform itself. It is an error to suppose that the King puts his stamp on pieces of gold, and thus converts them into coin, in order to assure to his subjects that the current and legal medium of payment consisting in this coin, shall contain gold of a given quantity and fineness, for gold itself (says he,) 'is variable in its own value in exchange for commodities; whereas the standard which we prescribe both for this and for every other country is something invariable.' It keeps its even course amidst the ten thousand relative changes which arise in the value of all commodities—represents at all times an equal quantity of the mass—attaches itself to coin in contradistinction to bullion—survives after the coin has left the country in quest of a better market—lives in the paper which yet remains, being itself no tangible substance, but a principle, a notion, a sentiment, clear, determinate, invisible, immaterial, and indestructible, amidst all the mutations to which human things are liable.

In the present period of the world, when empires are passing away, and all things experiencing so rapid and portentous a change, it is a consolation to hear of any thing which is steadfast and immoveable; and we naturally long to know both the nature and the name of this new subject of discovery. It has many names. In Mr. Smith's vocabulary it is the '*simple or ideal unit.*' It is that measure (existing, as we understand it, only in the mind's eye,) to which the circulating medium, of whatever name, ought to conform itself, in order to become an accurate and unvarying measure of the comparative value of all earthly commodities. It was the doctrine of some of the ancient sects of philosophy that evil first entered into this disordered world, in consequence of the intractability of matter. If matter would but have followed mind, none of our present miseries or vices would have had place among us. The vices and miseries of our present disordered currency arise, according to the philosophy of the new sect of Mr. Smith, from the intractability of bullion. Bullion refuses to follow the ideal unit. It rises and it falls according to certain humours of its own, and, on the ground of this

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this intractability, they require us completely to discard it as a standard. For shall we follow bullion, say they, (breathing in this respect the very spirit of Mr. Law,) in all these eccentricities? Shall we walk in the track of this capricious and ever wandering article, and when we know that the mines have been so fruitful during the last two or three hundred years as to have reduced the value of gold bullion below one-third of its former amount, and have of course proportionably changed its relation to the simple and eternal unit, shall we still abide by it as a standard?—This is not exactly the complaint. It is true that the fruitfulness of the mines has cheapened both gold and silver; but it is their dearness not their cheapness—it is a merely suspected and very recent dearness, not their ascertained and progressive cheapness, which is now to be obviated by resorting to the eternal standard of the unit. Where then, we venture to ask, was the unit during the 250 years of declension in the value of bullion which preceded 1797? The doctrine was not discovered till some few years after the suspension of our cash payments, when the depressed state of the Irish exchange began to call forth the exercise of genius on that subject. 'How surprising is it (said Mr. Smith, who wrote at that period) that no real theory of money has yet been given to the public! Even Dr. Adam Smith was quite ignorant of it; all the writers on this subject hitherto appear to have amused themselves with speculations on the practical part.' He then proceeds to 'dispel this darkness,' by revealing the doctrine which we have described.

That we have not misstated it will appear from the following quotations:

'This ideal standard, or as it will in future be called the standard unit, appears to be something of the same nature with the letter placed for the unknown quantity in algebra; it has no real value itself, but by it the relative values of all articles are fixed.'—'The very circumstance allowed—that gold and silver vary in their value themselves, is a most convincing proof that there exists another standard of value; else how could the variation in their value be ascertained? Coins pass only as symbols or tokens of the standard unit, and not as the standards of value themselves, nor even according to their real value, but always according to that proportion of the standard unit they are intended to represent. A standard unit is necessary in all countries, and is to be found every where. It is the groundwork or true first principle on which the existence of the coins is founded.'

We admire the sublimity and excellence of the doctrine of Mr. Smith, so far as it is displayed in the passage which we have just quoted. We are enraptured with the ideal perfection thus set before us. But now our difficulty commences; for he proceeds to tell us that 'the standard unit in England is the pound sterling,

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ling,' and that although 'gold, silver, and bullion are daily bought and sold and fluctuate in value,' yet, 'whenever they are made into coins, they assume a new character.'—'As representing a certain proportion of the standard unit, they become (as he assures us) fixed and invariable in their value, and continue so as long as they are so employed.'

We confess that, deep as we are in these researches, we cannot understand how it is that gold acquires, as soon as it is converted into coin, this property of invariability and the consequent faculty of accurately representing the standard unit. The current value of gold coin can only vary from that of bullion, to a definite extent, inasmuch as each is convertible into the other, and will not fail to be so converted when the temptation arrives at a certain point. Coin therefore follows bullion and not the ideal unit. From the state of the laws which regulate our coin, its value may occasionally be somewhat different from that of bullion. But this difference is necessarily confined within narrow limits, and in this respect, paper, so long as it is at any moment convertible into coin, stands in the same relation to bullion as coin itself. It is only when paper is no longer changeable into cash, and by the means of cash into bullion—it is only when we remove the restraints which confined its wanderings within certain limits, that it becomes possible for it to fly away in pursuit of the standard unit.

Still, however, paper, when thus set at liberty, may or may not pursue that path in the air which will conduct it to the ideal unit. The unit we grant is absolutely perfect and invariable; we grant also that bullion is somewhat variable. But because bullion is variable, it does not seem to follow that whatever varies from it is therefore necessarily invariable. The emancipated paper currency is likely soon to vary, and may fly ten thousand leagues from the ideal unit instead of approaching towards it, for there is no natural attraction between the one and the other. This is a circumstance to which Mr. Smith has not adverted.

May we here venture to offer some conjecture respecting the cause of that palpable error into which, as we would humbly submit, both this author and his disciple Mr. Eliot, have fallen. Mr. Smith has evidently a passion for nonentities, for in these alone he perceives that perfection resides. He therefore has been tempted, as we suspect, to pursue perfection through the medium of any nonentity which happened to present itself to his imagination in the course of his researches. But by certain meteors of this class, he has been led astray from his own plain and sober path. He finds, for example, that our English money of account consists in pounds sterling. Now, as no coin of an exact pound subsists, a pound sterling has some little appearance of a nonentity.

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entity. It should however be remembered, that when twenty-one pounds are put together, they are then fully and correctly exhibited to the senses in the material shape of twenty guineas, which guineas also contain a determinate quantity of that tangible article called bullion. If a pound sterling is not now equivalent to a full pound of silver, as it once was; Mr. Smith is indebted for this advantage in the argument to the frauds practised by our forefathers, by which a pound in this respect is made to partake of the substantial excellence of a nonentity. Still however it possesses this excellence but in part. It is equal even now to a certain definite portion of a pound of precious metal. It is only when coin shall have been entirely supplanted by paper, and when the issues of such inconvertible paper shall have been indefinitely increased, that the country will possess a currency, which, by approximating in its nature more and more to a nonentity, may finally attain that essential property of invariability which constitutes the unspeakable perfection of the ideal unit.

We have observed that the standard unit has many names. Mr. Smith tells us, on the authority of Montesquieu, that somewhere in Africa (but he does not mention in what part of that enlightened continent) it goes by the denomination of a *macoute*. 'Is the macoute a coin?' says the lively Frenchman. 'Is it a toheur? Is it a measure? It is a sign purely ideal for fixing the value of their commodities.'

In the work of Mr. Eliot a new name is given to this self-same unit, by which, if we had not before studied in the school of Mr. Smith, we should have been in great danger of being misled. Having, however, after much labour of the brain, taken our degrees under that eminent professor, we had our minds prepared for the farther lectures of Mr. Eliot, and were not therefore greatly surprised to find ourselves introduced once more to our friend the macoute, and the ideal standard of unit, under the sober title of the '*money of account of the merchants*.' But Mr. Eliot shall here speak for himself.

'There is a fundamental mistake which runs through the whole of Mr. Huskisson's argument—he considers the guinea as the measure and standard of value, and the Bank note as the proportional representative of that guinea, or something worse. Now I affirm that the only original national measure of value is the pound sterling, in money of account, and was so long before a guinea was coined: for all monied value must be in account only, or it never could be ascertainably fixed to any valuation whatever; coin of whatever sort or kind; whether gold, silver, or copper; whether the guinea of England, the louis d'or of France, the ducat of Holland, the sequin of Venice, or even the iron money of Lycurgus, whatever in itself possesses an embodied form, and an intrinsic value, must, as a material commodity, be subject to

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to variation, under the universal principle of the relative proportions of product and demand. And paradoxical as it may seem in theory, it is nevertheless most incontrovertibly true in practice that it is this very attribute of *intrinsicality* which necessarily imposes the quality of variation. It is the ideal money of account only which admits of invariable value; because it is not formed of *substantial*, and, therefore, *variable* materials.'

We have, in commenting on Mr. Smith, already anticipated this doctrine of Mr. Eliot, a doctrine which serves as the foundation of his whole book. There is however one curious circumstance on which it remains for us to animadvert. Mr. Eliot would lead us to suppose that money of account was exactly the reverse of what it generally is. The fact is this: The current money of Hamburgh, for example, being liable to variation, on account of its consisting of the worn, degraded, and uncertain coins of several surrounding countries, Bank money, or money of account, has been instituted and employed in all the larger transactions of commerce. This Bank money, instead of deviating from bullion in order that it may conform itself to a merely ideal unit, as the reader of the passage from Mr. Eliot, which we have just quoted, would suppose it to do, is secured against all such deviations by the means of actual lodgments of bullion made by the merchants in the Bank in question, for which the Bank money is exchangeable. Our readers will doubtless admire with us the ingenuity with which this Bank money, or money of account, is turned into an argument in favour of the principle of the ideal unit. Variability, according to Mr. Eliot, is precluded by money of account. But how precluded? It is precluded by making money of account consist of a Bank paper, which Bank paper is convertible into that exact portion of the precious metals, for which it is in fact a *recipisse* or *receipt*. The money of account is thus strictly identified with bullion itself. Such is the German, and such has been the Dutch mode of precluding variability. But what is Mr. Eliot's mode? By departing from the nature, and yet resorting to the name of money of account—by forsaking bullion—by repudiating it as a standard—by preferring any thing merely ideal, to bullion—by asserting the variation to be in the bullion and not in the paper, when they separate from each other—by representing immateriality to be of the very essence of every true standard of value, (a sentiment subversive of the very principle of a standard,) by saying, in substance exactly with Mr. Smith, that the departure of the existing currency from bullion is no test or measure of depreciation, but is to be considered as implying an approximation to the ideal unit.

We have now, as we trust, sufficiently shewn that these two writers

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writers completely renounce the principle of a standard, as indeed Mr. Law had done before them, and as Mr. Bosanquet also has plainly and avowedly done. If there be no standard, there is undoubtedly no depreciation. Although Bank notes should fall as low as the assignats of France, or as the paper of America, issued during her war for independence, or as the paper of Mr. Law, still, according to the doctrine of these gentlemen, they cannot be depreciated, for there is no point from which depreciation can be reckoned.

The philosophers of this school have their several degrees of extravagance; but we have no difficulty in assigning to Mr. Smith, and indeed also to Mr. Eliot, the pre-eminence over Mr. Law, since it was reserved for them expressly to assert immateriality to be requisite to every true standard of value. These then are the fathers of the present race of practical men. To us they appear to be visionaries of so high an order, that we know not to whom we can more aptly compare them than to that sublime genius in the island of Laputa, whose occupation Dr. Swift, if we rightly recollect, describes to have been that of discovering the art of reducing matter into spirit, and of converting into pure and simple theory all the practical knowledge and experience of the world.

There is another description of reasoners who, though they profess to look to a tangible and visible, and therefore to a real standard, will yet, on a close examination of their tenets, be found to proceed nearly to the very same length, as the supporters of the doctrine of the ideal unit, and to be perhaps still more insecure guides, on account of the confusion in which they involve their theory.

Among the chiefs of this second class, we rank Mr. Fonblanque and Mr. Chalmers. The leading tenet by which they distinguish themselves from the Bullion Committee is, that it is not bullion but *coin* which is, and always was, the true standard of the currency of the country. They maintain that it is an error to call bullion the standard, inasmuch as it is not the article which either is, or ever was demandable as a legal payment. We should not quarrel with these theorists if in thus representing coin to be the standard, they would take care always to shew that they speak of *real* coin, and if also in talking of its value, they would take care always to shew that they mean that value in reference to bullion, which coin always bore when it freely circulated, that is to say, when the Bank paid in cash; and which it always must bear while there is no suspension of cash payments. We ourselves by terming bullion the standard, by no means wish to imply that we require an *exact* conformity of our currency to it. An occasional deviation of about one per cent. was always apt to result from the wearing of our guineas, and a further occasional deviation of three or four per cent. from their not being

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being exportable or convertible, except when light, into bullion. We are disposed to call bullion the standard, to denominate this unavoidable difference depreciation, and we would not complain of a present depreciation of paper to the same, or even to something near the same extent.

But these gentlemen are not satisfied to contemplate coin as subject to a deviation from the standard of bullion only to this, or indeed to any limited degree. Coin, they say, now deviates in fact much more considerably than formerly, and they plead for whatever may be the extent of the deviation which happens to exist. The principle therefore of these gentlemen is practically the same as that of the ideal unit. They have no standard. Let the present 20 or 25 per cent. difference between the value of our circulating medium and bullion be extended to 40, to 50, to 80 or 90 per cent. still their principle will support them in the doctrine that there is no depreciation.—Still they may continue to say that coin in their view of the subject is the standard, and there may still exist some solitary guineas in the country, which some individuals may happen to pass among their paper without being able to claim any discount. The assertors of this doctrine do not indeed distinctly acknowledge that they mean to proceed this length. But we affirm, that if they shall stop short, they certainly will be unfaithful to their own doctrine; and we cannot help observing also, that they have not specified at what point they mean to stop. We would therefore earnestly request them to consider what is the *degree* of difference between the price of bullion and of paper, which will induce them to consider paper as depreciated, and what the mode by which they will hereafter reconcile their admission of the existence of a depreciation with their present principles.

There is another general and sweeping answer given to all the leading principles of the Bullion Committee, which has been already stated, but which we must not fail here more particularly to notice. It is that an unfavourable balance of trade is the sole cause, both of the present high price of gold, and of the depression of our exchanges. On this extensive and important topic we will at present content ourselves with a very few brief remarks.

In the first place, the very term *unfavourable balance of trade* is, in the sense in which it is commonly used, and as we hope hereafter to shew, extremely incorrect.

Secondly, the unfavourable balance of trade, or rather of payments, which is affirmed to have existed during nearly the whole of the last three years', (for the exchanges have been unfavourable for all that time,) is inferred from documents necessarily imperfect, and is therefore assumed without sufficient proof.

But, in the third place, supposing, for the sake of argument, this unfa-

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unfavourable balance of trade and of payments to have existed, and to be the sole cause of the present evil, there is no certainty that the same cause may not continue, and may not by its continuance produce a still farther diminution of the value of our paper in exchange for gold, and a still farther fall of our exchanges. About three successive years of unfavourable balance have, according to this principle, already past, and where is the ground for trusting that three more years, or even three times three may not be added to the number: or where, according to the doctrine in question, is our security against the greatest imaginable fall of our exchanges even in a single year? The asserters of this doctrine ought at least to mitigate our fears, by shewing that there is some limit to the depression. They ought to place clearly before our eyes some point, below which, in spite even of the most unhappy continuance of what they call our unfavourable balance of trade, the value of our paper cannot sink. Not one of the pamphlets before us suggests the existence of any such limit. We are therefore in this case at the mercy of that unexplained thing, an unfavourable balance of trade, as in the immediately preceding case, we are at the mercy of a coin which entirely accommodates itself to paper, and as in the first mentioned case, we are at the mercy of the ideal unit.

We observe, fourthly, that so far as appears from the only accredited tables, between the time of the reformation of our gold coin (1773), to that of the suspension of the cash payments of the Bank of England, the market-price of gold (we refer to this rather than to the more involved question of the exchanges) never departed in point of fact in more than a very trifling degree from the mint-price. But during those 24 years, was there no fluctuation in what is called the balance of trade? Is it not obvious that there must have then existed some check to depreciation of which we are now destitute. This check consisted in the liability to be drained of cash, to which the Bank was then exposed in the event of any material rise in the price of bullion, in the actual export of gold which then took place, and in the limitation of paper to which the directors were accustomed to resort; a measure which they themselves acknowledge that they now should adopt, if they expected soon to be compelled to resume their cash payments.

We are here reminded of a work of Mr. WILSON, a Director of the Bank of Scotland, on the subject of depreciation, which we by accident omitted before to notice. This respectable writer opposes the conclusions of the Bullion Committee, and calls our attention chiefly to the price of corn, as bearing on the great subject in dispute. He admits that the facility of creating paper produced by 'the suspension of payments in specie enabled us to maintain those increased nominal prices' which a few years ago a scarcity of corn

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corn aggravated by the nature of our corn laws produced, and says that these 'prices must otherwise have been checked by the limited nature of our circulating medium.' This amounts to an admission of the whole of our preceding observation, and indeed as we think of the main point of the present dispute.*

We observe then, lastly, that from whatever cause the fall of our exchanges and the high price of bullion may proceed, a reduction of our Bank notes must operate in the way of mitigation, or rather indeed of cure. This we stated in the beginning of the present paper. We shewed, from the very admission of Mr. Hill, that a limitation of the quantity of the circulating medium tended most unquestionably to improve its value—to improve its value in comparison not only with commodities exchanged for it at home, of which we shewed bullion to be one, but also with bullion exchanged for it abroad, and with foreign coin exchanged for it abroad, in other words to improve the state of our exchanges.

Of the difficulty of applying this remedy, of the danger attendant on too sudden a reduction of paper, of the extreme delicacy of the question, whether the Bank should or should not open at any time, which can be now distinctly and confidently prescribed, we are fully aware. We leave the determination of such points to those whom it most concerns; we sufficiently perform our part in endeavouring to combat some of the dangerous and delusive principles which have been put forward on this subject.

Of the pamphlets in favour of the doctrines of the Bullion Report, the two principal have already been reviewed by us in former Numbers; that of Mr. RICARDO, and the important publication of Mr. HUSKISSON. A modest Tract on the same side has been published by Mr. HOARE; which we recommend to the perusal of our readers. And at the moment when we are concluding this article, a pamphlet entitled 'Thoughts on the expediency of establishing a new chartered Bank,' by Joseph MARYATT, Esq. M. P. has added itself to the lofty pile upon our table. Mr. Maryatt enters with much perspicuity into some of the chief points which are contested, and in the following passage has happily illustrated the influence of

* We fear that Mr. Wilson trusts far too much to the circumstance of our exchanges having recovered after the years of scarcity. The exchange with Hamburgh did not then deviate from what Mr. Wilson in his tables represents as the par more than eight and a half per cent. which amounted to little more than a fluctuation of the exchange, properly so called. The Hamburgh exchange is stated by him to have deviated in January last above 22 per cent. and we understand it to have fallen still more since. We hope to enter farther into this branch of the subject at a future opportunity. Mr. Wilson thinks, with Mr. Fonblanque and others, (and as we have observed in our text, Mr. Law is of the same sentiment,) that Bank paper never can be issued to excess, in as much as the supply can never exceed the demand. We have already remarked on the dangerous nature of this error.

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every augmentation of circulating medium in raising the price of commodities, and in finally producing, through the augmentation of those prices, a rise in the price of foreign bills, or in other words a fall in the exchanges.

'In some parts of India,' he says, 'small shells called cowries are used as a circulating medium. If a violent storm were to throw up a prodigious quantity of these cowries upon the coast, it is obvious that a greater number of them would soon be given in exchange for every other commodity; and just the same effect is produced here, by the increased manufacture of our paper circulating medium. If we consider Bank notes as being purchased by commodities, instead of considering commodities as being purchased by Bank notes, we shall readily conceive how the increase of their quantity diminishes their relative value. In point of fact, whenever an increase in the amount of the circulating medium of a country takes place, while the quantity of commodities remains the same, an increase in the price of commodities, and a correspondent decrease in the value of the circulating medium must necessarily follow.'

Although a considerable augmentation of our Bank paper appears by the documents laid before the Bullion Committee, as well as by an account recently laid before Parliament, to have taken place, we ought not to assume that even any new quantity of it is absolutely necessary to the production of that effect which is here supposed to result from a storm throwing up a new quantity of cowries. The new œconomy which the extension of our banking system and a variety of other circumstances occasion in the use of paper may silently produce an influence on prices as certain and considerable as a positive augmentation of its amount.

Mr. Maryatt proceeds to say:

'Nor is this evil confined to articles of our own growth and manufacture, but extends to our foreign commerce by its influence on the foreign exchanges; for when the currency of a country is depreciated, it will no longer purchase the same amount of foreign money as before, to be invested in foreign commodities; or, to put the case in the opposite way, if a merchant upon the continent is offered a bill of exchange upon London, for which he is to receive Bank notes, not convertible into specie, those notes can only be invested in commodities here at an advanced price; and, therefore, he will only take the bill of exchange at such a depreciated rate as indemnifies him for the advanced price of the commodities.'

But however we may agree with Mr. Marryatt in these positions, we confess that our minds are by no means in unison with his in respect to the leading suggestion of his pamphlet. Certain Directors of the Bank of England, in common with certain other Directors of the East India Company, have been guilty, as Mr. Maryat states, of supporting a Marine Insurance Bill lately brought into

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into parliament, against which he contended on the ground of its violating the rights of two chartered companies. This projected violation of charters ought to be punished, as it should seem, by an actual invasion of the Bank charter, and 'the new establishment would moreover be made the instrument of putting the issues of the Bank to that test, the want of which is the cause of the alledged excess and depreciation of our circulating medium.'

If the present evil arose from an insufficient quantity of paper currency, we could easily understand how the creation of a great additional body of issuers of paper might work a cure. If the converse be the case, it is at least necessary to explain in what manner the new company is to effect the remedy; but we forbear to enlarge on the subject of this speculation. Our principles incline us to avoid unnecessary change. The path which we wish to tread is simply that by which we may return in good earnest, though not without some prudent delay, into the footsteps of our ancestors.

We will add only one word, which Mr. Chalmers, as we hope, will construe into a farther proof of our dislike to innovation. We will fairly own that we are not quite free from apprehension of some dimunition of the intrinsic value of our gold coin, or some change of its denomination. A measure of this kind unfortunately offers the most easy mode of escape from the evil of a depreciated currency, and the recent advertisement of the Bank, sanctioned by the Privy Council, which in consequence of the increasing difference between the value of our paper and that of silver, directs that dollars which had been issued at *5s.*, a rate supposed to be sufficiently above their value, shall in future be received and issued at *5s. 6d.*, has strengthened our fears on this subject. The fall in the value of our paper as compared with the precious metals, (which it was assumed long ago that a favourable balance of trade would soon terminate,) if it should proceed much farther may possibly be deemed to be a depression too great and too rapidly and fearfully advancing to admit of any other adequate remedy. To lower on this ground the standard of our gold coin would indeed be nothing less than an act of bankruptcy on the part of the state, and it would be a measure big with injustice as it respects engagements between individuals. We have been glad to find that the pamphlets which we have reviewed do not suggest any such expedient, but we fear that they encourage us in a course which leads to it, and many of them appear to supply, though we trust unintentionally, something too like a justification of the principle. It is for the legislature to preserve us from this

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calamity. Timely and preventive measures however can alone check the rapid accumulation of difficulties by which we may presently find ourselves surrounded. Our conviction of the reality of a depreciation, and our wish to adhere to the old standard, may then come too late. The season for acting, we mean especially the season for curtailing our paper, may have passed, while we are beginning to suspect, to examine, and to deliberate.

Erratum.—*In some Copies* a quotation appears at page 61, of which the commencement had already been given at page 52.

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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

MAY, 1811.

ART. I. *Géographie de Strabon, traduite du Grec en Français.* Tome premier. à Paris, de l'Imprimerie Impériale. An. XIII.

IN a former number we had occasion to make some remarks on Strabo's Geography, the true character of which seems to have been but little understood, and to have excited much less general attention than might be expected from a work containing such various and accurate information. We are happy therefore in the opportunity now afforded us of drawing the public attention once more to this subject; and although our notice will be chiefly directed to points of a subsidiary nature, yet whoever reflects on the intimate connection which these matters have with the whole body of the work, that they have exercised the minds of some of the most ingenious and learned scholars of the present age, and that in a right understanding of them are involved the accuracy and consistency of the system in all its parts, will not, we venture to hope, regard the length of our disquisition as disproportionate to their real value.

The translators indeed have themselves given a tolerably correct estimate of the original in the opening of their preface. They observe that 'it contains nearly the whole history of knowledge from the time of Homer to that of Augustus: it treats of the origin of nations, of their change of abode, the foundation of cities, the establishment of empires and republics, and the history of the most distinguished men, and we find there an immense collection of facts which we should elsewhere seek in vain.' From this encomium however some deduction must be made. Much of the ancient history of mankind has been preserved to us by the writings of Herodotus, and has been lately exhibited with new and important lights unborrowed from Strabo, or from any ancient author. Few persons who have examined the subject will dispute the position of Major Rennell, that in the geography of Africa at least, the information of Strabo was much inferior to that of Herodotus—at the same time we must admit his survey of Europe to be almost an entire accession of new matter, while that of

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Egypt and Asia far exceeds in accuracy and method the loose records of his predecessor.

It is remarkable that during a space of near 500 years, from the time of Herodotus to that of Strabo, so little should have been added to the science of geography. The conquests of the Romans westward did certainly bring them acquainted with parts of Europe hitherto little known; but in the east, neither the Macedonian nor the Roman expeditions seem to have brought much to light that was before unknown of the state of Asia; while in Africa, as Major Rennell justly observes, geography lost ground. In the course of this period indeed, many writers on the subject appeared; but whatever were their merits, (and the merits even of the most eminent among them, Eratosthenes, seem to be not highly rated by Strabo,) it is certain that they are all lost. We may collect indeed from a curious circumstance little known or regarded, that no complete or systematic work on geography at that time existed: for it appears from two or three of Cicero's letters to Atticus, that he once entertained thoughts of writing a treatise himself on the subject. He was deterred however, he says, whenever he considered it, by the magnitude of the undertaking, and by perceiving how severely even Eratosthenes had been censured by the writers who succeeded him. In fact, he was probably restrained by a consciousness of his own incompetency in point of science, of which he makes a pretty broad confession to his friend: and whoever values the reputation of Cicero, cannot regret that it was never risked on a system of geography to be *got up*, as he himself hints that it was intended to be, during a short summer tour among his country houses in Italy.

It is not however merely to the respective character of the two individuals that we must attribute the inferiority of the geography of Herodotus, in all essential requisites, to that of Strabo. Much undoubtedly is owing to the manners and complexion of the times in which they respectively lived. The former came to the task with few materials supplied to his hands. Every thing was to be collected by his own industry, without the aid of previous history, without political documents, or political authority. The taste moreover and habits of the people for whom he wrote, which must ever have a powerful influence over the composition of any writer, demanded other qualities than rigid authenticity and a judicious selection of facts. It should be remembered that he was hardly yet emerged from the *story-telling* age; the pleasure of wondering had not yet been superseded by the pleasure of knowing; and the nine deities who give name to his books might be allowed to impart some share of their privilege of fiction, wherever sober truth was insufficient to complete or adorn his narrative.

Before

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Before the age of Augustus, however, an entire revolution had been effected in the intellectual habits and literary pursuits of men. The world was become in a manner, what it now is, a reading world. Books of every kind were to be had in every place. Accordingly, it became the chief business of writers who projected any extensive work to examine and compare what was already written, to weigh probabilities, to adjust and reconcile apparent differences, and to decide between contending authorities, as well as to collect and methodise a multitude of independent facts, and to mould them into one regular and consistent form.

It was not without a just sense of the magnitude and difficulty of his undertaking that Strabo engaged in this task, as is sufficiently proved by his own elaborate introduction. How many years were employed upon it, is not certain; but we are sure, from the incidental mention made in different passages of historical events widely distant from each other, that it occupied a considerable portion of his life; during the greatest part of which period he was engaged in a personal inspection of many provinces of the Roman empire, travelling often as the friend and companion of persons high in authority.

It is impossible indeed to read any of his larger descriptions without feeling the advantage possessed by an eye-witness over a mere compiler. The strong and expressive outlines which he draws, convey a lively idea not merely of the figure and dimensions, but of the surface and general character of extensive districts. These outlines are carefully filled up by a methodical and often minute survey of the whole region; marking distinctly its coast, its towns, rivers, and mountains; the produce of the soil, the condition and manners of the inhabitants, their origin, language, and traffic: and in the more civilized parts of the world, in the states of Greece especially, we meet with continual information respecting persons and events, the memory of which is sacred to every one at all conversant with the writers of that extraordinary people.

But it is not merely from the number and authenticity of the facts which it communicates that this work derives its value. Every page bears evidence of a philosophical and reflecting mind—a mind disciplined by science, and accustomed to trace the causes and connexion of things as well in the province of physical phenomena, as in the more intricate and varying system of human affairs. In this respect Strabo bears a strong resemblance to Polybius. But with the fondness of that historian for reflection and his steady love of truth, he has not copied the formality of his digressions which so often interrupt the flow of the history, and

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which would be yet more unsuited to a geographical work. The reasonings and reflections of Strabo are just those which would naturally be excited in a mind previously well informed, by the scenes over which he was travelling; but they never tempt him to lose sight of his main purpose, the collection and arrangement of facts. There is a gravity, a plainness, a sobriety, and good sense in all his remarks which constantly remind us that they are subordinate and incidental, suggested immediately by the occasion; and they are delivered with a tincture of literature, such as a well-educated man cannot fail of imparting to any subject.

On these accounts he would be entitled to the perusal of every scholar, even if the geographical information were less abundant and authentic than it really is. But the miserably corrupt state of the text seems to have discouraged translators as well as readers. Certain it is that translations of Strabo into the modern languages are fewer in number, and of a more recent date, than those of any ancient author, whose information has been so often appealed to as authoritative and curious. The Italian version by Buonacciuoli was indeed published in 1562; but that in German by Pentzel did not appear till 1775, and was not then completed; and a single book, that which relates to Spain, was translated from the *Latin* into Spanish, so late as 1787, by Don Juan Lopez, geographer to his most sacred Majesty, &c. &c. The French translation also promised by Brequigny in his edition of the three first books of Strabo, published in 1763, appears to have been in part, at least, executed, since it is once mentioned in a note by the present translators, but whether it was ever entirely executed does not appear.

The present version was undertaken by the order of Buonaparte, when First Consul of the French Republic. To Messieurs De la Porte Du Theil and Coray, were assigned the translation, with the critical and historical notes; and to M. Gosselin the formation of the maps, and the geographical illustrations. In their preface the translators have stated without reserve, but we must add also, without exaggeration, the difficulties of their attempt: as our attention, however, will now be chiefly given to the preliminary matter, we must defer to a future opportunity, when the entire work shall come before us, our account of the critical merits of this performance, although we shall not scruple here to subjoin a few remarks of a philological kind, which have occurred in the perusal of this volume, the only one which has yet reached us.

To the translation is prefixed a dissertation by M. Gosselin on the itinerary measures of the ancients. As this subject is new, and as Major Rennell's chapter on the Greek stade, has been denominated 'clear and satisfactory,' the reader will possibly indulge us in

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in a discussion, which will comprize many curious particulars in the history of ancient geography.

Strabo flourished during a considerable part of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and died in the twelfth year of the latter. He therefore lived prior to any arrangement of the distances on the globe by measures taken from degrees of longitude and latitude. But this writer, and his predecessors in the same branch of science, were not unacquainted with the practice of measuring the distance from the equator as from a fixed line, by which the comparatively northerly or southerly situations of places might be determined; nor were they ignorant of some methods by which the longitude, or distance of places to the east or west of each other, might be estimated. But it was reserved for Ptolemy, in the second century, to reduce these observations into a regular system, and to a tabular form, by which the situation of any one place, if correctly ascertained, might be compared with that of any other, and also with its distance from the equator, and from the first meridian, drawn through Ferro in the Canary or Fortunate Islands, as being the most westerly point of the earth known at that time.

The ancient geographers had scarcely any other means of determining distances, than actual mensuration: but it was necessary, in order to make the result of this knowledge communicable, to establish some common measure or standard to which other mensurations might be referred. The most ancient and received itinerary measure among the Greeks was the stade, which appears to have had a very rude origin. It is said to have been the invention of Hercules, and to be derived from an athletic exertion of his own, as it comprehended the distance which he was able to run without taking breath. This he established as the measure of the length of the ἄυλος, or foot course, at the Olympic games, and from the respect in which these exercises were held, the measure became an itinerary computation. This distance the hero, who instituted it, measured again by the length of his foot, which he found equal to one six-hundredth part of the course. Such is the origin both of the olympic foot, and the olympic stade, the former of which exceeded the common or Roman foot in the same proportion as the foot of Hercules exceeded that of ordinary men, which excess was supposed to be in the proportion of 25 to 24. But the stade was not the only itinerary measure in use among the Greeks, or rather among such as are specified by the Greek writers. Herodotus mentions the *parasanga* and the *schoenus*, and speaks of both as multiples of the stade, and as used conjointly with it. Xenophon computes the march of the auxiliaries from Sardis to Babylon, a journey of 76 days, and of more than 14,000 stades, by parasangs only. Strabo mentions

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both the *schoenus* and the *parasanga*, and Athenæus speaks of them as well known itinerary measures in his own time. The remark therefore of M. Gosselin is too general, that 'the Greeks gave the name of stades to *all* their itinerary measures.'

He is still more incorrect in laying it down as a general principle, that the stade *always* consisted of 600 feet, or 400 cubits. This number is only to be found in the Greek writers, as the Latin almost uniformly assign 625 nominal feet to the same measure, and this difference in the calculation of the same distances is easily reconciled by considering the stade as of a fixed extent, but liable to a different computation, as these feet were of different dimensions. The Roman foot being to the Greek as 24 to 25, it required the addition of a 24th part to complete the length of the stade. M. Gosselin is of opinion that the term was applied to other measures of different dimensions, and that these varied accordingly as the foot was longer or shorter: we do not however think that there was so much variety as he supposes; and we much doubt if any denomination of feet were in use besides the common one, taken from the measure of that of an ordinary man, and the Herculean or Olympic. The latter of these, we think, was, in the early times of Greece, the sole itinerary foot measure. A. Gellius, indeed, says, that there were stadia in Greece of 600 common feet only; but if the passage be considered, it will appear that he refers *to the length of places of gymnastic exercise, not to that of the stadium as an itinerary measure.*

It is observed by Suidas, that when the length of the mile was reduced from 4,800 to 4,500 feet, or one-sixteenth part, that of the stade continued the same, seven stades and a half only instead of eight being assigned to the mile.

Were the length of the foot as variable as the number of stades in a degree, (and this must be the case on Mr. Gosselin's supposition, which assigns 600 nominal feet to each stade of every kind,) we might admit, that the length of the foot measure was very ill defined; but the foot, like all primary measures, was a natural one; the variations of which would be necessarily confined within a certain limit—a limit which could scarcely extend to the difference of 5 and 11, unless we could suppose that from the time of Anaximander to that of Ptolemy the human stature had been retrenched by one half: the standard of the most ancient stade, which, according to M. Gosselin, was generally used in the eastern country, would reduce the recorded proportion of Goliath to something less than 3 feet 7 inches of our measure.

M. Gosselin affirms, that the length of the foot, which he allows to be an elementary measure, cannot be ascertained within the length of two lines and a half, or somewhat less than a 58th part.

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part. This would make a difference of ten feet and a half in the length of the stade, according as the foot measures of the same country were more or less accurately constructed. But we think that our information on this subject, derived from the monuments of antiquity, is not altogether so defective as M. Gosselin conceives. He remarks, that in order to ascertain 'these elementary parts, (the cubit and the foot,) ancient monuments have been measured, such as the pyramids and Nilometers of Egypt, the temples of Greece and Italy, the interval between certain mile-stones and the feet engraven in brass or marble, discovered among ruins or on tombs: but all these having afforded different results, he concludes that it may still be reasonably doubted whether we have yet attained a correct knowledge of the measures of the ancients. Had M. Gosselin taken the trouble to examine what our countryman Greaves, whose accuracy and veracity were never surpassed, has said upon this subject, he might perhaps have found himself relieved from the uncertainty under which he professès to labour. The foot measure engraved on the marble monument of Cossutius, formerly preserved in the Colotian gardens at Rome, was examined by Greaves with the greatest attention, and measured with the most accurate instruments. He found it to contain $\frac{1834}{1000}$ of the English foot, or, in other words, to bear a proportion to it of 967 to 1000. This proportion Greaves confirms from its coincidence with several very ancient and perfect Roman feet in brass; from its exact relation in measure to the dimensions of the stones which form the pavement of the Pantheon; and from the presumption of accuracy derived from the consideration of the art exercised by the person to whom the monument was erected, who appears, from the instruments engraven upon it, to have been an architect or a sculptor; all which are strong evidences that this representation forms an authentic standard of the length of the Roman foot; and indeed these proofs have been almost universally admitted as satisfactory by succeeding writers. He mentions another representation of a Roman foot divided into digits engraved on the monument of Statilius, whence Philander took the dimensions, which he supposed to be those of the ancient Roman measure. It exceeds that on the monument of Cossutius in the proportion of 1944 to 1934, or rather more than a two hundredth part. This monument, however, has been always regarded as of inferior authority, being deficient in neatness of workmanship and accuracy. To these we might add the plate of the Greek foot in the fourth volume of the Supplement to Montfaucon's Antiquities, which perfectly corresponds with the semipes Romanus given in the plate to Greaves's discourse on the Roman foot. Hence it appears that M. Gosselin has over-rated both the discordancy of the ancient measures of length, and the

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inaccuracy arising from that source, nearly in the proportion of 7 to 2.

The measure of the Roman foot being once established, that of the Greek foot follows of course, it being, as M. Gosselin admits, in the proportion of 25 to 24 to the former.

Many testimonies from ancient writers might be produced in favour of this proportion; but it has been as nearly as possible brought to the test of the senses. Mr. Stuart examined the temple of Minerva, usually called Hecatompedon, at Athens, with a view to obtain the true length of the Greek foot. The average of his calculations, taken from measurements of different parts of the front of this edifice, gave the proportion of the Greek foot to the English, as 25.04 to 24.819 and to the Roman, as 25.04 to 24. The proportions according to Mr. Greaves are

English foot	1000	=	24.819
Greek foot	1007 . 29	=	25 nearly
Roman foot	967	=	24

This is confirmed by the analogy between the Greek and Roman weights, which were in the same proportion to each other, as their measures of length. The Roman pound was to the Greek as 24 to 25, as Mr. Clark proved by extracts from Cleopatra, Hero, and Rhemnius Fannius, who concur in giving the same proportion, although they express it in different words.

But M. Gosselin not thinking these testimonies sufficient to ascertain the object of his inquiry, has recourse to other methods. He assumes as an obvious position;

'That the colonial states of Greece, (peuplades,) divided by interests, manners, &c. had, like the ancient inhabitants of Gaul, measures peculiar to themselves; that, as the use of these was limited to their own districts, they always remained unknown to other nations; and that the writers of antiquity never thought of adjusting their geographical systems to these local measures. On the contrary, they selected those which were independent of local usage, as our geographers and navigators have rejected all the leagues in use amongst us, and substituted astronomical leagues of 20 or 25 to a degree, the standard of which, *taken from nature*, might be adapted to all opinions, and furnish a measure common to all nations.'—p. iii, iv.

We cannot assent either to the opinion, or the fact. The Grecian states, collectively taken, comprehended but a small proportion of the habitable world, even of that portion of it, which was known at the time. Their continental territories, or seats of government, were separated from each other, in most instances, by little more than ideal boundaries. They were in habits of constant intercourse. They all spoke the same language, and the authors, who have written professedly on the subject, have not, as far as we are informed,

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formed, recorded any difference between the computed measures of the several parts of Greece. Hence it should seem more probable, that the variations observable in these computations arose more from an erroneous estimate of the distance, than from any real difference in the standard of measure. The computed miles differ from one another in many parts of this country, notwithstanding the proper standard of a mile has been long determined.

M. Gosselin expresses his surprize, that any person should refuse to acknowledge the traces of astronomical measures in the distances given by the ancients, particularly as they do not specify any others. Before we analyse the examples which he has adduced, we would hazard a few preliminary remarks on the ancient astronomical calculations, and terrestrial measurements.

The ancient astronomers and geographers could not but be conscious how defective were their instruments for observing the heavenly bodies; and how much greater dependence might be placed on their mechanical measurement of distances, to the accuracy of which we have reason to think they paid great attention, than on their celestial observations, to ascertain the truth of which they had so little artificial assistance. The proportion of the length of the gnomon to that of its meridian shadow at the solstices and the equinoxes, afforded the principal method of determining the distances of places from the equator, and these were, indeed, under a clear sky, a bright sun, and continued opportunities of repeating observations, laid down, in many instances, more nearly to the truth than could be expected from so simple and rude an instrument. Still however they were liable to much uncertainty. The penumbra at the extremity of the shadow made the proportions doubtful. The semidiameter of the sun (although Cleomedes seemed to be aware that this should be taken into the account) does not appear to be added to the altitude, and the circumstances, less important indeed, though not to be neglected, of parallax and refraction, were altogether unknown. Instances of the incorrectness of gnomonic, or sciothenic observations may be given, too gross to be ascribed to any of these defects, and evidently owing to inaccuracy in the observers. Strabo mentions, in no less than four places, that the same proportion of the length of the gnomon to its solstitial shadow was found at Byzantium and at Marseilles, though the former was situated in 41° 11′, and the other in 43° 17′ of lat.* a difference of no less than 136′ on the equator, equal to 158 English miles; and this fact is reported on the authority of

* In the former the proportion of the gnomon to its shadow would be (according to the sun's declination at that time) 10 : 3 . 0955; in the latter 10 : 3 . 5340, a difference very distinguishable by the naked eye.

Hipparchus

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Hipparchus and Eratosthenes, in a case too, which was obvious to the senses, and depended neither on hypothesis, nor calculation. It is more extraordinary that this mistake, after being adopted by Ptolemy, should be continued down to ages not very remote from our own.

A still greater error is to be found in Strabo respecting the situation of Carthage. He says, that the proportion of the length of the gnomon to that of the equinoctial shadow is as 11 to 7. This gives by plane trigonometry a latitude of 32° 20′, which is very near to the one adopted by Ptolemy. The true latitude of Carthage, according to the best observations, is 36° 5′. The error therefore is 272′, or 313 English miles. The ancients were undoubtedly acquainted, although imperfectly, with the measure of the sun's diameter, as appears from Cleomedes, who remarks that the sun would appear vertical at the same instant to an extent of 300 stades in diameter, equal, as he supposes, to half a degree,* or to two minutes of time, which is nearly the interval that the meridian shadow takes up in passing over the gnomon; and probably this comparison of time with distance led to the means of computing the sun's diameter.

Plutarch, in the life of Marcellus, mentions, among the mathematical instruments belonging to Archimedes, 'sciotheræ, sphæræ, and goniæ, by which a person adapts the magnitude of the sun to the sight.'—The observations, taken from the stars, are still more incorrect than those from the sun. A clear and calm atmosphere, and an unclouded sky, gave the ancients indeed advantages in nocturnal observations with the naked eye, which we, in more northerly climates, do not possess; still however the observations so made must be in a great measure conjectural. Some of these errors are so flagrant, that they cannot be excused even by the want of telescopes.

Posidonius, of Rhodes, is said by Geminus, one of the most accurate of the ancient astronomers, to have observed there, the star Canopus, (one of the first magnitude,) and to have found that it had † not, when at its meridian, any perceptible elevation above the horizon, but was barely visible in that situation. The same star observed at Alexandria, shewed a meridian altitude of 7° 30′, equal to $\frac{1}{48}$ part of a great circle of the heavens. But Canopus has a meridian altitude at Rhodes of 1° 2′, or more than two diameters of the moon, so that it must have been very inaccurately observed

* This affords a strong presumption that Cleomedes reckoned 600 stadia to a degree. Geminus observed, that there was no perceptible difference in the meridians for the breadth of 300 stades, although there was a real one.—Petav. Uranol. page 21.

† This mistake has been continued down to later times.—Vid. Petav. Uranol. Not. p. 120.

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when it was supposed to be in the horizon. Add to this, that the horizontal refraction would give it an apparent altitude of 24′, 35″ more, so that the star would be to the senses more than two diameters and a half of the moon in altitude. The altitude of the star at Alexandria is also erroneously computed. Instead of 7° 30′, it is really only 6° 26′ in apparent altitude, or one degree four minutes less than represented by Posidonius, so that the whole error, if reckoned according to the apparent difference of altitude, would amount to 2° 30′, equal to 150 minutes on the equator, and this exclusive of the one arising from the supposition, that Rhodes and Alexandria lay under the same meridian. It however appears, that the ancients must have had some instruments for taking the altitudes and distances of the heavenly bodies, with the construction of which we are not sufficiently acquainted.

The Pole (σκολος) is mentioned by Herodotus, as an instrument of which the Greeks derived the use from the Babylonians. It was certainly moveable, for we find it in the ship of Hiero described by Athenæus, and could not therefore be a common dial. Dr. Long is of opinion that it was a ring dial; it was more probably an astrolabe, an instrument of simple construction, and from some advantages arising from its circular figure, capable of greater accuracy than is commonly supposed.

The dioptron is another mathematical instrument, used also for astronomical purposes. Its figure is not explained, but we know from Suidas, that it was used in taking terrestrial altitudes, and it seems from Vitruvius that it was furnished with a line and plummet, and applied in levelling. From its name it was perhaps constructed with two holes for vision, like the sights on the moveable index of the astrolabe, so that it might possibly be the same instrument, with the addition of a plummet on the center pin, to set the perpendicular drawn through it at right angles to the horizon.

What the gonia of Archimedes was is uncertain, but if it were an instrument to take or to measure angles in astronomical observations, which the word seems to import, and the other instruments, spheres and dials, mentioned with it appear to confirm, it might be of the same kind with the one of which we have been speaking.

Another method of discovering the distance of places from the equator was by division into climates, or calculations drawn from the length of the longest days. But the want of instruments for the accurate mensuration of time, together with the ignorance of the ancient geographers of the powers of refraction, which in northerly climates makes a material difference, rendered these calculations very doubtful. The upright gnomon, indeed, placed on an horizontal plane, might shew the proportion of the circle which the

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the shadow traversed from sun rise to sun set, and perhaps more correctly than an observation of the horizon itself; but there would still be some uncertainty in tracing the extent of the horizontal shadow. On this account, perhaps, Ptolemy does not attempt to ascertain the length of the day to less than 5′ of time, a fraction amounting, in many latitudes, to a degree in point of space. It is worth observing, that the tower of the winds at Athens had dials on each of its eight sides, so that the solar time might be indicated from the sun's rising to his setting. On the inside of this building was a clepsydra, or water clock, the marks of which yet remain. Probably the connection or proximity of these instruments was meant to correct the one by the other, and to form a scale of nocturnal time for celestial observations, as well as for common purposes. The irregularity of the sun's motion in the ecliptic was indeed known, but its effects on the equation of time not calculated; nevertheless a clock which might be so often corrected, would hardly vary much from the standard of solar time, in the space of a few hours.

But the want of an accurate measurement of time was still more perceptible in what regarded the calculation of the longitude. Ptolemy, though well acquainted with the principles of this calculation from the observations of eclipses of the sun and moon, and of the difference of time at the places where these phenomena were observed, failed greatly in the application of his knowledge to practice, having overrated the length of the Mediterranean more than 20 degrees of longitude, equal to 971′ on the equator.

Had Ptolemy adopted the numbers of Polybius, as recorded by Pliny, it would have brought him nearer the truth, much nearer, as Dr. Blair observes, than could be supposed, and indeed within a few minutes of space of the true extent. It may be said, that the interval between the pillars of Hercules and the Bay of Issus is a marine distance, and therefore incapable of being measured by those means in which the ancients so much excelled. But the ancients probably measured such distances on a sea so well known, in a manner analogous to terrestrial mensuration. They navigated their vessels only when the seas were calm, they worked with oars which rendered it unnecessary to multiply the distance by going on different tacks, and in fair weather, their progress was nearly uniform; indeed we find in ancient writers, a certain number of stadia or miles attached to a day's sail, just as in eastern countries space is reckoned by hours not by measured distances. From the pillars to the bay of Issus there were not less than five stations, all of them places well known and well suited to naval intercourse.*

* A Gaditano freto—Ad Siciliam—Cretam—Rhodum—Chelidonias—Cyprum—Pieriam vel Seleuciam prope Issum. Plin. lib. VI. c. 33.

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The ignorance of the ancients, respecting the polarity of the magnet, must have made their course, when guided by the sun and stars only, even under the most favourable circumstances, incorrect; but the shortness of the separate stages gave frequent opportunity for rectifying the error, and experience made them probably more expert in this mode of calculation, than we, who use it less commonly, may imagine.

After this view of the state of their knowledge, we are less surprised than M. Gosselin that the ancient geographers should so often express distances by measurements, in the correctness of which they excelled, rather than by calculations or observations, the principles of which indeed they understood, but had not the means of reducing to practice.

We now return to M. Gosselin's discussion respecting the lengths of the different stadia used by the Greek Astronomers and Geographers.

The most ancient calculation of the number of stadia in the circumference of the globe, is that recorded by Aristotle, which fixes it at 400,000, or 1111,1 nearly to a degree. The next in point of date, is that of Archimedes, which assigns it 300,000 stades, or 833,33 to a degree. But we are not informed on what grounds these numbers were fixed upon.—Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the earth at 250,000, or as others say, at 252,000 stades. The foundation of his computation, is the supposed accurate mensuration of the segment of a great circle of the earth, the quantity of which in degrees, and smaller divisions of space, was ascertained by corresponding celestial observations.

The segment of the meridian chosen for this purpose was the interval of space between Alexandria and Syene, both which places were thought to lie under the same meridian. This distance was measured by the surveyors of Ptolemy Euergetes, and found to be 5000 stades. The angle of the shadow of the gnomon on the Scaphia or sun dial at Alexandria amounted to 7° 12′ or $\frac{1}{50}$ part of the circle, and *at Syene there was no meridian shadow whatever*. Hence it was concluded, that the astronomical distance between these places being 7° 12′ on the meridian, and the measured distance 5000 stades, this number multiplied by 50 would make the circumference of the globe equal to 250,000, or in more convenient numbers 252,000 stades of 700 to a degree. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the true situation of Syene to correct these calculations. If Dr. Vincent is right, the latitude coincides nearer than could be expected; (24° 0′ 45′;) but, according to D'Anville, Syene is 2° of longitude to the east of Alexandria, = in the middle latitude (27° 36′) to about 107′ on the equator. Posidonius attempted the same calculation by a mensuration

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suration of the arc of the meridian between Rhodes and Alexandria, founded upon observations drawn from the different altitudes of the star Canopus. His computation was 240,000 stades or about 666,6 to a degree. Hipparchus is said to have calculated it at 277,000 stades or 769 to a degree: finally, Ptolemy, on the supposition that the distance between Rhodes and Alexandria (3750 stadia) was correctly calculated by Eratosthenes, and that this was, by the celestial observation of Posidonius, $\frac{1}{48}$ of the earth's circumference, concluded that circumference to be 180,000 stades, or 500 only to a degree. In this computation, the true meridional distance, supposing the places to lie under the same meridian, is overrated by 2° 16′ equal to 136′ on the equator, or to 158 English miles. If then the real difference is only 5° 14′ of latitude, this instead of $\frac{1}{48}$ is rather less than $\frac{1}{16}$ part of the circumference of the earth, which if multiplied, by the distance 3750, gives rather more than 257,962 for the circumference, instead of 180,000 or 716,56 stadia to a degree.

From the computations of the several writers above mentioned, M. Gosselin deduces this inference, (p. v.) that 'none of them compares the stade of which he speaks with the ordinary stades of Greece; and that the distinction of Olympic, Pythic, Italic, and other stades was unknown to them.' To this we cannot accede. Of the writings of Eratosthenes so little remains, that the negative side of the question would be equally doubtful with the affirmative. A smaller portion still of the geographical works of Hipparchus and Posidonius have descended to us: what acquaintance therefore they had with the different denominations of stades is not now to be ascertained. With respect to Strabo, the learned editor of the fragments of Eratosthenes is of opinion, and we think, with reason, that the stade of Eratosthenes and Strabo was the same, and both of them Olympic: if this, then, as D'Anville and other geographers think, was the usual itinerary measure, there is no more occasion for Strabo to specify it by name, than there would be for a person describing the geography of his own country to express, that the distances were estimated by measured, and not by computed miles. The silence of Ptolemy may be accounted for in the same way. The Olympic stade, with respect to its antiquity, origin, and dimensions, had been minutely described 30 years before his time, and we cannot suppose the geographer to be ignorant of the description of a measure so well adapted to his purpose, and by a man so eminent in Greek literature as Aulus Gellius.

In order to ascertain the dimensions of the stades M. Gosselin refers to those astronomical geographers of antiquity, who have calculated the number that formed the circumference of the earth.

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earth. This might be admitted, if M. Gosselin could likewise inform us, to what computations those geographers adhered, who made no such calculation. Anaximander estimated the circumference at 400,000 stades, or 1111 to a degree, and only 326 English feet to a stade. But Herodotus, whose age approaches nearer to that of Anaximander than that of any other prose writer now extant, and who lived a century before Aristotle, did not surely measure by this standard, when he fixed the length of the Thracian Bosphorus, *which, he says, he measured himself*, at 120 stades only; whereas it is at least 13′ in a straight line, equal to 243 stades of the standard of Anaximander. Can we suppose that Xenophon, whose march from Sardis to Babylon is so accurately laid down as to answer nearly to the distances measured on D'Anville's map according to the calculation of the Olympic stade, used any other? The word which he employs (parasanga) is indeed of oriental origin, but it is evident that he means by it a measure of 30 stades, as it is twice described by Herodotus. The stade, in fact, should be considered as originally a gymnastic not an astronomical measure; and although coarse, yet being taken from natural dimensions, it probably continued the same in Greece for many ages. The limits of the Panathenæan stade are yet discoverable. It was accurately measured by Vernon, Stuart, and Chandler, all of whom agree, that it contains rather more than 600 Greek feet. The calculation of the number of feet in a stade might vary in different countries; (if there were any difference in the proportion of the natural foot;) and indeed these numbers must be supposed to be in general greater than in the Olympic computation, as the artificial feet commonly in use were not taken from the athletic standard. This difference has been before observed to be adjusted among the Romans by the addition of $\frac{1}{24}$ of 600 Roman feet to make the length of the stade correspond with Greek mensuration. But we still are of opinion, *that there was a standard measure of the stade*, as Herodotus says there was of the fathom, ὀργυια, (another measure derived from nature,) and that by this standard the distances in the Greek geographical writers, if nothing be expressed to the contrary, ought to be measured.

M. Gosselin observes, that Eratosthenes and Hipparchus estimated the distance from Alexandria to the equator to be, according to the former, 21.700, and according to the latter 21,800 stades. These he divides by 700, and finds the quotient of the medium number to be equal to 31° 4′ 17″, which is very nearly the true latitude of the place. This is specious, but we doubt whether it be altogether admissible. Strabo, a few lines after the passage quoted by M. Gosselin, says, that the length of the gnomon compared with the equinoctial shadow was at Alexandria

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dria as 5 to 7. This reading M. Gosselin condemns, as he says it would give the latitude of 54° 27′ 44″, which is obviously absurd; but if we suppose, that the author meant (as undoubtedly he did) to give the proportions between the shadow and the gnomon only, we must understand it as the complement of the latitude assigned, or 35° 32′, which is to be understood as implying the zenith distance and equal to the latitude, however erroneously reckoned; and this may be done without any alteration of the text. The above latitude, at 600 stades to a degree, amounts to 21,320 which in such large numbers is not very different from the 21,700 of Eratosthenes. M. Gosselin observes, that Eratosthenes fixed the parallel of Rhodes at 3750 stades to the north of Alexandria: by adding this number to 21,700 we get 25,450 for the distance of Rhodes from the Equator; and if this number be divided by 700, it gives 36° 21′ 25″, which differs only 7′ 5″ from modern observations. *But these are the computations of M. Gosselin himself, not of Eratosthenes.* The latter computed the difference of latitude to be $\frac{1}{50}$ of the circumference of the earth, or 7° 12′, and the supposed distance to be 3750 stades, which gives exactly 521 not 700 to a degree. We know it was the opinion of Pliny that Eratosthenes reckoned by the Olympic stade, as he states the distance given by him to be 469 mille passus, by which number, if 3750 be divided, it gives 8 stades to a mile, or 75 to a degree, equal to 600 stades. This gives 6° 15′ for the difference of latitude considered as the distance, and is exactly a mean between the latitudes of Posidonius and Ptolemy.

M. Gosselin next undertakes to prove, that a stadium of 700 to a degree was in use in other instances, wherein D'Anville was of a different opinion. We cannot follow him through all his statements but shall select some of the most noted, and in which the distances might, with most certainty, be computed. The first of these does not seem very favourable to his argument. He says, appealing to Strabo, it is 'agreed, that the whole of Spain, from the Pyrenees to its western extremity, the Sacred Promontory, is not more than 6000 stades in length.' Now, observes M. Gosselin, '6000 stades are equal to 8° 14′, 17″ measured on a scale of 700 to a degree on the equator, i. e. on a great circle of the earth, or 171½ leagues, at the rate of 20 to a degree, and this, by the opening of the compass, is the exact measure of the distance of the summit of the Pyrenees, *taken about the middle of their longitudinal extent* from Cape St. Vincent.' But Strabo did not fix upon the middle of the longitudinal extent of the Pyrenean mountains, as the point from which *his* measurement commenced. This suited M. Gosselin better than Strabo. The latter meant to express the greatest longitudinal dimensions of Spain, and measured accordingly

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ingly from Pyrenæ, (Cap de Creux,) the most easterly point of the Pyrenees, 'the eastern side,' as Strabo calls it in another place, to the most westerly point, the Promontorium Sacrum, whence Polybius also commenced his measurements. Cap de Creux, according to a map of Spain, with which Arrowsmith's chart of the Mediterranean nearly agrees, is situated in lat. 42° 16′ N. and long. 3° 28′ E. of London. Cape St. Vincent lies in lat. 37° 2′ N. and long. 9° 2′ W. These differences, computed by middle latitudes, give a distance equal nearly to 656′ on the equator, or 10° 56′ of latitude. This amounts to 7,653 stad. very different from Strabo's own measure, which gives 6,560 only for the distance, scarcely more than one third of the difference, according to M. Gosselin's computation. Our readers will be surprised to hear that Strabo's *calculation of the latitude of Ireland was perfectly correct*, a country described by him as scarcely habitable from the coldness of its climate, and the savageness of its inhabitants. But the 36,700 stadia, on which M. Gosselin grounds his arguments, are not to be found (by us at least) in Strabo. He says, indeed, by implication, that Ireland was not more than 5,000 stadia from the Celtic or Borysthenic parallel, and 5,000 stad. northward from thence (lat. 46° 37′) will not correspond with M. Gosselin's numbers, nor his principles. The mouth of the Borysthenes is situated in lat. 46° 34′ nearly, and the difference of this lat. from that of the southern coast of Ireland is 4° 44′, or, according to M. Gosselin, 5° 51′. The former of these gives 1,005 stad. to a degree, and the latter 850, both very different from 700.

M. Gosselin affirms, without reserve, that Eratosthenes assigned 8,800 stades for the distance between Carthage and the pillars of Hercules, and for this he appeals to the authority of Strabo. But Strabo gives 8,000 stades only for this interval; he must, therefore, according to M. Gosselin, be corrected by Pliny, who gives 1,100 mille passus. This is not, we may observe, the common reading, but we shall not insist upon that. The stades of Pliny, however, were 600 to a degree, and those of Eratosthenes 700. If Pliny then, contrary to his usual custom, adjusted the stades of Eratosthenes to Roman miles of 75 to a degree, the number must have been 10,266 instead of 8,800. M. Gosselin alters or warps Strabo or Pliny at will to support his own speculations; a practice which we do not much admire.

We must now notice the author's observations on the stade of Anaximander at 1111. 1 to a degree. He thinks that this was in use in the East, and particularly in the calculations of the distances to be found in the Voyage of Nearchus. After the labours of Dr. Vincent and Mr. Rennell, we cannot be expected to enter minutely into the question concerning the length of this *stade*. It seems however

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however to be rather improperly so called, being, as we suspect, an Oriental or Indian measure. Dr. Vincent has observed, that it does not correspond with the distances in Arrian's History of Alexander, which are reckoned by the Olympic stadium, although it accords, in general, with the Journal of Nearchus, probably as the latter referred to the local measures of the country. We cannot place much confidence in the calculations of Herodotus of the length of the Caspian, (calculations deduced from the number of days sail,) when we consider that they were taken from vessels necessarily of a rude construction, navigating a sea little frequented, the shape and extent of which were, at that time, but imperfectly known. Polybius is next introduced as making use of this Oriental stade, on the classic ground of antiquity, the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. This is the more extraordinary as he is known, in other computations, to have used the Greek stade of 600 feet.

'Polybius,' says M. Gosselin, 'reckoned 18. 837 stades in a direct line from the Pillars of Hercules to the streight of Sicily, and under the parallel of 36°; this measure corresponds with 20° 57′ 20″. Our actual experiments assign 21° 27′ in point of longitude, as the intervening space between these points, which is only 29′ 40″ more than the distance given by Polybius.'

But, according to Strabo's account, there was no measurement of the direct distance. The number of stadia was inferred from a supposed computation of 11,200 stad. and more, as the distance from Messina to Narbonne, and somewhat less than 8,000 stad. from Narbonne to the Pillars, the amount of the whole being 19,200. From this he deducts 500, which Polybius thought was the difference between the circuitous voyage by Narbonne, and the direct course to the Pillars. But the slightest inspection of any map of the Mediterranean will shew, that much more than $\frac{1}{37}$ part ought to be deducted. The distance from Messina to Narbonne is 675′ on the equator, and from Narbonne to Gibraltar* 573′, the sum of which is 1,248′. The direct distance from Messina to Gibraltar is 1,033′ 6; the difference 214′ 4, more than $\frac{1}{5}$ instead of $\frac{1}{37}$ of the distance. M. Gosselin is very imprudent in drawing geographical conclusions from data so obviously incorrect, and, if true, so little to the purpose.

Our readers, we think, will scarcely expect to hear *of an exact measure of our own island*, taken by Pytheas, of Marseilles, 300 years before the Christian era. To increase the surprise, it was taken in *oriental stades, and a measure, according to M. Gosselin, of the eastern coasts of the kingdom was constructed, which began from the Land's-end, the most westerly point of Eng-*

* The angle between these distances is about 113°.

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land. But even this strange measurement is incorrect. The distance from the Land's-end to the North Foreland is 435′ of long. equal to about 275′ on the equator, and the difference of lat. between the North Foreland and Duncansby-head, 8° 30′ of lat. equal to 510′ on the equator. The sum of these is 785′, or 262 ½ leagues, not 360 according to M. Gosselin.

We now come to the stade of 666 ⅔ to a degree, which M. Gosselin supposes was employed by Patrocles, the admiral of Selencus Nicator, in his Indian expedition. The boundaries of some of the distances, which he specifies, are so indeterminate, that we cannot follow him; we shall, however, select one, less exceptionable than the rest, yet not without its difficulties. Strabo says, that while Megasthenes and Eratosthenes assigned 20,000 stad. for the breadth of India, Patrocles allowed only 12,000; but from what points this measurement was taken we are not informed. M. Gosselin, however, supplies these defects: he measures the extent of the land by a sea voyage, and assumes two points, neither of which Patrocles probably ever reached; if he did, he was certainly incapable with any instruments which he possessed, of measuring the direct distance between them. The expressions themselves of Strabo are confused, and doubtful. Patrocles at one time appears to have reckoned the length of this side of India at 14,000, and at another, at 15,000 stad. But the distance of the points which M. Gosselin lays down is greater than he assigns. The difference between the lat. of Cape Comorin and the eastern mouth of the Ganges is, according to Major Rennell, 14° 20′, equal to 860′ of lat. and of long. 848′, or to 818′. 5 on the equator. The distance then is nearly 1,186′ on the equator; 385 leagues, not 360, as M. Gosselin supposes.

Of the instances of stadia of 500 to a degree, the first which M. Gosselin produces is in the distance from Cape Leuca, in Italy, to Cephalæ, Cape Mesurat, in Africa. This Strabo calls 4000 stad. equal to 8° of lat. but the real distance on Arrowsmith's chart, with which D'Anville nearly concurs, is no more than 5° 47′=347′ or 3,160 stad. at 500 to a degree, 116 leagues instead of 160.—This instance is rather unfortunately selected.

That of 833 ⅓ to a degree, is derived from a calculation of the circumference of the earth by Archimedes, who made it 300,000 stad. But we cannot find in Strabo, or any other author, that such a one was ever actually in use: this, however, is no objection to M. Gosselin, who employs it without scruple, and measures the distances given by Eratosthenes, who himself invented a stade, by this standard. Chronology, however, here seems to stand in his way, as *Eratosthenes died before the time of Archimedes*. Setting aside this objection, is it to be supposed, that Eratosthenes

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computed the distance from Rhodes to Issus by a stade of 833 to a degree, and to Alexandria, from the same place, by one of 700? But M. Gosselin has not only discovered a variety of new stades, but has also assumed a liberty of determining for each author, what particular one he used; and as these vary in the proportion of eleven to five, and upwards, scarcely any ancient distance can be found, which may not be reconciled to modern measures by so great a latitude of interpretation. We cannot but admire M. Gosselin's dexterity at accommodations of this kind, when he discovers that *Eratosthenes computed the distance from Cape St. Vincent, in Spain, to the western coast of the kingdom of Siam, an extent of* 71,600 *stad. with a variation from truth of no more than* 160 *stad. or of four leagues out of* 1,722, *or* $\frac{1}{113}$ *part of the whole distance!*

We shall give one example more of M. Gosselin's dexterity in this practice. Pliny says, that the length of the Mediterranean was, according to the calculations of Agrippa, 3,440 mille passus, =27,520 olympic stadia, or, on the parallel of 36°, to 56° 41′ 38″. Here, says M. Gosselin, Agrippa was deceived to the amount of 15° 11′ 38″, the true distance being only 41° 30′. But, according to M. Gosselin, if we take these stadia to be those of 833⅓ to a degree, it will produce 41° 51′, which is but 39′ different from the truth. Still, however, here are several circumstances taken for granted, of which we entertain a doubt. That the numbers ascribed by Pliny to Agrippa's calculations were erroneous is certain, and indeed Pliny entertained a suspicion of this kind himself, 'in quo haud scio an sit error numeri;' and this might arise from a discrepancy between these numbers and those of Polybius, which he had given just before, and which came very near the truth. Dr. Blair suggests, 'that an X, making a difference of a thousand miles, had been casually added to the numbers of Agrippa, which constituted in reality the excess,' (very nearly) 'above the true distance.' This seems the most natural way of accounting for the variation; but Pliny himself gives a specific reason for his suspicion of an error. Immediately after the words above cited, he adds, 'quoniam idem a Siculo freto Alexandriam cursus XII. L. tradidit.' The true distance from Messina to Alexandria, reckoned by middle latitudes, is 1,015 mille passus, and though Pliny might not know this accurately, yet he might, and probably did know, that 1,250 was above the truth, and this led him to suspect, that the part of the interval, which lay between the Streights and the Pillars, and indeed the whole distance from thence to Issus was over-rated also. The computation of the latter distance by Polybius, rather fell short of, than exceeded the truth, as the length of the Mediterranean appears by the Requisite Tables, and Arrowsmith's chart, to be

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be 2,496 Roman miles, or 48 miles above the collected numbers of Polybius. M. Gosselin, however, desires to reconcile to fact the numbers, as they stand; and therefore supposes, 'that the original numbers given by the surveyors were intended to signify stades of 833 ⅓ to a degree, but that Pliny, not being acquainted with this part of their system, reduced them to Roman measure, as if they had been Olympic stad. of 8 to a Roman mile, or of 600 to a degree.' This appears a very improbable conjecture. Agrippa, whose numbers are recorded by Pliny, was minister to Augustus at the time of the survey. Can we suppose, that such a man would publish a report of the measurement of the Roman empire, made by persons ignorant of the proportions which subsisted between the measures used in their own observations, and the Roman standard mile, by which, as we are told by Polybius, *all the distances in Spain, Gaul, and Italy, had been measured and marked out by mile stones; and this, after 25 years had been occupied in such examination?* Such persons would scarcely have merited the character of ' viros prudentissimos, & omni philosophiæ munere ornatos.'—Æthici Pref. ad Cosmograph.

We repeat our persuasion, that a stade, derived from the calculation of the earth's circumference by Archimedes, never had any existence as an itinerary measure. The calculation itself is only casually mentioned in the Arenarius, but no account is given of its origin, no deductions are drawn from it, nor is any stade founded on it, named, or alluded to by any writer of antiquity, with whom we are acquainted. In short, we cannot forbear expressing our opinion, that the Olympic stade of 600 to a degree was, among the ancient Greek writers, the only itinerary stade, and always to be understood, where stades are generally mentioned.

The same measure, although not professedly, was nevertheless virtually adopted by the Romans. The Peutingerian tables, and the itinerary of Antoninus, which express distances by Roman miles, correspond with the proportionate number of stadia given by other authors, of these distances according to Olympic measure. Tournefort remarks, that the distances on the southern coast of the Black Sea were computed according to the calculation of Arrian of eight stades to a mile, and it appears that those on the same coast marked in the Peutingerian tables in Roman miles agree with this stade, and with no other. Livy expresses many distances in mille passus, which were evidently copied from Polybius, and computed by him at the rate of eight stades to a Roman mile.

The dissertation on itinerary measures is followed by an explanation of the different modes of arranging the winds observed by the ancients, and a comparison of them with the compass card of the moderns. Here we wish to apprize our readers, that in-

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telligibility is scarcely attainable on the condition of a very rigorous brevity.

We object to the introductory remark of M. Gosselin, because it affects an accuracy which is not well supported.

'In order,' he says, 'to understand correctly what the ancients have delivered concerning the direction of the winds, we ought to recollect, that they changed, *at least six times*, the divisions in their systems, for the purpose of increasing the number of the appellations which they comprise, or of establishing the distribution of them upon different principles.' p. xcviii.

The intention of one of these alterations was certainly not to increase, but to abridge the number of denominations of the winds; for Pliny expressly says, 'secuta ætas octo addidit, nimis subtili (ratione scilicet) et concisa,' where he censures these minute subdivisions. He observes again, 'proximis inter utramque media (ratio nempe) placuit, ad brevem ex numerosâ additis quatuor.' But nothing occurs concerning the principles on which these alterations were made. M. Gosselin begins his account with an appearance of great simplicity, and presents his readers with a table or diagram of two winds. 'The ancient Greeks,' he says, 'divided the circle of the horizon into two parts only, and were acquainted with no more than two winds, the north and the south!' For this he refers to Thrasyalces, as cited by Strabo; but there is sufficient reason why he should not have appealed to such authority. 'Some writers,' says Strabo, 'assert, that there are two *principal* winds, the north and the south, and that the rest differ by a slight inclination to one or to the other of these.' Lib. 1. p. 42. Ed. Ox. In a subsequent passage he says, 'they produce the testimony of Thrasyalces, and of the poet himself, that there are two winds; (meaning, as we collect from the preceding extract, two *principal* winds;) but Posidonius affirms, that *no writers of celebrity on this subject*, as Aristotle, Timosthenes, and Bio the Astronomer, have treated of the winds in this manner.' Casaubon would have furnished M. Gosselin with an ancient system still more simplified, composed of *one* wind only. But Aristotle, in the passage to which he refers, speaks of the *physical* constitution of the winds in general, and reflects upon the refinement of those persons who would reduce them to one: 'whence,' says he, 'some who wish to speak learnedly, affirm that all the winds are one wind.' 'Wherefore,' he concludes, 'the multitude talk more correctly without learned research, than those who, with the aid of such research, speak in this manner.' Meteor. lib. i. c. xiii.

It appears, then, that M. Gosselin has adopted some exploded notions as the foundation of his first diagram. The real commencement

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mencement of an inquiry into the distribution of the winds is from the diagram which contains the four that blow from the cardinal points, or, as M. Gosselin properly distinguishes them, 'the winds of the north, Boreas; the winds of the east, Euros or Apeliotes; the winds of the south, Notos; and the winds of the west, Zephyros.' The title of the next section of M. Gosselin's disquisition, is, 'the card *(rose)* of eight winds, *used by Homer.*' Pliny, however, expressly says, that Homer names four only. 'Veteres quatuor omnino servavere, per totidem mundi partes (ideo nec Homerus plures nominat) secuta ætas octo addidit.' Lib. 2. c. 47.

M. Gosselin refers this system of eight winds to a period of 'more than ten centuries before the Christian æra', and asserts that the four secondary winds were disposed in the following manner:—Between the north and the east they placed the Boreas Euros, or the winds of the north-east; between the south and the east, the winds of the south-east, Notos Apeliotes; between the west and the south, the winds of the south-west, Argestes Notos; between the west and the north, the winds of the north-west, or Zephyros Boreas. This nomenclature, we must observe, is the author's own. He does not even pretend to produce any authority for some of these appellations. Boreas Euros, as a denomination of the north-east wind, is an unnecessary compound, because Boreas, without any addition, was specifically used to denote some wind in a direction between the north and east, after it had ceased to be employed to express the direct north. The term Zephyros Boreas must be rejected, because, as we have just seen, Boreas never signified a wind in any direction between the west and north. Neither do we find any such designation as Notos Apeliotes for any wind between the east and south. Our authority for censuring these innovations is, in part, the Tabula Ventorum in the first volume of the Oxford edition of Strabo. We say *in part*, because the systems of other writers might be added.

We have animadverted upon *this* table of eight winds, as a mere fabrication of M. Gosselin, although he introduces it with a kind of historical testimony in its favour, alleging, that 'more than ten centuries before the Christian æra, four secondary winds were added to the preceding;' namely, the four cardinal winds. We cannot, however, discover whence he took the appellations to which we have objected; certainly not from Strabo, the Temple of the Winds, the Geoponica, Agathemerus, Ptolemy, Vegetius, Pliny, Aristotle, or Vitruvius. 'Homer,' says M. Gosselin, 'used this table in his poems.'—Whenever the name of Homer occurs, we presume upon the attention of our readers. He is said 'to name two of the secondary winds, the Argestes Notos, which Posidonius says is the Leuco-Notos of the table of the Greeks of

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Alexandria, and the violent Zephyros or the west, which inclined to the north, Zephyros Boreas, (a name, as we observed above, no where to be found but in M. Gosselin's disquisition,) which Posidonius refers to the Argestes of the same system.' M. Gosselin further remarks, that 'this passage of Posidonius induced Casaubon to suppose that Homer had determined the situation of the four secondary winds from the place of the solstitial rising and setting of the sun.' This we cannot discover in the language of Casaubon, whose words are—He (Strabo) shews, from the opinion of Posidonius, how the appellations of the winds are to be understood. When the poet names the hard-blowing Zephyros, he means the wind which we call Argestes; by the gentle blowing Zephyros, he denotes the wind, properly called Zephyros; and by Argestes Notos the Leuco Notos. We cannot, however, even with all these helps, increase the number of winds beyond six.—The Argestes Notos could not be the Leuco Notos, because Argestes is applied to a wind north, or to a wind south of the west, but *never* to a wind south of the east. Posidonius, therefore, remarks that Argestes, in this passage of Homer, is to be considered as an epithet merely; (so indeed are the other appellations of the westerly winds, for which he has found corresponding technical terms;) and by thus relaxing the signification, he might be allowed to find its synonym on the south-east, which he could not have done if it had retained a scientific and definite import.

M. Gosselin has also some observations on a passage in Homer, in which he maintains that Zephyros and Boreas blow on the coast of Troy from Thrace. Eratosthenes, he adds, has censured it improperly, by comparing it with the system of twelve winds, which was in use at Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and Strabo has vindicated it upon imperfect information. The question is, what were the limits of Thrace at this period? It is amusing to see with what facility M. Gosselin decides it. 'It is sufficient,' says he, 'to recollect that, *at the time of Homer*, the name of Macedonia did not exist, and that the name of Thrace was given to all the tract of country comprehended between the Propontis and the Adriatic.'—We believe that this might be the case at some period or other, because Pliny gives a similar account of its extent, but the date when these limits were assigned is not quite so certain. M. Gosselin has another explanation, which, if founded on ancient testimony, would be likewise sufficient.

'The poet having visited the Troad, acquired there, with respect to the surrounding countries, notions which Strabo had not, because he had not been in that part of Asia. Thus, to explain Homer, this geographer supposes that the western parts of Thrace extended more towards the south than they actually did.'

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We have no opportunity of knowing how defective the information of Strabo might be respecting Thrace, as the part of his work relating to this tract is unfortunately lost. Strabo imputes the censure of Homer by Eratosthenes not to his ignorance of the geography of this quarter, nor to his assumption of a subsequent arrangement of the winds, as a standard of the errors of the poet, but to a perverse and fastidious disposition.

We now proceed to the table of eight winds, d'après Aristote. We regret that we are so often under the necessity, not indeed of expressing a difference in opinion, but of contradicting M. Gosselin's statements. The table of winds, according to Aristotle, in the second book of his Meteorology, contains *twelve* instead of *eight*. Between Aparctias, the north, and Apeliotes, the east, are Boreas and Cæcias; between Apeliotes and Notos, the south, are Euros and Euronotos; between Notos and Zephyros, the west, are Libonotos and Libs; between Zephyros and Aparctias are Argestes and Thrascias. M. Gosselin says, that the construction of the octagonal tower of the winds is commonly referred to this system; but the regularity of its shape evinces that 'it cannot be so, since the collateral winds would be thus indicated in the most imperfect manner.' The architect, if we may rely upon Vitruvius, had no intention to provide particularly for 'the collateral winds' upon the faces of the sides. Some, he says, have supposed that there were four winds: but 'qui diligentius perquisiverunt, tradiderunt eos esse octo, maxime quidem Andronicus Cyrrhestes, qui etiam exemplum collocavit Athenis turrim marmoream octogonon.' M. Gosselin is of opinion that the antiquity of this monument is not so great as has been usually thought, because the regularity of its sides is a presumptive argument that 'it was built after the conquest of Greece by the Romans, and when the division of the winds according to amplitudes had been abandoned.' It is, at least, as probable that its date is anterior to the introduction of that mode of division. The testimony of Vitruvius will shew that it might be planned upon another principle, and may tend to explain why no portion of the sides was assigned to 'the collateral winds,' and authorise the conclusion that the antiquity of this edifice is greater than that ascribed to it by M. Gosselin. 'Fortasse,' says Vitruvius, 'mirabuntur ii, qui multa ventorum nomina noverunt, quod à nobis expositum sit tantum modo octo esse ventos. Si autem animadverterint orbis terræ circuitionem per solis cursum & gnomonis equinoctialis umbras ex inclinatione cœli ab Eratosthene Cyreneo, rationibus mathematicis & geometricis methodis esse inventam:' here he specifies the numbers, '*hujus autem octava pars quam ventus tenere videtur,*' and here he gives the eighth part of the preceding numbers, '*non debebunt mirari,*

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si in tam magno spatio unus ventus vagando inclinationibus & recessionibus varietates mutatione flatus faciat.' This last sentence will afford a sufficient explanation of the mode in which Vitruvius understood 'the collateral winds' to have their range in this system.

We pass to that of twelve winds, according to Timosthenes, the commander of the fleet of Ptolemy Philadelphus. We are disposed to suspect that this name has been selected merely to accord with the chronological prefaces, which M. Gosselin has prefixed to the account of each table of the winds. We do not see why it should have the name of Timosthenes rather than that of Aristotle. 'About the time of Alexander,' says M. Gosselin, 'four new winds were added to the table, and the number was increased to twelve.' We know not why the period of Ptolemy should be preferred to that of Alexander, except that the former coincided with M. Gosselin's historical arrangement, to which the latter would have been decidedly hostile. He concludes with the table of twenty-four winds, according to Vitruvius: to this we do not object. After all, the enumeration is not complete. M. Gosselin has overlooked the system of winds used by the author whose work he professes to illustrate, agreeing neither with that of the Tower at Athens, nor that which he ascribes to Aristotle. There is added a catalogue of synonyms of the winds, which are chiefly local. Our limits will not permit us to examine them in detail; but we would recommend our readers not to use them for the purposes of argument, or classification, till they have been verified. The disquisition is very deficient in the account of the Etesian winds, and the properties of the winds in general are wholly neglected. *

Of the translation itself, we cannot be expected, for the reasons already given, to say much. The edition of the original, which has been followed, is that of Casaubon, printed at Paris in 1620. The splendid edition of Janson of Almeloveen, printed at Amsterdam in 1707, does not contain any new collations of MSS. nor any emendation of the Latin version by Xylander. The choice of the edition of the original therefore is not injudicious. We had indeed once proposed to ourselves to compare the notes of M. Gosselin with those of the Oxford editor, but the number of unpublished éclaircissemens which are promised, amounting to no less than 117 in the first book, consisting of 172 pages, precludes in a great measure any decision upon the critical merit of the transla-

* It has been said, that 'the arrangement of the different winds, mentioned in ancient authors according to the points of the compass, contains little more than the account given by Coray in his edition of Hippocrates,' we venture to assert, that it contains much less. The tabular view of Mr. Coray contains the systems of a greater variety of authors, and the catalogue explains the 'qualities of the winds.'

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tion, as well as upon the value of the illustrations, and their originality. In the notes subjoined to the translation, we discover that M. Gosselin is not, what he terms, a partizan of Homer, and he endeavours to accommodate the early geography to his own hypothesis of the limited knowledge which the poet had of the habitable world. We shall now, without further anticipation, proceed to our remarks.

Page 2. We apprehend that the following passage of the author is not correctly rendered by the French translator: Ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀφέλεια ποικίλη τὶς ἅσα κ. τ. λ. Enfin la science géographique donne tant d'avantages pour se conduire dans la vie civile, et dans les affaires de gouvernement. Strabo is shewing that the study of geography was a branch of true philosophy. He first observes, that the speculative science, which was necessary for a geographer, was also characteristic of a philosopher: and secondly, that the practical utility of those branches of knowledge which a geographer must study, entitled him to the same rank; inasmuch as it is the business of philosophy to promote the art of living, and human happiness.

Page 19. The word astronomiques has been unnecessarily substituted for météorologiques in this passage: La géographie, specialement dite, paroît donc s'unir en quelque sorte aux études astronomiques et géométriques. Elle embrasse et les phénomènes terrestres et les phénomènes célestes comme choses tres-voisines, et non point séparées autant "que le ciel est distant de la terre."'—There is a good note of Casaubon, which shews that meteorology was a branch of astronomy. But Strabo seems to have in view the opinions and doctrine of Democritus, whom, in the commencement of his work, he has ranked among those who combined the pursuits of philosophy with the study of geography, '*qui primus* (says Pliny) *intellexit ostenditque cum terris cæli societatem*, præviss olei caritate ex futuro vergiliarum ortu,' &c.—Lib. xviii. c. 28.

Page 23. M. Gosselin refers to Pelorum the story of Pelorus, the pilot of Hannibal; but the Oxford editor has more judiciously observed from Bochart, that Pelorum was named antecedently to the time of Hannibal.

Page 61. M. Gosselin has adopted a note of Casaubon respecting the birth-place of Homer, as if it were Chios; the Oxford editor reconciles Strabo with Thucydides, and the hymn to Apollo ascribed to Homer, by interpreting the words οἰκῶν δὲ Χίῳ, as relating not to the place of the poet's birth, but to the place of his residence at that time.

Page 208. ὁλοσχερῶς τινι τύπῳ sommairement. Presque tous les exemples cités dans les lexiques ordinaires, paroissent donner à ce terme la signification de parfait, d'absolu, d'entier. Ici Strabon lui

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lui donne celle d'imparfait, général, de en gros, en somme. The Oxford editor has explained it as denoting a certain figure which should comprehend the whole, but not relate to the minute details of geography.

Page 213. We think the diagram drawn to explain the reasoning of Hipparchus, is less complex in the Oxford edition.

Page 221. M. Gosselin has a very careless note on Mesene. 'It comprehended,' he says, 'the low and sandy tract through which the Euphrates flowed before its entrance into the Persian gulph. The name of Mesene extended a little to the west of the river.' Stephanus Byzantin speaks of Mesene as encompassed by the Tigris, where it separates into two branches. There was also an island of this name at the mouth of the Tigris, mentioned by Dion Cass. and Philostorgius, cited by the Oxford editor.

Page 229. The Oxford editor seems to have understood the passage more correctly than M. Gosselin respecting the censure of Eratosthenes by Hipparchus, who misrepresented his sentiments.

Page 257. M. Gosselin properly remarks, that Darius did not send persons to circumnavigate Africa. He therefore supposes, that the text of Strabo is altered in this place, and that we ought to substitute Necho for Darius. The Oxford editor thinks that the error is committed by Posidonius, and the text incorrupt.

Page 260. Lui fournirent de l'eau. Le texte porte *ὑγείας*, ce qui signiferoit, de la santé. Malgré l'uniformité de cette leçon dans tous les manuscrits, nous restons persuadés, comme l'ont été Xylander et Casaubon, qu'il faut lire *ὑδρείας*. In the Oxford edition Villebrun says, 'sic Par. 1. et bene; de victu.'

Page 384. M. Gosselin's note on the tract in Spain denominated Cuneus, has not superseded the learning of the Oxford editor. He has well remarked, that the word Cuneus is of Celtic and not of Greek or Latin origin.

Page 392. Le mont Calpe—que de loin, on le prendroit pour une île. Le texte porte *ηησιώδης*. The true reason of the name, Calpe, is the shape of the rock, which resembles that of an ancient hydria, or water vessel, and hence the Calpe on the Euxine Sea had the same appellation.

Page 401. Julia. M. Gosselin did not perceive that this name is probably incorrect. The Oxford editor has suggested *Οὐλία*, Ulia, and supported it with an admirable historical argument.

Page 404. Lieu nommé les Cotines. The note of the Oxford editor is better, because more decisive, than that of the French annotator. The Nubian geographer cited by the former supplies, if not the word itself, yet more than the vestiges of it.

Page 411. Les Saltiates. M. Gosselin proposes ΣΑΛΤΙΓΗΤΑΙ, a correction which we cannot but approve.

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Page 448. 'Ils se servent de vases de terre comme les Gaulois.' This is the version of the Greek, which, in the note, is thus explained: 'Le texte porte, de vases de cire ΚΗΡΙΝΟΙΣ δὲ ἀγγείοις, leçon qui se trouve sans variation, et dans toutes les versions. Bréquigny seul a mis dans sa traduction Françoise, des vases de verre; mais il s'est apperçu dans la suite, qu'il falloit lire ΚΗΡΑΜΕΟΙΣ δὲ ἀγγείοις des vases de terre. Casaubon s'est trompé d'une manière étrange en s'imaginant que les vases de cire pouvoient avoir quelque rapport avec ce que dit Diodore de Sicile de l'usage des Gaulois. Il est question, dans cet auteur, des rayons de miel (car il faut y lire κηρία au lieu de κήρινα dont les Gaulois, après en avoir exprimé le miel, lavoient le marc, afin de se servir ensuite de ce lavage, soit seul, ou mêlé avec de la bière.' The Greek passage is, Κηρίνοις δὲ ἀγγείοις χρῶνται, καθάπερ οἱ Κελτοί. We are of opinion that the true meaning is not yet ascertained; for many commentators seem to think, that the epithet is descriptive of the materials of these vessels, whereas it is more probable, that it indicates their use and the nature of their contents. No alteration of the text of Strabo is necessary, and all the MSS. agree in reading κηρίνοις. We had interpreted it beer vessels on the authority of the following passage of Pliny, which furnishes the origin of the word in question, and which seems to have been hitherto overlooked. 'Ex iisdem fiunt & potus, zythum in Ægypto, CÆLIA & CERIA IN HISPANIA, CERVISIA & plura genera in Gallia, aliisque provinciis.' Lib. xxii. c. 25, ad fin. The French note gives the meaning in conformity with the note and version in Diodorus Siculus. This writer observes, that the country of the Gauls produces neither wine nor oil. Deprived of these productions, therefore, the natives prepare from barley a species of drink called zythos—then follows this passage; καὶ τὰ ΚΗΡΙΑ πλύνοντες, τῷ τούτων ἀπονιπλύματι χρῶνται. Lib. v. p. 350. Ed. Wess.. which is thus translated by Rhodoman: 'favos etiam aqua diluunt, dilutumque hoc potum illis præstat.' The note is to this purport. 'Auctor oenomeli designat, aut certè ζύθος πυρινον μετὰ μέλιτος ἐσκευασμένον, uti Posidonius in Athen. lib. iv. p. 152. C.' Casaubon has written κηρίνα in the extract from Diodorus, which the French annotator thinks does not relate to the same subject. We propose the following version of Diodorus; 'and when they have washed out the beer vessels, they use or drink the washings of them.' After ΚΗΡΙΑ we supply ἀγγεῖα. Toup suggests κεραΐνοις, but we apprehend, that the misinterpretation has arisen from directing the attention to the materials of which these vessels were made. We do not determine whether ΚΗΡΙΑ, or ΚΗΡΙΝΑ be the most proper, because the substantive of which these are derivatives, is not accurately known, except from the analogy afforded by the passage of

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of Pliny. Diodorus mentions the eagerness of the Gauls to indulge in excessive drinking, and seems to produce the above, as one instance of this disposition. The Latin term cervisia preserves the elementary letters of the obsolete Welsh word korev, signifying beer. The following passage from a Spanish writer concerning the use of this liquor in his native country is so far curious, as it illustrates one of the indigenous names mentioned by Pliny. 'Postmodum diu obsidione conclusi Numantini duabus de subitò portis cuncti eruperunt, larga prius potione usi, non vini, cujus ferax is locus non est, sed succo tritici per artem confecto, quem succum a calefaciendo celiam vocant.' Paulus Orosius, lib. v. c. 7.

We conclude for the present our examination of this important work. The text has been occasionally corrected, by the assistance of six MSS. of the Imperial Library, numbered 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, and 1408, an account of which is to be found in the preface to the edition by Siebenkees, p. xxxiii. and additional particulars respecting some of them in the preface to the Oxford edition by Mr. Falconer. The readings of other MSS. have been collected from Siebenkees, who obtained the only collations, those of the Vatican MSS. which the Oxford editor failed to procure. The number of '*éclaircissemens*,' to which constant references occur in the first book, is reduced very much in the second, and there are few, if any, in the third.

We think that the author might have consulted with advantage Schoënemann's Dissertation on the Geography of Homer, and Seidel's edition of the fragments of Eratosthenes. In comparing the annotations of M. Gosselin and the Oxford editor, we observe that the opinions of the ancient astronomers and geographers on speculative topics are subjoined more at large to the French version of the first and second books; and that the Oxford editor has not pursued this part of the subject with so much minuteness, and to such an extent; but the learning of M. Gosselin is frequently deprived of its full merit, by a constant endeavour to systematize every independent fact, and to reconcile, by means of measures of varying quantities, computations and measurements, which derive their value from the very differences which he would remove.

M. Gosselin has added maps to illustrate the notions of the ancients, and Strabo in particular, respecting the habitable world, but he has not explained the geography of Spain, the subject of the third book, by any chorographical table whatever. We have already observed that M. Coray was selected to assist in the translation; we were therefore somewhat surprised to find so eminent a scholar spoken of in terms of contempt, and charged with having ignorantly introduced 'the leaven of modern Greek into many of his remarks on Hippocrates and Herodotus.' If he rejected an atticism, it was because

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because he did not think it necessary to reduce the Greek of Strabo to that standard of purity: but till the corrections of the text shall be assigned to their respective authors, we would restrain our censure in deference to the opinion of Schweighaeuser: 'Denique eximium ac prorsus singulare decus ac præsidium est, quo hoc nostrum institutum ornare voluit vir doctus Adamantes CORAY, Smyrnensis, ut Medicinæ Doctor solertissimus, sic in Græcarum literarum, quæ ei vernaculæ sunt, exquisitiori studio verissimus Valckenarianæ & Ruhnkenianæ scholæ alumnus; qui suas in plurima difficiliora vexataque Athenæi loca emendationes & adnotationes, non minus profunditate eruditionis, quam ingenii acumine insignes ultro mihi obtulit communicavitque.' Præf. in Athen. p. cxvii, cxviii.

M. De La Porte Du Theil has the care of the Greek MSS. in the Paris Library, and is the author of several memoirs in the collection of the papers of the French academy. M. Gosselin is known by his learned publications on ancient geography. We have had occasion to censure this work in various parts, but we still consider it as an accession to the literature of the century; and although we cannot adopt every opinion and emendation, yet they are the result of too much learning to justify the neglect of them, and indeed they may worthily exercise the talents and erudition of any future editor or translator of Strabo.

ART. II. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul; being the Substance of Observations made during a Mission to that Country, in the Year* 1793. By Colonel Kirkpatrick. Illustrated with a Map and other Engravings. 4to. pp. 386. London. Miller. 1811.

TO the advertisement announcing the publication of the work before us, is appended the following notice:

'N. B. This volume is dedicated to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and is the first published account of a country hardly known even by name, and is almost a blank in the maps of India.'

We notice this little flourish, because it is calculated to mislead. It contains, in fact, no less than three mistakes in the compass of as many lines. In the first place, it is not the 'first published account' of Nepaul. In the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, there is a very curious and interesting description of this country, communicated by Sir John Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, from the works of Giuseppè Bernini, prefect of the Roman missions, who resided at Lellit Pattan, a city of Nepaul, for

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for many years. Secondly, this country 'hardly known even by name,' is not only known, but described, by Major Rennell, in his 'Memoir of a Map of Hindostan.' It is mentioned with its capital Catmandu and river Bhagmutty, in Captain Turner's account of the extraordinary peregrinations of the Fakeer Praun Poori, a narrative of which, communicated by Governor Duncan, is also in the Asiatic Researches, where the name of Nepaul occurs at least in fifty different places. It is described in Pinkerton's 'modern Geography,' in Guthrie's 'geographical Grammar,' and in every gazetteer published within the last twenty years. And thirdly, instead of being 'almost a blank in the maps of India,' we find it laid down, pretty much in detail, in Major Rennell's Map, published in 1788; in Arrowsmith's 'Map of Asia,' 1801, and particularly in his 'Map of India,' 1804, in which Catmandu and the other cities and towns of note, the various hills, and rivers, the latter all tributary branches of the Ganges, are distinctly marked.

That the information respecting Nepaul, and the tract of country intervening between it and Cashmir to the westward, is both scanty and inaccurate, we are ready to admit; and when it is considered that the frontier of Bengal borders on Nepaul, that the horizontal distance from the former to the capital of the latter does not exceed seventy miles, it may be thought remarkable that a more frequent and intimate intercourse has not been established. But the truth is, that these mountaineers are exceedingly jealous of their British neighbours, who, on their part, are restrained by difficulties of a physical as well as political nature. As some account of those mountainous regions, and particularly of Nepaul, may serve as an useful introduction to Colonel Kirkpatrick's book, we are induced to draw up a summary sketch of what is known of them.

That portion of those elevated regions of Tartary, which lie to the westward of Thibet, is separated from the plains of Hindostan by an immense chain of mountains, running in the direction W.N.W. and E.S.E. called Himmaleh, or more properly Himmalaya, a term in the Sanscrit language signifying 'the abode of snow.' This great chain is supposed by Major Rennell to be a continuation of the Emodus and Paropamisus of the ancients, the Imaus of Pliny, *incolarum lingua nivosum significante,* and to be equal in height to any of the mountains of the old hemisphere, being commonly, we may add eternally, covered with snow, and visible from the plains of Bengal, at the distance of 150 miles. About that part of this magnificent barrier, in whose bosom lies the secluded valley of Cashmir, a number of inferior mountains branch out towards the plains of Hindostan, and, at the distance of 80 or 100 miles from the

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the Himmalaya, form a connected range, continuing in a direction parallel to the former, along the provinces of Lahore, Oude, Bahar and Bengal. Of the height of that part which borders on Bengal, we may form a tolerable idea from the following passage of Major Rennell: 'The southernmost ridge of the Bootan mountains rises near a mile and a half perpendicular above the plains of Bengal, in a horizontal distance of only fifteen miles; and from the summit the astonished traveller looks back on the plains, as on an extensive ocean beneath him.'

Between the Himmalaya and this inferior chain is included a series of plains and valleys, distributed into a number of petty states, which, commencing with Cashmir and proceeding eastward, occur in the following succession: 1. Sirinagur. 2. Kemaoon. 3. Chowbeisia, or the Country of the Twenty-four Rajahs. 4. Gorka. 5. Nepaul. 6. Bootan. 7. Assam; and 8. an unknown tract of country included in the remarkable bend of the Burampooter, where its course takes a westerly direction into the province of Bengal.

Skirting the feet of this ridge, and verging on the provinces above-mentioned, is a broad belt of country, from 15 to 20 miles in width, of swamps, jungle and forests, abounding with elephants, tygers, leopards, buffaloes, and all the wild and ferocious beasts of India. The whole of this tract is so loaded with infectious vapours, that it is very thinly inhabited. Few travellers venture even to cross it, excepting perhaps pilgrims from Hindostan, or petty traders from Thibet and Bootan. That part of the belt opposite to Nepaul is called Turyani, (swampy ground,) where, we are told by Father Guiseppe, 'people in their passage catch a disorder called in the language of the country, *aul:*' it is a putrid fever, of which the generality of those who are attacked with it die in a few days.

The Rajah of Bootan, however, notwithstanding all the dangers and difficulties of the passage, contrived to march an army into British Bengal, and to plunder the inhabitants on the frontier. The Teshoo Lama, then regent of Thibet during the minority of the Delai Lama, fearful of the consequences of this unprovoked attack, deemed it expedient to dispatch a conciliatory vakeel to Calcutta. His mediation was accepted; and in 1774 Mr. Bogle carried back the answer of the Governor General to the Teshoo Lama. This was the first time that any Englishman had crossed the mountains; nor does it appear that any farther communication was held with that country till the death of the Lama at Pekin led to the subsequent discovery of his imperishable soul in the body of an infant; upon which occasion, in 1783, Mr. Hastings dispatched Captain Turner to present his congratulations to the baby Lama at

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Thibet, of which an interesting account has been given to the public.

The intercourse again ceased till the year 1792, when intelligence was received at Calcutta that the Rajah of Nepaul had commenced hostilities against the Rajah of Bootan, by crossing the mountains, plundering the city of Teshoo Lomboo, the residence of the young Lama, and driving the whole fraternity of Gylongs, or priests, to the other side of the Burampooter. The Emperor of China, under whose immediate protection the Grand Lama has long considered himself, and to whom Thibet is tributary, caused a numerous army to be collected, which, after some skirmishing, succeeded in driving the Nepaulese into their own territories. The Rajah, in his turn, now became alarmed, and applied for assistance to the English. The Governor General declined interfering, except as a mediator, and, in that capacity, Colonel Kirkpatrick was dispatched to the Chinese General, with instructions to take Nepaul in his way. In the mean time, however, the Rajah had found it expedient to make peace with the Chinese, at the expense of restoring all the booty which he had taken, and acknowledging himself a tributary to the Emperor of China: and, for the better security of the peace, and payment of the tribute, a number of military posts were established by the Chinese on the ridges of the hills which divide Nepaul from Bootan. Colonel Kirkpatrick, having reached Patna before he was apprized of these occurrences, determined to continue his journey as far at least as Nepaul, which he reached on the 3d of March, 1793.

Since that time no intercourse seems to have taken place till 1801, when Lord Wellesley sent an ambassador to Catmandu. Doctor Buchanan, availing himself of this opportunity, resided in the country for some time, and is said to have written a circumstantial account of it, which however is locked up for the present among the records of Leadenhall Street; for what reason we pretend not to divine. But the Doctor, it seems, 'obligingly communicated his MS.' to Mr. Pinkerton, who has not very 'obligingly' compressed the 'important information' with which he says it abounds,' within the compass of a short note; the substance of which is, 'that Nepaul is an immense plain;' that 'the chain of mountains which immediately bounds Hindostan on the north is called Binda, or Vinda; that 'the goitre or swelled throat is not uncommon;' that 'the people are very black, though surrounded with mountains covered with perpetual snow;' that 'sheep with four horns are the common beasts of burden;' that 'the best fruits are oranges and pine-apples;' that Catmandu, the residence of the court, is neatly built, the houses being often of three floors;' that 'a guard of females, armed with swords, attend the princess on horseback,

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horseback, riding astride like men;' that 'they are chosen for their beauty;' and 'that their licentiousness is equal to their charms.'

The information from Father Guiseppe is more in detail. From him we learn that, from the summits of the surrounding mountains, the plain of Nepaul exhibits a vast amphitheatre, over the surface of which lie scattered a number of cities, towns and villages, swarming with population. That the three principal cities are Catmandu, Lelit Pattan, and Bhatgan; the first containing 18,000, the second 24,000, and the third 12,000 houses, generally built of brick, and three or four stories high. The streets are paved with brick or stone, in a regular slope to carry off the water, which runs through all of them in small canals. In the gardens of the royal palace at Catmandu there are fountains of clear water. In all the towns are verandas for the accommodation of travellers and the public, and near them square tanks with flights of stone steps, for the convenience of those who may be inclined to bathe; that of Catmandu is represented as of good workmanship, and two hundred feet on each side. The temples are said to vie in splendour with those of the most populous and flourishing cities of Christendom. One of these near Lelit Pattan is described as peculiarly magnificent: the court is paved with blue marble, inlaid with flowers of bronze. From the edges of the cupolas and roofs of the pyramids are suspended a number of little bells, which, with the slightest breeze, emit a tinkling sound. The religion of the inhabitants is of two kinds; but no dissentions arise among them on that account. There was but one Mussulman in the whole country, a Cashmirian merchant, who administered to their wants, supplied them with conveniences, and locked up his Koran in his closet. The votaries of Brahma and of Buddh equally enjoy their festivals and processions without interruption or molestation from each other. The king and the court join in these processions with the inhabitants indiscriminately. Almost every day is a festival. Sometimes the idols are removed from the temples, and drawn through the streets with songs and musical instruments. On such occasions every thing wears the appearance of gaiety and joy.

Who would not suppose, from this description, that the 'Happy Valley' of the Prince of Abyssinia was realized in that of Nepaul! Surrounded on all sides by high and almost impassable mountains, the natives are secluded from the rest of mankind, and form a little world within themselves. 'The sides of those mountains are covered with trees; the banks of the brooks are diversified with flowers; every blast shakes spices from the rocks, and every month drops fruits upon the ground:' but though the 'blessings of nature are here collected,' are its evils excluded? Do the 'sages who instruct the sons and daughters of Nepaul, tell them of nothing but

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the miseries of public life, and describe all beyond the mountains as regions of calamity, where discord is always raging, and where man preys upon man?' Is such in reality the happy lot of the Nepaulese? Alas! man is every where the same—restless, dissatisfied, the slave of opinion, and the victim of passion.

The three cities above-mentioned were the capitals of three districts, governed by as many Rajahs: a dissention arising among them, the neighbouring Rajah of Gorka marched an army across the mountains, laid siege to Cirtipour, took possession of the passes leading to Nepaul, and, with the view of starving the natives, caused every person endeavouring to supply the country to be hanged. 'It was a most horrid spectacle,' says the good Father, 'to behold so many people hanging on the trees in the road.' In this distress, the King of Catmandu implored assistance from the English. The English were willing enough to afford it, and a detachment under Captain Kinloch crossed the Turyani for this purpose; but half of his troops died of the *aul*, and the remainder were unable to pass the mountains. Three times was the Rajah of Gorka repulsed from Cirtipour; but at length he succeeded through the means of some traitorous Brahmins, (being himself of that cast,) who induced the people to surrender the town, on the promise of a general amnesty. The Rajah, however, 'put to death all the principal inhabitants, and cut off the noses and lips of the rest, (even of infants, who were not found in the arms of their mothers,) changing, at the same time, the name of the place into Naskatapur, which signifies *the town of cut-noses.*' This is no oriental allegory. 'Many of them,' says the Jesuit, 'put an end to their lives in despair; others came in great bodies to us in search of medicines; and it was most shocking to see so many living people with their teeth and noses resembling the skulls of the deceased.'

The three great cities were successively surrendered to the Rajah of Gorka; their nobles, after promise of protection, were put to death, and their bodies mangled. The King of Catmandu died of a wound which he received in the foot; the King of Lelit Pattan was confined in irons till his death, and the King of Bhatgan, being much advanced in years, was allowed to go and die at Benares. Thus in 1769 the Rajah of Gorka got complete possession of the whole of Nepaul, and united the two countries under one government, which has continued in his family ever since.

Those of our readers who are not much conversant in Asiatic knowledge, will be somewhat better prepared, from the sketch here given, to follow us in the examination of Colonel Kirkpatrick's book. 'The cursory observations' which it contains, (we are told in the preface,) were written 'expressly, if not solely, for the information of the Bengal Government, and of the Court of Directors, and certainly

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certainly with no view to future publication. It was not indeed till ten years after, on the writer's return to England, that after declining to undertake the task himself, he consented, at the instance of some private friends, that the manuscript should be put into the hands of a literary gentleman, for the purpose of its being properly prepared to meet the public eye.' p. 12.

It seems, however, that as a subsequent mission to Nepaul had taken place, the 'literary gentleman' waited, in the hope of 'engrafting' some new, and 'probably more correct information,' (we suppose from Dr. Buchanan's account,) on the manuscript of Colonel Kirkpatrick; but in this expectation he was disappointed, and his death put a stop to the intended publication. The present publisher then endeavoured to engage the original writer of the observations to revise the manuscript, and to give it the form which it was to have received from the literary gentleman before alluded to. All his endeavours, however, were fruitless, and he therefore resolved to publish it in its original shape, without any other alteration than that of dividing it into chapters.

We cannot help thinking that Colonel Kirkpatrick did exceedingly wrong, in the first instance, in consenting to have his MS. 'prepared for publication' by any 'literary gentleman' whatever. To those who read for information, a simple statement of facts, and an accurate description of objects, are the best recommendations. In works of this kind the dress of truth should be plain and unadorned. On this ground, we rejoice that the narrative of Colonel Kirkpatrick did not pass through the refining furnace of Mr. Lawrence Dundas Campbell, the 'literary gentleman' in question. The author was right, however, in refusing to mould his materials into a new shape after a lapse of eighteen years. In works of taste and imagination 'second thoughts' may sometimes be adopted with advantage; but the visible objects of nature and art can be delineated only with fidelity while passing immediately before the senses, when the observations and reflections arising out of them are also most likely to be just. Time seldom fails to give to the recollection of objects a new shape, a fresh colouring, and a false proportion. We are disposed therefore to forgive the publisher the little deception already noticed, since he has now offered to the world the genuine narrative, as it passed out of the hands of Colonel Kirkpatrick.

It would afford but little amusement were we to follow our traveller in his detail of bad roads, through swamps and forests, along the beds of rivers, over rocks and mountains and 'frightful precipices;' or to transcribe the long and unintelligible names of heights, forts, passes, &c. which, however useful in a military or political

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point of view, can excite no interest in the general reader. We prefer rather to glean from his work as concise an account as it will admit, *first*, of Nepaul and its natural products; *secondly*, of the several classes, occupations, and conditions of its inhabitants; and *thirdly*, of the government, with its civil, religious, and military institutions.

1°. The Bhâgmutty river, at the small town of Munniary, separates the province of Bengal from the territory of Nepaul. From this town to Catmandu, the horizontal distance, on Colonel Kirkpatrick's map, is about sixty-six miles, due north; and the nearest road distance at least one hundred. The country for the first ten miles is pretty open, but not much cultivated. Two or three miserable hamlets only occurred in this part of the route; but the ruins of an ancient and extensive city, called Semroun, and of a very considerable tank, sufficiently indicated that this district had once been in a more flourishing state. The Bharaghurry town is a mean place, containing from thirty to forty huts, with a wretched fort. It was here that the progress of Captain Kinloch's detachment was arrested in 1769.

The next ten miles were chiefly through a magnificent forest, containing a great variety of useful timber, particularly the Saul, the Sissoo, the Setti-saul, and many others whose trivial names would convey but little information. This level tract of country is the Turyani mentioned by Guiseppe, the atmosphere of which subjects its few inhabitants to the *aul* or jungle fever, a malady said by Colonel Kirkpatrick to resemble the *malaria* of Switzerland. There is not perhaps a more fertile spot in all Hindostan than this belt of forests and swamps; but the want of population leaves it a neglected waste. Those who are doomed to reside upon it are chiefly employed in catching elephants, numbers of which are annually sent to the valley of Nepaul to be disposed of by the Rajah in presents, or in commutation of occasional services and pecuniary demands. These animals are caught by nooses thrown over their necks by a man seated on a decoy elephant. It is obvious that young ones only can be taken by this method. Colonel Kirkpatrick is of opinion that the Turyani might be turned to much better account.

'Its extensive forests might be made to supply with valuable timber, not only the countries washed by the Ganges, but even our other settlements in India. The pines of the Bechiacori, and the Saul-trees, both of that and the Jhurjoory forests, are not perhaps surpassed in any other part of the world, either for straightness or dimensions, or probably for strength or durability. Besides timber for masts and yards, we could draw from hence whatever supplies of pitch, tar, and turpentine, we required. Neither the tar of America, nor the pine spars from thence, would

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would appear to be in much estimation in India, though, for want of better, I suppose, we take off, it is said, from the American traders considerable quantities of both at high prices.' p. 43.

Now, we must confess, it does appear to us not a little mysterious why the Americans should meet with this extraordinary encouragement to dispose of their cargoes in our own territories, abounding as they do with lumber of a much superior kind, and surrounded by others possessed of similar advantages. The Ghauts on the western side of the peninsula, as well as the great belt of forests which runs across it, from the source of the Indus to the borders of China, are filled with teak and other valuable timber, well suited for all naval purposes. The Saul affords the finest spars in the world, their stems running generally to one hundred feet without a branch, and in girt from eight to ten feet. The Sulla pine, which is most abundant upon all the heights immediately behind these forests, is probably more productive of resinous matter than any known species of this genus. 'The turpentine,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'adhering to those parts of the trees, in which incisions had been made, exactly resembled icicles, not only in transparency and colour, but also in its crystallized figure.' p. 109.—It may be added, that the branches of the rivers which pass through these forests, all unite in the Ganges, and that most of them are navigable during the rainy season; the produce might therefore easily be conveyed to Calcutta by water carriage. The common hemp, the cannabis sativa, is here met with growing spontaneously, as it does, in fact, in every part of the peninsula; but its fibre not being superior, if indeed equal, to that of the crotularia juncea, which admits of easier cultivation and management, the latter is preferred for cordage and canvas. Both of these articles are capable of being produced in any quantity, and of a quality equal at least to those manufactured in Europe from the best Riga hemp. We are warranted in asserting that, at the ports on the Malabar coast, any quantity of clean dressed hemp can be delivered as cheap as in the ports of Russia, notwithstanding the Company's restrictions; and, we will venture to add, that it might be done at one half of the price, if these restrictions were removed, and due encouragement given to the native cultivators. The private merchant, however, is prohibited from holding out to the farmers any such encouragement. The charms of monopoly, the terrors of colonization, and not improbably private interests, have hitherto unhappily prejudiced the Court of Directors against the attempts of individuals to increase the cultivation of this most important article of consumption in the navy, upon the regular supply of which the safety of the empire may in some measure be said to depend. It is nearly the same with regard to most of the internal

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products of India; and thus are the inexhaustible resources of the finest country on the face of the globe rendered of little or no avail to the possessors. It is this, among a thousand other instances that might be adduced, which loudly calls for some modification at least of the terms on which the Company hold their exclusive privilege.

If, however, these lords of the soil have done little for the general interests of the mother country, we are far from denying them the merit of having very materially bettered the condition of the natives of Hindostan. By the active and judicious interference of their servants, the unnatural customs of women burning themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, of parents murdering their own children, of zealots disfiguring and distorting their bodies, have nearly been abolished. By the permanent settlement of the revenue, by which the sum to be drawn from the respective provinces is fixed, and by the recognition of a proprietary right in the landholder, encouragement has been held out for the accumulation of private property, and a stimulus afforded to call into activity the genius and industry of the natives. By the conquest of the country, gained it is true at a great expense of blood and treasure, but fairly and honourably gained from the grasp of invaders and usurpers, thirty millions of people, at the lowest estimation, have been relieved from the galling yoke of Mahomedan despotism: but a senseless religion, and a degrading distinction of cast, still continue, by their baneful influence, to crush the genius and enfeeble the best faculties of the human mind. In eradicating these, the Company's servants have yet made little or no progress. Equally unsuccessful have they been in the promotion of Christian knowledge among a people who appear, from their habits and natural disposition, so eminently qualified to receive it. We have abundant proof that this most desirable object is not to be effected by a few solitary missionaries, who are neglected and discountenanced by the ruling powers, and, for that very reason, regarded by the Hindoos as the Sudras or even Pariars of Europe. The Hindoo, untutored in every thing but the superstitions of the Brahmins, has no means of forming a judgment beyond what example affords him; and the influence of example on this point, we are sorry to say, is totally wanting. In vain does he look for any 'outward and visible sign' of religion among those by whom he is governed.—But we quit this painful subject, and return to the work before us.

On leaving the forest, the road lay along the bank of a river as far as the pass of the Cheriaghaté hills, when the dry bed of the Sukté served as a path as far almost as the highest summit, which, by the indication of the barometer, was about 1,500 feet. Two villages only occurred in the distance of twenty miles, those of Muck-

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Muckwanpore and Hettowra, the latter much the largest, yet containing only fifty or sixty miserable houses. Here the mountains become so steep and rugged, that all sorts of merchandize must be transported on the shoulders of the hill-porters, the rate of whose labour is regulated by the government. The saul, sissoo, and simul trees abound in the hills about Hettowra; but there are not many pines. The mineral contents of these hills are various, and some of the ores indicate the presence of iron, copper, and other metals. We know how easy it is to communicate the magnetic virtue to iron; but we must be allowed to doubt the efficacy of Colonel Kirkpatrick's receipt for making magnets. 'Among others was a stone, which appeared to be an ordinary iron ore, but of which I was told they made a magnet, by wrapping it up in a fresh buffaloe hide, and depositing it, in this state, for a certain time in the earth.' p. 45.

From Hettowra to Dhoka-phede, our travellers crossed the Rapti river no less than twenty-four times in twelve miles. 'The perpetual roaring occasioned by the impetuous course of this stream over its rocky bed, adds wonderfully to the effect of the wild and picturesque scenery that adorns its lofty banks.' The hills which confine it are represented as being well clothed with trees. The height of Dhoka-phede is about 3,000 feet. At the small village of Cheesapany is a spring, the water of which was so cold as to sink the mercury in the thermometer from 67° to 48°. On the summit of the mountain of the same name is an insignificant fort, at the height of about 5,300 feet. The peaks rising out of this mountain are often covered with snow for a fortnight together. From one of these, says Colonel Kirkpatrick,

'The mountains of Himmaleh suddenly burst upon the view, rearing their numerous and magnificent peaks eternally covered with snow, to a sublime height, and so arresting the eye as to render it for some time inattentive to the beautiful landscape immediately below it, and in which Mount Chanderaghiri, and the valley of Chitling, with its meandering stream, form the most prominent objects.' p. 57.

The town of Tambeh-Kan, once flourishing and populous on account of the rich copper-mines in its neighbourhood, is now a miserable hamlet; but the Ekdunta hill exhibited a view of scattered cottages, some on the summits, some on the sides, and others in the bottoms of the enclosing heights, that was pleasing and picturesque. The fields were laid out, on the sloping sides of the hills, in terraces or steps for the convenience of irrigation. At the bottom of the valley is situated Chitlong, an inconsiderable place, but the first which wore the appearance of a town in the Nepaul territories. In this valley, on the night of the 27th February, the mercury

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mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer fell to 29°, and on the following morning the waters were frozen to a considerable thickness.

The height of the Chanderaghiri, or Mountain of the Moon, which separates Chitlong from Nepaul, is estimated at 6,000 feet above the level of the sea.

'From the summit of Chanderaghiri there is a most commanding prospect, the eye, from hence, not only expatiating on the waving valley of Nepaul, beautifully and thickly dotted with villages, and abundantly chequered with rich fields, fertilized by numerous meandering streams, but also embracing on every side a wide expanse of charmingly diversified country. It is the landscape in front, however, that here most powerfully attracts the attention; the scenery, in this direction, gradually rising to an amphitheatre, and successively exhibiting to the delighted view the cities and numberless temples of the valley below; the stupendous mountain of Sheoopoori, the still super-towering Jibjibia, clothed to its snow-capped peak with pendulous forests, and finally, the gigantic Himmaleh, forming the majestic back ground of this wonderful and sublime picture.' p. 69.

As our travellers approached the valley of Nepaul, the villages were more frequent; those that were scattered over the more mountainous parts of the track, owing to their romantic situation, 'constituted most agreeable prospects when seen from a distance; but on a nearer view the delusion vanished, being but too often succeeded by a picture, in which poverty and squalidness formed the most prominent figure.' p. 71.

The valley of Nepaul is described by Colonel Kirkpatrick as being from 40 to 50 miles only in circuit. By Father Guiseppe it is reckoned at 200 miles, and Dr. Buchanan calls it an immense plain. We think, therefore, that as, during the 'single week' in which the Colonel resided in Nepaul, 'all the mountains which encircle it, and almost every one of the numerous villages with which it is dotted, were perpetually shrowded either by clouds or a thick mist,' his topography must necessarily be very faulty. The valley, he tells us, is of an oval figure, surrounded by stupendous mountains, the highest of which, that on the north, is about 4,500, and that on the south 4,000 feet above the plain of Catmandu. From the former take their rise the Bhagmutty and Bisnmutty rivers, which meander through the valley, collecting in their courses to the southward, numberless little streams that trickle from the surrounding hills.

'Katmandu, the residence of the Rajah, stands on the east bank of the Bishnmutty, along which it stretches in length about a mile; its breadth is inconsiderable, no where exceeding half, and seldom extending beyond a quarter of a mile, its figure being said by the natives to resemble the Kobra, or scimetar of Daiby. The entrance to it from the westward, near which extremity of the valley it is situated, is by two slight bridges thrown over

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over the Bishnmutty, one of them at the north, the other near the south end of the town. The name is said to be derived from its numerous wooden temples, which are indeed, among the most striking objects it offers to the eye. These edifices are not confined to the body of the town, but are scattered over its environs, and particularly along the sides of a quadrangular tank or reservoir of water, situated a short way beyond the north-east quarter of the town, and called Rans-pokhra. Besides these Katmandu contains several other temples on a large scale, and constructed of brick, with two, three, and four sloping roofs, diminishing gradually as they ascend, and terminating pretty generally in pinnacles, which, as well as some of the superior roofs, are splendidly gilt, and produce a very picturesque and agreeable effect. The houses are of brick and tile with pitched or pent roofs; towards the street they have frequently enclosed wooden balconies of open curved work, and of a singular fashion, the front-piece instead of rising perpendicularly projecting in a sloping direction towards the eaves of the roof. They are of two, three, and four stories, and almost without a single exception of a mean appearance; even the Rajah's house being but a sorry building, and claiming no particular notice. The streets are excessively narrow, and nearly as filthy as those of Benares.'—p. 159.

Colonel Kirkpatrick does not reckon Catmandu, from the space which it occupies, to contain more than 5,000 houses, and a population of 50,000 souls; the subordinate towns within its jurisdiction, which are from 20 to 30, he estimates at 17,000 houses, and 170,000 inhabitants. The city of Patn is said to be a neater town than Catmandu; and Bhatgung to be superior to either of them, though less considerable in point of size; its 'palace and buildings are of more striking appearance, and its streets, if not much wider, are at all events much cleaner than those of the metropolis.' The town of Cirtipour is represented as very considerable. It was the reduction of this place which caused so much trouble to the Ghorka Rajah, that, in resentment, he mutilated, as we have seen, the faces of the inhabitants. 'We came to the knowledge of this fact,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'in consequence of observing among the porters, a remarkable number of noseless men.' We should have thought, that the 'knowledge of this fact' must have been familiar to the Colonel; the details of it having been published, some years before his mission, in the Transactions of that Society of which he was then a member.

The whole population of the valley is stated vaguely at half a million. The latitude of the northern part of it is computed at 27° 30′ North. Major Rennell estimates that of Catmandu, which we presume is meant as the northern part, at 28° 0′ North. The colonel indeed frankly confesses that, not understanding the management of the quadrant, the results of his computations were not considered as entitled to much confidence. Though the height of

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of the valley is calculated at 4000 feet above the level of the sea, and that of the surrounding mountains at 8000, yet the mercury in the thermometer once rose to 87°, and the usual height was from 81° to 84° in the middle of the day. A little after sunrise, it was generally from 50° to 54°; at nine in the evening it fluctuated from 62° to 66°; the mean temperature was 67°. 'The climate,' he says, "may be compared with that of the south of Europe; sometimes a sprinkling of snow, and now and then a hoar frost covers the ground. When the northern, or Himmalayan, blast blows, which is but seldom, it is severe and destructive. The inhabitants have the means of varying the climate, by ascending the heights, from a heat equal to that of Bengal, to the cold of Russia. The rains set in about the middle of April and break up in October, during which time the valley is occasionally inundated. The Hindoo records concerning the Himmalayan mountains, represent the valley of Nepaul as having been originally a great lake; and in corroboration of such an opinion, Colonel Kirkpatrick thinks that all the arguments of Major Rennell, to prove that this was the case with regard to the valley of Cashmir, apply with conclusive force to the valley of Nepaul. Could we, indeed, for a moment, conceive the grand breach in the southern mountains to be choaked up, through which the united streams of Nepaul rush upon the plains of Hindostan, the valley must very speedily assume the appearance of a magnificent lake.

The peach, the raspberry, strawberry, walnut, and mulberry, are among the spontaneous productions of the valley, and surrounding hills. They have oranges 'superior to those of Silket, and probably not to be surpassed by any in the world.' The guavas are good, pine-apples not bad, ananas indifferent. Rice is much cultivated; it is reaped in November, and a wheat or barley crop succeeds, which is ready for cutting in April. A species of dry rice is cultivated on terraces cut out on the sides of the hills, which grows as high up as the line of snow, and which Colonel Kirkpatrick seems to think might be introduced into England with advantage. They have turnips, cabbages, and peas, but all of them indifferent; other vegetables good. The quercus ilex is as common a tree in Nepaul as in Italy, and the cassia lignea, which produces an inferior kind of cinnamon, grows abundantly on the sides of the hills.

The cattle are not much larger than those of the plains of Hindostan, but are sleek and plump. The Yak of Tartary, with its beautiful tail, known in India by the name of Chowri, and the Changra or Shawl-goat of Cashmir, are also natives of Nepaul. The larger kind of sheep are used as beasts of burthen, principally in bringing salt from Bootan, each animal carrying about forty pounds weight; a smaller kind produces a fine fleece.

Nepaul

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Nepaul was long considered as the Eldorado of India, and supposed to abound with rich gold mines, which however does not seem to be the case. The truth is, that the Nepaulese were the coiners of Thibetian gold, which was not allowed to pass into Hindostan in the shape of bullion. They have mines of copper in several districts, from which India was once supplied; but of late years European copper, though of no better quality, has, by its cheapness, driven that of Nepaul out of the market. Their iron is not to be surpassed. They have plenty of marble and other stone for building, also good limestone and slate; but they prefer brick to stone, mud to lime, and tiles to slate.

2°. Two distinct races of men, with different languages and religion, inhabit Nepaul. The first, or most numerous race, consists chiefly of the two superior classes of Hindoos, the Brahmins and the Cshatriyas; the other is distinguished by the name of Newars. The former compose the army, engross all situations of trust, and possess the greatest share of the landed property. The difference in manners and customs from their brethren in Hindostan is scarcely discernable, except, perhaps, by a simplicity of character arising from their sequestered situation.

'The simplicity which distinguishes the inhabitants of this rugged region is manifested no less in the superior than the lower ranks of people; appears in all their modes of life, whether public or domestic, little of ostentation or parade ever entering into either, and is very generally accompanied by an innocency and suavity of deportment, by an ease and frankness in conversation, and, I am disposed to think too, by an integrity of conduct not so commonly to be met with among their more polished or opulent brethren.' p. 185.

This race of men affect to date their settlement in Nepaul from a period not much short of 4000 years, and several pages of Colonel Kirkpatrick's book are employed, unnecessarily we think, in exhibiting a genealogical series of princes, most of whom are stated to have sat on the throne 50 or 60, many 70 or 80, and two of them above 90 years. Such gross absurdities of a people who possess not a single date or era, except what they attempt to make out by retrospective calculation, were surely not worth recording.

The Newars, it seems, do not carry back the date of their settlement more than 900 years. They are supposed by Colonel Kirkpatrick to be divided into several casts or orders, most of which derive their origin, 'like those among the more ancient Hindoos, from a primitive classification according to trades and occupations.' This statement is not correct; the Hindoo casts are not derived from 'trades and occupations.' In the Institutes of Menu, and in all the ancient writers, they are distinguished; first, as Brahmins.

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mins, who pray and instruct; second, as Cshatriyas, who fight and govern; third, as Vaiyas, who till the ground and trade; and fourth as Sudras, who labour and serve. The subdivision of casts necessarily arose from the intermixture of these four original classes; but the assigning of particular trades and occupations to each, the number of which is reckoned by some at forty and by others at more than fifty, may be considered among those absurd refinements which characterize all the institutions of the Brahmins. This class has not forgotten to reserve to itself many exclusive advantages. A Brahmin may become a soldier, an agriculturist, a day labourer, or even a serving man; but a Rajah of the Cshatriya cast can never become a Brahmin. The Newars, however, we are pretty certain, are not divided into casts or classes. Among the Booteas, Captain Turner assures us, there is no such distinction, and the Booteas and Newars are unquestionably the same people. Except indeed in the partial adoption of Hindoo superstitions and religious absurdities, they differ altogether from the natives of Hindostan. They are thus described by Colonel Kirkpatrick.

'They are in general of a middle size, with broad shoulders and chest, very stout limbs, round and rather flat faces, small eyes, low and somewhat spreading noses, and, finally, open and cheerful countenances, yet I cannot agree with those who affirm that there is in the general physiognomy of these people, any striking resemblance to the Chinese features.' p. 187.

Again:

'The illicit progeny of a Newar female and a Chetree (Cshatriya) might almost be taken for Malays; though, perhaps, the faces both of Bajoo Sheer and Rodur Beer (who are the issue of Rajepoots, by Newar women) approach still nearer to the Tartar or Chinese.' p. 187.

Now we are quite certain, whatever doubts the Colonel might have, that the Newars are Chinese. Like these people they are peaceable and timid in a remarkable degree. The Hindoo mountaineers have so despicable an opinion of their courage, that they will not admit them into the army. They are described as excellent agriculturists, and, like the Chinese, they cultivate the sides of the hills in a succession of terraces, leading the water from step to step precisely by the same contrivances. They almost exclusively execute all the arts and manufactures known in Nepaul. They are masons and carpenters, and their buildings, with large overshadowing and curved roofs, are precisely Chinese. Their temples, or pyramidal pagodas with roof above roof, and bells suspended from the projecting corners, cannot be mistaken; and if the print of Catmandu, which embellishes the Colonel's description, has not been composed from some of the numerous prints in Nieuwhoff's embassy to China, it bears at least a very strong resemblance to some of the cities

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cities delineated in that work. The Newars are the mountain porters, and their mechanical contrivances are similar to those of the Chinese. They weave coarse cotton cloths, work well in copper, brass and iron; gild remarkably well; make paper from the Seidburroo; (probably the bamboo;) distil an ardent spirit from rice and other grain, and brew a fermented liquor from wheat, which is chiefly used by the Newar peasantry.

It would have been gratifying to most readers had the Colonel given some farther information respecting this people, instead of announcing a determination to 'reserve a full account of their history, religion, government, customs and manners, for a future period.' Eighteen years have now elapsed and that period has not yet arrived. If however any doubt could be entertained of their origin, the narrative of Captain Turner respecting the Booteas, is quite decisive. From this intelligent author, we learn that these mountaineers have broad faces, high cheek bones, small black eyes with long pointed corners, as though stretched and extended by artificial means, with little beard, and complexions of a yellowish tinge; that they use chop-sticks at their meals, and serve up tea in the manner of the Chinese; that the dress of the soldiers, their arms and accoutrements are the same; that they wear the dragon in the flag, and make nine prostrations before the sovereign; that they are very superstitious; and consult the priests before they undertake any important concern; that their books are printed from blocks of wood; in fine, that they are to all intents and purposes of the same stock with the Chinese.

We are pretty certain that a very early communication subsisted between China and Thibet, at least so early as the first century of the Christian era, when Boudhism was introduced into China. About the middle of the eighth century, the Emperor Hiuentsoung reduced the King of Thibet and all the intervening Tartar tribes to a state of vassalage; but he bestowed on him at the same time a princess of the blood in marriage. The Thibetian ambassador, among other favours, requested a copy of the four ancient books of China, which was immediately granted; but the librarian, whose mind was less enlightened than that of his master, remonstrated against the measure, and asked if he meant to put arms into the hands of barbarians, who might afterwards turn them against himself. The emperor however was persuaded that the study of these books would convey to them lessons of wisdom and virtue, and thus promote their civilization.

In fact, the Chinese and Tartars have obviously one common origin, which is totally distinct from that of the Hindoos, Persians, and Arabs: but whether the Chinese mounted from their plains to those elevated regions which, rising on all sides, have been compared

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pared to the boss of a shield; or, whether the mountaineers descended into the temperate climate and fertile plains of China by the courses of the numerous rivers which flow towards it from every point, is a question that would require too much time to discuss. It is certain however that these central and elevated regions of Asia, which we call Tartary, have, from the earliest period of history, been characterized (with what truth we shall not now stop to inquire) as abundantly prolific in the human species. 'They have been called,' says Sir William Jones, 'as various images have presented themselves to various fancies, the *great hive of the northern swarms,* the *foundery of the human race,* the *cradle of our species,*' &c. And if, as history informs us, they could pour such vast legions over the immense mountains and deserts, which separated them from the fertile regions of the west, with still more facility might they descend upon the neighbouring plains of China. But it was not so easy for them to pass the chain of the Himmalayan mountains, and penetrate into the peninsula of Hindostan. Excepting that part of it below Thibet, this snowy ridge presents an almost insuperable barrier between India and Tartary; and this circumstance alone will satisfactorily account for the very few Tartars residing in Hindostan, and the still fewer of Hindoo extraction to be met with in the wilds of Tartary. It is not difficult however to explain how so great a number of Brahmins and Cshatriyas are found among the Newars.—It is well known that every branch of the Ganges is sacred in the eyes of the Hindoos; and that those particular spots, where a confluence of two branches takes place, or where the united streams rush through the mountains, are held in the utmost degree of veneration. The more difficult such places are to be approached, the more meritorious is the pilgrimage to them, and the more numerous the votaries. Some idea may be formed of the number of fanatics who frequent these consecrated scenes, from Captain Hardwicke's interesting narrative of a journey to Sirinagur, in the 6th volume of the Asiatic Researches. The *Mela* or fair is an annual assemblage of Hindoos for the purpose of bathing: 'The multitude,' he observes, 'collected on this occasion, may, with moderation, be computed at two and a half millions of souls;' and this extraordinary number does not appear to be mentioned on loose grounds; for as each family pays a small sum, a register is kept of the collection. It appears also that although the performance of a religious duty is the primary object, yet many avail themselves of the occasion to transact business and carry on an extensive commerce. The multitude of men, women, and children, who flock together from distant countries, on foot, on horseback, and in covered carts, can scarcely be, all of them, expected

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expected to return. Some form connections on the spot, others have not funds to carry them back, and many of the mountaineers accompany their visitors to the plains. Such an intercourse must necessarily produce a partial interchange of language. This is sufficient to account for that part of the Hindoo dialects which cannot be traced to the Sanscrit idiom, and which Sir William Jones conjectured to have been used in Hindostan before the conquest of that country by the Brahmins. This supposition, however, is gratuitous, for nothing is recorded in history of any such conquest. We are inclined to think that those words in the language, which are not reducible to the Sanscrit, will be found to be a mixture of Tartar and Chinese.

The condition of the peasantry and the lower class of people is pretty nearly alike under all the governments of the eastern world, where little regard is paid either to civil or natural rights, and consequently little security can be enjoyed either of person or property. The peasantry and porters of Nepaul are dragged from their houses by the officers of government, to accommodate those who travel on the public service; they therefore fly from the villages situated on the direct roads, to avoid this oppression, just as in China, where the same practice prevails. Where the tenant engages to perform this service for the proprietor of the land which he rents, there is no hardship in the discharge of the obligation; but it frequently happens that, while executing this service for his landlord, he is snatched away by a military officer, to drag over the mountains the baggage of some public functionary or foreign ambassador.

In the very best parts of the route, our travellers found it exceedingly difficult to procure a single day's provisions for the party, or even a little milk or honey for themselves, though both appeared to be plentiful. The hand of power was always necessary to effect this; hence Colonel Kirkpatrick concludes that 'the people are content to obtain from the earth support only for themselves,' and that the supplies he received from them were 'at the expence of exposing them more or less to real inconvenience.' In fact, only the least productive lands, and such as are situated towards the summits of the mountains, are held by the actual cultivators, and these upon the same hard conditions which are exacted on the more fertile plains: half of the produce is paid to the proprietor, who is besides furnished by the tenant with every supply of domestic expenditure, in kind. The lands of the Brahmins are of the first quality, saleable and hereditary, though forfeitable for certain offences. The only rent paid by this favoured class is their prayers; though they find it necessary to propitiate every new Rajah with something more substantial.

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Some few of the Newars also hold saleable and hereditary lands, but liable to fines on the accession of a new sovereign. They pay besides a tax to the state, according to the number of ploughs or spades employed, and not according to the amount of the produce. The peasantry are divided into four classes, the *Owal, Doem, Seoom,* and *Chaurem,* which are Persian terms, signifying first, second, third, and fourth. The first possess five ploughs and upwards; the second from one to five; the third have none, but command a certain number of labourers; and the fourth are mere labouring men. The Colonel confesses his inability to give a satisfactory account of the nature of tenures in Nepaul; but the following passage is a summary of the intelligence which he procured, and is probably pretty near the truth.

'The sovereign is deemed to be originally the absolute proprietor of all lands, nor is there any tenure under which they can be enjoyed permanently, or considered as hereditary possessions, except the few hereafter particularized. Even the first subject of the state, whether as to birth or office, has, generally speaking, but a temporary and precarious interest in the lands which he holds, being liable, at every Purjunni, or grand council, (which is for the most part annual, and assembled during the months of May and June,) to be deprived of them altogether; to have them commuted for a pecuniary stipend, or to have them exchanged for others. This council is composed of the principal ministers of government, and of such other persons as the prince or regent thinks proper to invite to it; and its business is to examine into the conduct of all the public officers during the preceding year, to degrade, punish, and reward them according to their merits, and to bestow governments, military commands, and jaghire lands for the ensuing year, in all which it is the policy of this Court to make frequent changes, with the view of preventing local attachments, and the dangerous effects of long confirmed local authority; of accustoming its subjects to serve indifferently in all parts, and of keeping its dependents always in a state fluctuating between hope and fear; imitating herein the practice of the court of Delhi, during the most vigorous period of the Mogul monarchy.'—p. 87.

Such practices, which, we believe, are not confined to Delhi or Nepaul, but are common to all the oriental courts, not excepting that of the enlightened empire of China, are not likely to be associated with any thing partaking of 'vigour;' on the contrary they are calculated to benumb the faculties of the mind, and to reduce the human race to a state of debasement very little removed from that of the ourang-outang. It is impossible, as the actual state of things has proved, for the arts and sciences, the comforts or conveniencies of social life, to exist where despotism like this has established its sway. Man has here no inducement to exert the powers of mind or body. Why, indeed, should he

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he take thought for the morrow, when he knows that the grain which he sows may be reaped by another? since it appears, from Colonel Kirkpatrick's information, that the holder of a tenure is removed, not unfrequently, 'in the moment that he is about to enjoy the harvest of his labour.'—p. 55.

The food of the peasantry, and indeed of the bulk of the people, appears to be extremely simple, consisting chiefly of milk, honey, rice, fruits, and vegetables. Animal food and spiritous liquors are prohibited; but in lieu of the latter, the cherris, an extract from the common hemp, known in India by the name of bang, is resorted to for producing a species of calm illusion devoid of care, and unmixed with the irritation and subsequent languor which result from the use of opium, wine, or spirits. From all these the Brahmin religiously abstains; but he has no scruple to take the 'sweet oblivious antidote' which the flower buds and leaflets of the cannabis sativa are capable of affording, when bruised and put into a little milk.

The Newar peasantry are represented as a robust and healthy race, though in some of the vallies they are subject to those swellings in the throat which prevail more or less in all mountainous situations. Some of the natives attribute them to a peculiar kind of insect, others to a mineral impregnation, and others again gravely believe them to be an effect of imagination in pregnant women, 'who, it seems, are constantly exposed to the disgusting sight presented in the protuberant pouches of the innumerable monkies with which the adjacent sacred grove of Gorja-sirre swarms.'—p. 174. The prevailing opinion has long ascribed this disorder to the use of snow-water; but if so, it would abound most in regions of perpetual snow, in Lapland, for instance, or Greenland, which is not the case. We conceive that a sudden exposure to a Himmalayan blast, after a long series of sultry weather, is a sufficient cause. We know how frequently a glandular swelling in the neck is produced by exposure to cold air rushing into a heated room; and the same cause continually operating in close and heated vallies situated at the feet of snowy mountains, may be supposed to produce similar and permanent effects. We have already noticed the jungle fever to which the cutters of wood and the catchers of elephants are subject in the Turyani district. These are the only two diseases mentioned by Colonel Kirkpatrick as peculiar to the inhabitants of Nepaul, in reference to those of Hindostan.

3. We may be certain that all the Asiatic governments are fundamentally despotic, and that the different shades of colour found among them are chiefly owing to the personal character and temporary views of the individual who happens to be placed

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on the throne. The despotism of the monarch is however in some degree regulated, and in many instances checked, by certain institutions which time has rendered sacred, and by maxims rooted in the minds of the people. In addition to these popular barriers against the encroachment of despotism, the sovereign of Nepaul is very materially controuled by the active influence of a body of chieftains, known by the name of Thurgurs, of the casts of Brahmins, and Cshatriyas. Their number amounts to thirty-six, and the title and influence are hereditary in their respective families. The only immunity of a personal kind which they are said to enjoy, consists in being exempt from the final jurisdiction of the Purjunni, or annual court of inquisition, already mentioned, and in not being liable to be disgraced or punished, except by a decree of the Rajah. These chiefs appear to be the remains of that division of authority between the Brahmins and Cshatriyas, which, while it placed the sovereignty in the hands of the second order, or military class, procured to the hierarchy the complete dominion over the minds of the people.

'The chiefs of this body,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'appear to possess such a high authority in the state, as renders it nearly impossible for the executive government, in whatever hands that may be, to pursue any measures of an important nature, in opposition to their advice. I have even been assured that the throne of the prince himself would be no longer secure, should the principal Thurgurs concur in thinking that his general conduct tended to endanger the sovereignty, which they profess themselves bound, as far as rests with them, to transmit unimpaired, to the distant posterity of its founder, and the interests of which they do not allow to be determined by the partial views or temporary policy of the ruling individual.'—p. 124.

Colonel Kirkpatrick remarks that it may reasonably be doubted whether the body of the people ever derive the least advantage from the political struggles of these chieftains; and he seems to think that the present Gorkha family, from a solicitude to maintain their situation, have conciliated, by compliances, this body of men, at the expense of a considerable reduction of the sovereign power. That power is administered by thirteen principal officers of state, whose titles and employments are briefly as follows: 1. The Choutra, or prime minister, always a near relation of the Rajah, whose business consists in receiving and examining all communications intended for the sovereign. Besides certain fiefs or jaghires, conferred in virtue of his office, he has a commission on all lands granted to individuals, except those to Thurgurs and military officers. 2. The Kâjees, of whom there are four, are the real men of business, the Dewan of the Mogul government; the details of civil and military affairs pass through their hands: they, too, have a commission in the

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the various tenures of land. 3. The Sirdars, or commanders of the army, of whom there are also four: they are paid out of the taxable lands, as are also, 4. The Khurdars, or secretaries of state. 5. The Khupperdar, or clerk of the wardrobe, the jewels, and the kitchen. 6. The Khazunchu, or treasurer. These officers are denominated Bhardars, a term denoting 'bearers of burthens;' the people probably consider them rather as 'imposers of burthens.' The next seven are, 1. The Ticksali, or superintendant of the mint. 2. The Dhurma-Udhikar, or chief criminal judge. 3. The Bicharies, or civil judges who settle all disputes regarding personal property. 4. The Dittha, or superintendant of police. 5. The Juitha-Boora, a Vakeel, employed chiefly in carrying the complimentary messages of the Rajah. 6. The Soubadar, or governors of districts. 7. The Omrahs, or commanders of military posts.

The Dhurma-Shaster, with the general spirit of which Mr. Halhed has made us acquainted, forms the basis of the civil and criminal jurisprudence of Nepaul, as it does of Hindostan in general. Most offences according to this code being punishable by fine, it will easily be conceived how great a latitude for abuse exists in the civil departments of the law. So strongly indeed was the consciousness of these abuses impressed on the mind of Behadur-Shah, the regent of Nepaul, at the time of Colonel Kirkpatrick's mission, that he had intended to apply to the government of Bengal for a code of laws, for the better government of his country.

Of the nature and extent of the military force of Nepaul, Colonel Kirkpatrick seems to have gained very little information. The state of their ordnance he is disposed to consider as contemptible, notwithstanding the attempts to improve it, by the introduction of some European adventurers, 'who appear to have promised much, but to have performed nothing.' The regular forces are clothed in a slovenly manner, some in red, some in blue, and others in green; all armed with muskets, but not very fit for service. They consisted of about 50 or 60 companies, each, on an average, possessing 140 firelocks. These are exclusive of the guards. Neither of them are superior to the rabble 'ordinarily dignified with the title of Sepoys in the service of the generality of the Hindostan powers:' nor would their discipline appear to be much stricter, it being no uncommon practice among the officers to throw aside their military garb, and even to absent themselves without ceremony from their corps, on any temporary disgust; but with all their defects, I am disposed, says the Colonel, to think them on the whole no bad soldiers.—p. 215.

The present war in Europe, as well as the numerous contests

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in which we have been engaged in the East, have supplied abundant proof that the making of good soldiers depends more on the character and talents of the officers than on any particular aptitude of the individuals who compose an army; and that a regular system of discipline is more essential than mere constitutional bravery. In point of physical strength the Hindoo ranks, perhaps, the lowest in the scale of human beings; yet such is the tractability of his nature, and such the advantage resulting from strict discipline, that the same Sepoys, led by a Wellesley, were at any time sure of defeating three times the number of their countrymen, forming the 'rabble,' of a Holkar or a Scindeah.

The Omrahs, or commanders of forts, are independent of the civil governors. Their little garrisons are composed of troops chiefly raised and formed by themselves. They are a sort of Militia Colonels who have a considerable rank in the state, and have lands assigned for the support of themselves and their people, who are generally kinsmen, and form a kind of clan, which is never dispersed by drafting, but permitted to act together; and when an Omrah is removed from one fort to another, his garrison is invariably removed with him.

The expense of the military establishment of Nepaul is, for the most part, discharged by assignments of land. Sometimes, however, the soldier is paid from the treasury, occasionally from the granary, and sometimes from both. The farms or jaghires granted by government are usually apportioned to the numbers of the families of military officers, and other public servants, and in doing this a particular indulgence is shewn to the widows and orphans of such families.

We agree with Colonel Kirkpatrick that, as the popular religion of Nepaul 'differs in nothing from the Hindooism established in Bengal, excepting so far as the secluded nature of the country may have conduced to preserve it in a state of superior orthodoxy and purity, it would be altogether superfluous to enter into any details concerning it;' but it strikes us, that he is under a considerable mistake, as far as regards its purity, that is to say, its original rites and observances. For instance, the women are not so strict in mounting the funeral pile of their husbands as in Hindostan: for though one of the inferior wives of the Rajah Sing Pertaub, the son of the Ghorkali invader, burned herself with her deceased husband, his principal wife declined the example, deeming it pleasanter to seize the vacant reins, than to accompany her deceased Lord into Paradise. At the temple of Daiby Ghaut, Colonel Kirkpatrick bears testimony, that the Rajah and his court, who are Brahmins, not only immolated a great number of buffaloes, but performed the sacrifice in an unhallowed temple, consecrated

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consecrated to Daiby, (Devi,) the goddess *par excellence*, the Maha-mai, or great Mother, to whom the Newars, who are Budhists, offer buffaloes, and feed on the flesh of this animal by a special indulgence. But although they have no scruples with regard to buffaloes, they deem it a sacrilege to approach even the image of a cow, except in a posture of adoration, 'insomuch,' says Colonel Kirkpatrick, 'that a malicious person wishing to suspend the agricultural operations of his neighbour, would be sure to effect his purpose, by placing a stone or wooden figure of a cow in the midst of his field.'—p. 100.

It seems, however, that the Rajah's army, in its late expedition into Thibet, was reduced to such straits as to be compelled to feed on the flesh of the Chouri bullock; on which occasion the Regent contended, that, as the cattle slain for this purpose had no dewlaps, they bore no relation to the sacred bull of the Shaster, and consequently that no transgression against the law had been committed.

'It was somewhat in the same spirit of regulated zeal, that upon certain missionaries offering to instruct him in the most useful branches of mineralogy, and metallurgy, provided he would embrace the Christian faith; he coolly replied, that his rank in the state made it inconvenient for him to accede to the proposed terms; but that he was ready to substitute two or three men who should make as good proselytes as himself. The missionary rejecting this expedient, and the Regent not comprehending, or affecting not to comprehend, why three souls should be of less estimation than one, very gravely inferred that the holy father could only be prevented from accepting so fair a proposal, by the desire of concealing his ignorance of the arts which he had professed himself qualified to teach.'—p. 121.

We are far from being persuaded by any thing which Colonel Kirkpatrick has related, that the religion of Brahma preceded that of Buddh in the valley of Nepaul, or indeed, in any other part of India. By his own account the temple of Sumbhoo-Nath must have been built before the Christian era, when Nepaul was ruled by a race of Thibetians; and indeed the possession of it has always been claimed by the Delai Lama, 'on the ground of its having been a dependency of his spirituality from the earliest times.' He tells us moreover, that at the foot of the steps 'is a colossal image in stone, of the god Boudh, who is considered by some to be the law-giver of the Bhootias or Thibetians, and to be the same as the Fo of the Chinese.' Here too he saw the priests of Buddh watching the perpetual lamp, that unextinguishable fire which was the symbol of the divinity among the ancient Persians, and is the type of the immortal soul, which passes through an end-

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less succession of Lamas. We are persuaded indeed, that the more the ancient doctrines of Buddh are investigated, the more probable it will appear that Brahma was the sectary, and not Buddh, whose tenets have in fact been more widely spread over the face of the earth, than those of any other religion ancient or modern. The idea of one great ruler surrounded by a number of inferior agents to execute his will, has been prevalent for ages in every corner of the widely extended regions of Tartary. This is the basis of Boudhism, which exists under various modifications, from the Icy Sea to the Persian Gulph, and from the shores of the Caspian to the farthest verge of the Asiatic islands. The Buddh of Hindostan, the Pout of Thibet and Siam, the Godama of the Birmans, the Fo of China, the Buth of Japan, the But of the Cochinchinese, and the Bod of the Arabians, are unquestionably all meant for the same person. Sir William Jones, Mr. Chambers and others were of opinion, that even Odin or Woden was synonimous with Buddh. To this it has been objected, that no two characters would differ more, the one being distinguished by mildness and benevolence, the other by qualities of an opposite nature. It should be remembered, however, that the attributes ascribed to the Deity are likely to take their original colouring from the character of the votary; and we, therefore, do not think it very improbable that the same object of adoration which, among the pastoral natives of Tartary, whose subsistence depended on the preservation of animal life, was represented as a mild and benevolent being, should, among the hunters and fishers of Scandinavia, whose existence depended on the destruction of animal life, be represented under a character directly the reverse. We consider, however, the argument that has been advanced to prove their identity, from Wednesday being Buddh's day in all the eastern nations who use the hebdomadal division of time, as inconclusive and exceedingly puerile.

We know that, at the present day, Boudists exist in various parts of Siberia, and near the shores of the Caspian Sea. In the account given by Du Halde of the journey of the two Lamas, who were sent about the year 1712, by Kaung-Shee, the Emperor of China, in search of the source of the Ganges, it is observed that there was at Lassa, in Thibet, a Tartarian princess with her son, who dwelt to the north of the Caspian Sea, between Astracan, Saracot, and the river Jauk; and that a surprising multitude of strangers undertook long and painful journies from the most distant countries, to offer their adoration to the Grand Lama, and to receive his blessing.

We agree then entirely with Doctor Buchannan, that even so. late

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late as the birth of Christ, the governing power on the banks of the Ganges, was of the sect of Buddh, and that since this period the Brahmins have accomplished the change of the national religion. We are also persuaded, that however idle and ridiculous 'the legends and notions of the worshippers of Bouddha may be, they have been in a great measure adopted by the Brahmins; but with all their defects monstrously aggravated: Rajahs and heroes have been converted into gods, and impossibilities heaped on improbabilities.'

Colonel Kirkpatrick informs us, that at Nepaul he was fortunate enough to obtain a copy of that rare and valuable manuscript, the Boudh Pouran; and that he is not without the hope of being able 'at no very remote period, not only to explain at large the superstitious dogmas, rites, and ceremonies of the Newars; but also to be instrumental, at least, in throwing some light on the Boudhite system of theology, at present so little understood.'—p. 188. This is the second promise which Colonel Kirkpatrick has broken to his readers, which, however, may be the less regretted, as we believe he is no Sanscrit scholar; and a translation of a Purana must be of little value when communicated through the medium of the Persian.

The account which Bernini has given of the multitude of temples in the valley of Nepaul, is fully corroborated by Colonel Kirkpatrick, who informs us, that 'there are nearly as many temples as houses, and as many idols as inhabitants.' Twenty of the former of most consideration are named and briefly described; and he enumerates no less than sixteen remarkable yatras or festivals, that are annually celebrated, consisting of processions, ablutions, adorations, and oblations, some of which occupy so much time, that in fact, scarcely a day passes without the public performance of some religious ceremony. They have besides a grand occasional festival which lasts four months. 'It consists in visiting the shrines of all the gods in Nepaul, which are said to be two thousand seven hundred and thirty three.'—p. 196.

We are not told what is the ordinary number of priests to each temple or whether they dwell in monastic celibacy, like the Gylongs in the neighbouring nation of Bootan, where in some places no fewer than four thousand of them passed a life of indolence in religious retirement; where many families considered it as the greatest honour and good fortune to send a boy or two among them to be educated for the priesthood, and where one in every four was compelled to enter the monastic state. Such numbers thus withdrawn from society, and strictly interdicted all intercourse with the other sex, together with those drawn off to serve in the armies,

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armies, cannot fail to act as considerable checks to population. Yet this abstraction of the males would appear to have produced an effect on the state of connubial connection very different from that which might be expected: instead of polygamy, as in India and China, Captain Turner informs us, that polyandry is the common practice, that is to say, one female has many husbands, and frequently associates her fate and fortune with all the brothers of a family. Colonel Kirkpatrick just glances at the same custom.—'It is remarkable enough,' he says, 'that the Newar women may, in fact, have as many husbands as they please, being at liberty to divorce them continually on the slightest pretences.'—p. 187.

Whatever these gentlemen may tell us, we hold it impossible that so monstrous a practice, fraught with so many bad consequences, could possibly exist in any state of society. Both accounts have probably been too hastily adopted from that which was given by a Chinese Mandarin to Kaung-shee, on his return from Thibet, where he mentions an infamous custom prevailing in that country, which allows a woman to have several husbands at one time, without regard to consanguinity, and even to marry all the sons of the same parents. This anecdote has been promulgated by Du Halde, who had no judgment in the selection of his materials, and repeated by Grozier, who, with less excuse, was nearly as credulous as his predecessor. We can readily give credit to the less preposterous custom of a landlord taking the wife of a ryot or peasant, as a pledge for rent, and keeping her till the debt is discharged; since we know, on the best authority, that their more polished neighbours, the Chinese, have found it necessary to enact a prohibitory statute against lending wives and daughters on hire.

With regard to literature, Colonel Kirkpatrick is of opinion, that 'there is no place in India where a search after ancient and valuable manuscripts in every department of Brahminical learning, would be more successful than in the valley of Nepaul, and particularly at Bhatgong, which would seem to be the Benares of the Ghorkhali territories.' He was told that in that city, the library of a private individual contained upwards of fifteen thousand volumes. We entirely concur with him in this opinion, which agrees with one we ventured to give in a former Number, with regard to those Sanscrit works, which had been transferred into the Chinese language, prior to the Mahomedan invasion of Hindostan. If the Hindoos have any thing of value, it must be looked for in the secluded valleys of Nepaul and Boutan, in the upper regions of Thibet, or in the temples of Buddh in the Chinese empire.

The various alphabets of Nepaul, three of which are given by Colonel Kirkpatrick, are evidently modifications of the Devanagari

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agari character, as the dialects are of the Sanscrit language, with the exception, however, of the Newar, which, though written in an alphabet evidently derived from the Devanagari, and containing several words of Sanscrit origin, appears to be a branch of a very different stem. That stem, we have no doubt, is the original Tartar, from whence the Newars themselves, as well as the Chinese, derive their origin. The favourite pursuit both of Newars and Hindoos, is that of consulting their destiny at the temples. 'Judicial astrology has so deeply and undistinguishedly infected every rank among them, that a stranger might be tempted to conclude that the horoscope and ephemeris determined in most cases the line both of civil and moral conduct, and that the people, in short, were universally directed by their soothsayers.'—p. 220.

It is much to be regretted, that the extreme jealousy of the government of Nepaul, or rather of certain of its officers, prevented Colonel Kirkpatrick from visiting the several cities and towns of the valley of Nepaul. Not one of them, not even Catmandu, we have reason to believe, was he permitted to enter; for, although one of his letters, addressed to Lord Cornwallis, is dated from thence, it is evident from the narrative, that, with more than Chinese caution, he was confined to the temple of Sumbhoo-nath, one mile from Catmandu, during his week's residence in the valley. He could see nothing, therefore, of those wonderful and magnificent temples, or of the royal palace and gardens, of which Guiseppe speaks with such rapture. Among others one object is mentioned by the Jesuit, remarkable enough to excite curiosity. This is a large flat stone, standing upright against one of the walls of the palace, fifteen feet long, and four or five wide, covered with the characters of various languages. 'Some lines,' he says, 'contain the characters of the language of the country; others the characters of Thibet; others Persian, others Greek; besides several of different nations; and in the middle there is a line of Roman characters, which appears in this form AVTOMNEW INTER LHIVERT.' This last inscription must, in all probability, be the work of some of the European missionaries, whose first appearance in Nepaul was about the beginning of the last century. None of them probably contain any thing of importance; yet a fac simile of the stone would be considered as a great curiosity.

The circumstances under which the information now laid before our readers was collected, are sufficient to disarm criticism of its severe character. Our wishes may have led us to expect more; but our disappointment shall not make us so fastidious as to receive with indifference or ingratitude, the few additions which Colonel

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Colonel Kirkpatrick has made to our former stock of information, concerning the secluded valley of Nepaul.

ART. III. *Magna Britannia; a concise Topographical Account of the several Counties of Great Britain.* By the Rev. Daniel Lysons, A.M., &c. Rector of Rodmarton, in Gloucestershire, and Samuel Lysons, Esq. F.R.S. and F.A.S. Keeper of his Majesty's Records in the Tower of London. Vol. I.; and Vol. II. Parts 1 and 2. 4to. Cadel and Davies. London. 1810.

AN heroic neglect of the ordinary chances of human life, is not unfrequently the parent of great and persevering undertakings. The conception of a vast plan, by stimulating exertion and calling forth latent powers, will often contribute to its own accomplishment; while in great works, like the present, the necessity of active research, and frequent locomotion, aided by another principle eminently favourable to length of days, namely, gentle engagement of mind, and the gratification of a strong original propensity, will sometimes carry forward the undertakers to the close of their work, vigorous, occupied, and happy.

With such probabilities for and against them, two respectable persons, as nearly allied in taste as in blood, have projected a new Britannia. The southern part of this island, it may however be objected, has already been illustrated with sufficient diligence and exactness. Whatever the stores of ancient learning could pour upon the subject, had been collected and concentrated by Camden, whose original text has served as a nucleus for stratum upon stratum of additional matter, which the industry of successive editors has gathered about it. But of these the last, and incomparably the best, has not succeeded in exhausting the mine; neither are his three ponderous folios without numerous errors, as well as deficiencies, of which the former would have been corrected, and the latter supplied, had the work been completed in his earlier and happier days. It is probably owing to the same cause, that in a work where accuracy, particularly in dates, was of primary importance, so little attention has been paid to the operations of the press. Of the name of Mr. Gough we wish to speak with reverence—he was the father of English antiquaries in his day—he generously patronized rising merit in others—he devoted his own life and ample fortune to the pursuit of antiquities, and he still lives in the affections of many surviving friends. But the Sepulchral Monuments are the proper depositaries of Mr. Gough's reputation; and we scruple

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scruple not to affirm that, after all the discoveries with which he and his predecessors have enriched the Britannia, the field is fairly open to future adventurers; and consequently, that the present undertaking is neither unnecessary nor presumptuous. To us, however, who view it without the enthusiasm of authorship, it cannot but appear difficult and perilous. Topography has been carried nearly to perfection in many works of a more local and limited nature than the present; and the expectations, indeed the demands of the public on that, as on almost every subject, are now very different from what they would have been, even in the beginning of the present reign.

We will allow to the respectable compilers of the Magna Britannia, (what the generous patronage afforded to such projects will not permit us for a moment to doubt,) extensive correspondence and valuable connections: but are strangers always to expect what the historian of a county, and more especially of a subordinate district, in consequence of domestic and personal interest, can generally command; namely, that family archives shall be opened, and family reserves laid aside?—for every considerable family has some arcana, 'which would be wooed, and not unsought be won.' In such cases the pretensions of a distant suitor, whatever may be his general reputation for discretion or fidelity, are seldom regarded. But introductions, it will be said, may be obtained to antiquaries residing on the spot, and *their* abstracts, and more especially *their* inferences from the materials to which they have access, will answer nearly the same purpose. Unfortunately this argument proves either too much or nothing; for if such persons are competent to abstract, arrange, and combine for themselves, this is a reason for their undertaking topographical works in their own name: if otherwise, what becomes of the authority which ought to attach to a great national work, when the matter of which it has been composed is of so dubious a character?

But if adventurers in the situation of our authors, are sometimes exposed to the risque of being lost in darkness, or misled by these wandering luminaries; they are in another part of their career equally in danger of being oppressed by excess of light. For this reason we wait, with some curiosity, to see how Messrs. Lysons will expedite themselves from Cornwall, Leicestershire, and Norfolk, and by what artifice they will avoid tautological repetitions from Borlase, Nichols, and Blomefield. On such ground, what remains to be explored? and from such works, what can without injury be discarded? In the first instance, the experiment will quickly be tried; but we anticipate the result: firmly persuaded that there are few intelligent, and no learned readers who will not prefer the erudition, weighty sense, and strictly local information of Dr. Borlase to the best abridge

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abridgement (for, after all, an abridgement it must be) which the compilers of the Magna Britannia can pretend to substitute in their place. Continuations for the last forty years (how small a portion of time, and none of antiquity) are all that can be hoped for; and though Blomefield (lately reprinted) is reprinted without additions, and therefore may afford some scope for the introduction of supplementary matter, yet who can add to the antiquities of Leicestershire? Who, without robbing a living author, can transfuse his valuable matter into another work, and who, without robbing the public, can garble and contract it? On the whole, we should wish to see the compilation of an English topographical library made a national concern, in which the sole object should be to leave the great county and other provincial histories untouched, and merely to fill up the chasms. For this end, queries might be circulated, intelligent and learned persons selected in every district to explore remains, report evidences, and if need be, to arrange, abstract, and transmit to a committee in London the result of their discoveries. In the conduct of such a work the clergy of the establishment would be entitled to an active and conspicuous station: Yet highly as we think of their industry and general information, we are far from wishing to limit an undertaking of such extent, and calling for such a variety of powers, to them or to the members of any particular profession. From the radical difference in the nature and constitution of the two establishments, the example of Scotland is no authority for the sister country. We all recollect what an universal spirit of emulation was excited about twenty years ago in the ministers of that church, by the inquiries and exhortations of an individual whose suggestions have not always the fortune to be equally attended to on the south of the Tweed. For this achievement we can almost forgive the philosophical Baronet his mermaid, accept his paper currency, and do every thing to shew our gratitude but adopt his precepts of health and longevity. But no interest, and no exertion could produce twenty-one such volumes as those which contain the statistical account of Scotland, amongst our own clergy. They are a monument of that parity of intellect among a venerable body of men which originates in the genius of a republican, that is a presbyterian establishment.

Among these statements, if few rise to excellence, fewer still are found to sink beneath mediocrity. To account for so much information in men who have no superfluities of income to expend in procuring it, and with respect to tracts, in some instances equal to English counties, we are to consider, not only the great blessing of that establishment, universal residence in their ministers; but also the necessity which lies upon the clergy to

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to traverse their widely extended parishes in the discharge of their private duties. How wise and happy in such fatiguing excursions, to be able to unite amusement with information, and usefulness with both! With the probable effects of such a requisition, circulated among the clergy of our own church, their diocesans, some of whom have tried the experiment on a narrow scale, are best acquainted. For our own part, we hesitate not to say, that it would in some instances produce accounts far superior to the best in the Scotish collection; in more, attempts which would fall greatly beneath them; and in no inconsiderable number, perhaps, none at all. The truth is, that the scale of ability in the Church of England, keeps pace with the scale of dignities and preferments which it has to offer. Splendid rewards will not indeed produce, but they will attract into the profession splendid abilities; but, from the necessity of the case, both the one and the other will be few in number. *Mediocrists*, for the same reason, will be pretty numerous, while in the lower degrees will always be found a large residuum, who have either no exertion, because they have no hopes, or a slender provision, because they have slender abilities. This proposition depends upon another, which, even in the present imperfect mode of distributing ecclesiastical preferments amongst us, we believe to be true in a very considerable degree; namely, that there still exists a connection between merit and the reward of merit, in the profession of an English clergyman.

But to return to our immediate subject. We are firmly persuaded, that though a long life, united with perseverance, such as these well informed and respectable brothers really possess, may carry them through their comprehensive plan; it will after all be irregular and defective in its execution, and particularly as to the necessity of *cutting down* the great topographical works which already exist; and which will rather obstruct than assist their progress. Whereas a national topographical society, for the purpose of framing a complete topographical library, by inviting into its circle all the curiosity, information, and ability of every profession, in every undescribed or ill described district in the kingdom, would in no great length of time fill up all the void spaces in a collection, toward which, without union and without system, so much has already been done, and at the same time so well. This plan would operate like the connecting gluten in mineralogy: it would combine a great number of heterogeneous, but not irreconcilable particles into one compact and tangible substance. This effect we apprehend the process of Messrs. Lysons will scarcely produce—it will neither embrace nor incorporate with the ponderous masses of topography already existing—nay, in some instances it will fritter and decompound them.

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The counties already traversed by our indefatigable enquirers, are those of Bedford, Berks, Cambridge, and Chester; from which enumeration it will immediately appear that they have adopted an alphabetical arrangement. To this plan, we should suppose, that a regard to their own convenience in making the necessary researches, would have dictated an early objection. But, independently of their own accommodation, which, if the authors think proper to wave, it is not for us to insist upon, the circumstance of contiguity produces many features of resemblance between counties; the subject is shaded off from one to another, and the transition is easy and graceful. But between Norfolk and Northumberland, for example, there is surely no resemblance save in alliteration, and he who has just before saturated his mind with the fertile pastures, the rich downs, and the noble estates of Cheshire, will not feel himself in an instant prepared for the logans and cromlechs, the rocks and stannaries, of Cornwall. The subordinate arrangement, however, must be allowed to be clear and proper, and the information contained, under every particular, at once brief and comprehensive. To prove this position, we will present our readers with Messrs. Lysons' table of particulars for the County of Bedford.

'Ancient inhabitants and government; historical events; ancient and modern divisions of the county; ecclesiastical division; monasteries and hospitals; market and borough towns; population; principal land owners at various periods; and principal extinct families; nobility of the county, and places which have given titles to any rank or branches of the peerage; noblemen's seats; Baronets extinct and existing;' (an article which, in a work where much important matter was struggling for admittance, might, we think, have given place;) 'principal gentry and their seats; non-resident families; geographical and geological description of the county; produce; natural history, comprehending, 1st, fossils; 2dly, rare plants; 3dly, mineral waters; 4thly, rivers, &c.; roads; manufactures; antiquities, comprehending, 1st, Roman remains; 2dly, Roman roads and stations; 3dly, church architecture; 4thly, stained glass; 5thly, rood lofts, screens, &c. 6thly, fronts; 7thly, stone stalls and piscinæ; 8thly, ancient tombs; 9thly, monastic remains; 10thly, sites of castles, and castellated mansions; 11thly, camps and earth works; and, lastly, parochial topography,' alphabetically arranged.

Another national work on the same subjects, and relating to the northern part of our island, is now, as almost every reader knows, in a state of equal forwardness with the Magna Britannia, and it will be satisfactory to compare the distribution of matter which has been made by the learned author of that work, with the foregoing.

Berwick-

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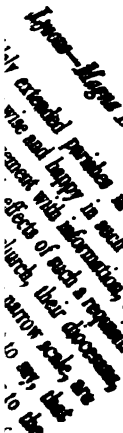

shire; of the name; of its situation and extent; of i
of its antiquities; of its establishment as a shire;
its agriculture, manufactures, and trade; of its
comprehending, "The Tabular State."

pective plans of two similar and contem
not call them, unless men of ordina
a giant. The arrangement, howev
in point of simplicity, and pu
manifestly on the side of our E
d erudition, in extent of researc
n of Caledonia far surpasses
and, certainly, with fewer
, is likely to become an usef
pels the shallow by its profundi
antiquary by blunders and misnomer
uct of minds active, industrious, and w
in their own particular walk, but in general
e is nothing which the most fastidious critic woul
moved; but from the very nature of the plan there
in every parish much to be required, and much of whi
absence is to be regretted: there are hints which excite cur
and omissions which disappoint it. Who, for instance, that
genuine taste for the *priez pour sa alme* of the twelfth centu
the *orate pro anima* of the fourteenth, can endure, without ex
impatience and vexation, to be told, that in this church a
'rich brasses' of one family; in that the 'recumbent statu
a second; in another, the 'epitaphs' of a third? whereas
series of county histories, all these memorials of ancie
might, and indeed would, have been exhibited; and their
press adorned with the inscriptions in their peculiar char
It is very true, that in the Magna Britannia, we are no
then treated with a good engraving of a church, a tom
a sepulchral brass; but they are thinly scattered, and serve
to excite the appetite for more, than to gratify it by the s
taste which is afforded. One useful, and by no means eas
of the work is elaborately, and appears to be accurately
formed; we mean the descents and transfers of property in
modern times: and here, had the writers been pleased to i
themselves and their readers with a few reflections as a sea
to the occasional insipidity of their facts, it might not hav
amiss to advert to the extreme facility and frequency with
estates in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, in Buckin
Berks, and Bedfordshire, have, for the last two centuries,
advertised away, compared with the stability of property
northern counties. How many, for instance, of the nam

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descendants of those who fought at Blore-heath yet remain in Cheshire; while, in Cambridgeshire, a district neither by its situation nor beauties likely to excite any great competition in purchasers, one name only (that of Cotton) remains of the principal families who were returned under the commission of Henry VI!

With respect to the comparative merits of the volumes already published, that of Cambridgeshire is indisputably the best, a distinction for which the authors and their readers are equally indebted to the personal investigations of the present Bishop of Cloyne, when resident in Emanuel College, and of Dr. Charles Mason, of Trinity College, who died rector of Orwell, and Woodwardian Professor, about the year 1770. The account of the University, in which we have detected no errors, but have, as usual, to deplore many omissions, will principally tend to awaken or revive the regret of antiquaries, that no great and authoritative work on so interesting a subject has ever been undertaken under the auspices of that learned body. Will the Musæ Severiores of Cambridge never unbend to the pleasing and grateful task of commemorating, from authentic and original records, their founders and benefactors? And can the overflowings of their wealth be turned into a more delightful channel than that of perpetuating, by the graver, countenances which they now revere on board and canvas, and edifices which as yet afford comfort and elegance and devotion to their retirement? We say, 'as yet afford,' for let it not be forgotten, that in the revolutions of human things, neither the one nor the other are immortal; while, in every event, excepting that of total and overwhelming barbarism, the multiplying power of the press will infallibly preserve the resemblance of both when the originals are no more. What would now be given for contemporary histories, and contemporary drawings, of the religious Houses in their perfect state? Crowland was the mother of Cambridge; and what the parent is, the daughter may become. This inattention is the more to be deplored, or, rather, the less to be excused, because the ice is already broken, and the remaining difficulties are principally modern. Mr. Baker, a nonjuring member of St. John's College in the earlier part of the last century, and a name yet venerated on that very account, by those who will not copy after his example, spent a long life, and a genius capable of better things, in making collections, which yet remain, for a rival work (in his hand it would have been a very superior work) to the Athenæ Oxonienses, or to the Historia et Antiquitates of the same University by Wood.

With these encouragements to such an undertaking, the succinct, though not inaccurate account of Messrs. Lysons', consisting of fifty-six pages, which, with the exception of some general and very good

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good observations on architecture, professes to inform the world of what deserves to be known of this illustrious seminary, and the ancient town dependent upon it, will certainly oppose a very feeble impediment. Would that no impediment more formidable existed in the incurious spirit of their own institutions! With the same exception, and with the fear of Mr. Bentham before their eyes, our authors prudently dispatch the city of Ely, and its glorious Cathedral, in eight pages: but such an example, the first of any importance which has occurred in their alphabetical career, ought to have instructed them, that elaborate topical works, when they interfere with general and superficial views of a subject, are hinderances instead of helps, and ought, with a respectful reference, to have been wholly declined. Even in these unceremonious days, it is accounted a rudeness to cross the walk of a dignitary in his own cathedral; and we really think, that the merit of having illustrated so fine a subject as Ely in the style of Mr. Bentham, confers a literary dignity entitled to no less attention.

On the whole, considering the laborious work of Messrs. Lysons as a series of volumes for the purpose of reference, and, more especially, as to the successive descents and alienations of property down to the present day, (an article of information on which they appear to have greatly laboured,) we think it entitled to much and general commendation. The arrangement also is clear, and the style perspicuous and unaffected. These are praises which belong to the authors; the defects of the work arise out of the plan itself —perpetual abridgement where detail was loudly called for, and mortifying transitions, from one subject to another, at the moment when interest and anxiety were beginning to be excited. So far, therefore, as the work before us may, by its sweeping progress, have a tendency to check the spirit of more profound and elaborate inquiry on limited subjects, and, more especially, as it may prevent a great national plan for perfecting a body of English topography, we cannot, without offering violence to our own hopes and feelings, be very cordial in wishing for its success. If, however, (which seems probable enough,) it should, after all, turn out that the vigour of particular understandings is not to be deterred from working the mine because others have already scarified the surface; or if the national energies, in an age when the power of combination is fully understood, should still operate to fill up the great chasms which exist in our antiquarian library, with all the industry of private research, and all the splendour of public munificence, we shall willingly applaud our authors for having shed a previous light upon the subject, if no where powerful, yet no where uncertain, if never dwelling long, or strongly thrown, on any, even on the most interesting object, yet calmly progressive in its course, and pleasingly expansive in its diffusion.

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ART. IV. *The Principles of Fluxions: designed for the Use of Students in the University.* By William Dealtry, M. A. Professor of Mathematics in the East-India College, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Royal 8vo. pp. vi. 376. Cambridge, Deighton; London, Rivingtons, 1810.

OF all the inventions which have been at once the fruit and the reward of human genius and industry, that of Fluxions is the most brilliant, whether contemplated as the effort of an exuberant imagination, or with a view to the importance of its applications, and the immensity of the subjects which it embraces. Other mathematical inventions apply each to its individual subject, and cannot be brought to bear upon others: but this is an universal instrument, operating upon a variety of problems which could not be touched by any of the methods of the ancient geometers; and, by the generality of its means, bringing under one point of view theories and sciences which had been previously considered as insulated and independent. By it are investigated the laws which hold together the minutest particles of bodies; by it also are developed the grand principles which regulate the motions, and preserve the harmony of the universe; and the rapturous language in which Halley speaks of Newton's discoveries, applies with singular propriety to this the most sublime production of his genius.

That the honour of an invention so diversified in its applications, and so fertile in the production of important results, should have been contested by different persons and nations, is not to be wondered at: yet we cannot but regret that, at the distance of more than a century from the æra of the invention, an attempt should be made by a learned foreigner, M. Bossut,* to revive the discussion in such a manner as to involve it in additional obscurity and misrepresentation; and that an English mathematician should be found so insensible to the reputation of his country, as to publish a translation of Bossut's work, unaccompanied by a single word of censure or correction.

As the subject of Fluxions is not likely to come before us very frequently, and as we feel too much for our countrymen to be silent, while we see them stripped of their hard-earned laurels, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity furnished by Mr. Dealtry, to prove that Newton is not only the inventor but the *sole* inventor of the Fluxional analysis; and farther, that the French, in endeavouring to rob him of this honour, have acted upon a

* *Histoire des Mathematiques.* Translated by Bonnycastle.

principle

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principle which they have uniformly pursued with regard to English men of science.

We shall not waste the time of our readers in detailing the oft refuted story that 'Newton, the friend and pupil of Barrow, drew from him the hints which he afterwards worked up into his discoveries;' nor in proving that Newton was the *first* inventor both of the direct and inverse method of Fluxions; for that is expressly acknowledged by Montucla: but shall content ourselves with inquiring, whether Leibnitz really stole his invention from Newton, while he pretended to have discovered it; and whether the continental philosophers, especially the French, continue to ascribe the invention to Leibnitz, notwithstanding they have sufficient evidence of the contrary?

Now it is beyond dispute that Newton invented the general method of series, and the direct and inverse method of fluxions, in the course of the years 1664, 1665, 1666; that in letters circulated among his friends in those years, he developed the principles and explained the notation of those methods: and it is equally a fact, never called in question by M. Leibnitz or any of his advocates, that the letters containing these discoveries, or at least copies of them, were sent by Collins to Leibnitz in 1672; that Oldenburgh made similar communications early in 1676; and that Newton himself communicated to Leibnitz, first a brief sketch of his method in 1672, and in 1676 an account of his Treatise, in which he described his theory, (not in dark characters, as Bossut insinuates,) and the various kinds of problems to which it would apply. Leibnitz indeed acknowledges that in 1676, being in England, 'he staid some days in London, where he became acquainted with Collins, who shewed him several letters from Gregory, Newton, and other mathematicians, which turned CHIEFLY *on series.*' Leibnitz, then, was acquainted with the principles of Newton's methods before the year 1676; and we have evidence that in 1675, *he desired Oldenburgh to procure from Mr. Collins, Newton's methods of solving certain problems* which he did not understand.

The natural inference from all this, is that Leibnitz borrowed his first, if not his *entire* notion of the new analysis from the communications of Newton and his friends. Before we decide, however, we must take into account, Leibnitz's reply to Oldenburgh in 1677, in which he says, 'he has *long since* treated the subject more generally' than Slusius, in his method of tangents; and look to what Bossut calls 'the ever-memorable paper' of 1684, which contained the elements of the Calculus Differentialis. This paper, in truth, relates only to a few questions concerning tangents, and to the method of *maxima et minima;* but its author

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does not, even then, meddle with the problems of the higher geometry; though Newton had solved them ten years before. This was Leibnitz's first public essay on the subject, written eight years after he had observed in a letter to Newton—'What you seem to say, that almost all difficulties (with regard to fluents) may be reduced to infinite series, *I cannot come into*; for there are several problems so intricate and perplexed, as not to depend either on equations or quadratures;'—a remarkable declaration, made, unfortunately for the credit of Leibnitz's veracity, within six months of the time when he affirmed that he had *long since* treated the subject more generally.

Leibnitz's second essay on the new analysis was given in 1689, when he published *as his own* the chief propositions of the Principia, (a work which Newton had sent him,) in three different papers, entitled, Epistolæ de lineis opticis; Schediasma de Resistentia medii et motu projectilium gravium in medio resistente; et Tentamen de Motuum Cælestium Causis. In these he pretended that he had discovered all those propositions *before* the Principia appeared; and the better to appropriate to himself the principal of them, he thought fit to subjoin his own demonstration: here again, unluckily for Leibnitz, his new demonstration, purposely varied from Newton's, was *erroneous*; he was obliged to retract it himself; and thus proved that at this period he knew not how *to work with second fluxions.*

Can any one, after the perusal of these facts, believe for a moment that Leibnitz was really the inventor of the new analysis? Is it not the fair inference, that whatever be the merits of Leibnitz in other respects, he owes the invention of the Differential analysis entirely to Newton; and that he merely devised his new notation to disguise its origin?

But we will go still farther, and shew that this adoption of another's discoveries was consistent with the general habits of Leibnitz. In 1669, amongst other series by Newton, one for finding the arc of a circle from the sine—and, in 1671, another by James Gregory for finding the arc from the tangent, were sent to Collins, who, according to his usual custom, communicated them to several persons on the continent. In 1674, Leibnitz mentions, in a letter to Oldenburgh, his being possessed of the first series; and in 1675 both Newton and Gregory's series were sent by Oldenburgh to Leibnitz. But in 1676 Leibnitz dropped his pretensions to the first series, *not being able to demonstrate it*, and sent to Oldenburgh, *as his own*, that of Gregory, with a demonstration. Yet, in 1713, papers were discovered which compelled Leibnitz to acknowledge that the series which he formerly pretended to be his own, was stolen from Gregory! In 1676 he asserted his

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his claim to the co-invention of four series with Newton; though the method of finding them was sent him by Newton at his own request; and, though when he made his claim, he did not understand them, but requested Newton to explain some things farther. In 1677 he pretended to have found two series for the number whose logarithm was given; and yet, in the same letter, he desired Newton to explain to him how he found those series: Newton's reply convinced Leibnitz that he knew nothing of the nature of those particular series, and he was then modest enough to desist from his claim. In the same year, however, he made a sweeping declaration of having *long ago* invented all these series; but that having *forgot* his own methods, he wrote for Newton's! Such is the conduct of the man whom the French extol as a greater philosopher than Newton. Nor is this all. He pretended to Newton's differential method; to a property of a series discovered by Pascal; to a method of regression; to the discovery of the solid of least resistance; and to the invention of many propositions which he neither understood nor could demonstrate. Well therefore might M. Bossut characterise his hero as having a genius '*vaste et* DEVORANT:' for he swallowed every choice morsel which came in his way with singular avidity; though he was often obliged to disgorge it to his own disgrace.

If these facts were merely detailed in manuscripts, or published in books but little read, there might be some apology for the French philosophers, in uniformly awarding the honour of the invention of fluxions and the chief problems connected with them, to Leibnitz: but the *Commercium Epistolicum* of Collins, the admirable account of that work in the Philosophical Transactions, and the second volume of Robins's Tracts, which contain these and a multitude of other facts equally striking and decisive, published *before* the death of Leibnitz, have been very widely circulated on the continent, and are indeed quoted by some of those who, notwithstanding, espouse the cause of Leibnitz, and depreciate Newton, as one who made a mystery of science, and was deluded by the flattery of his countrymen.

Conduct like this is totally irreconcilable with a genuine love of truth or science. It is however perfectly compatible with the general practice of 'the Great Nation,' to steal from the English their inventions and discoveries; and, with some slight modifications, to exhibit them to the world as their own. As this part of our article is swelling under our hands, we select only a few instances.

1. The invention of the *modern* telegraph (for we here say nothing of the contrivances of Cleoxenus, Polybius, and others) is due to Dr. Hooke. His instrument was described to the Royal

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Society in 1684; and published, with diagrams, in a work much read in France. Nearly twenty years afterwards, viz. in 1702, M. Amontons *invented* a telegraph, little different from Hooke's. The French have ever since called Amontons the inventor; and the English, always too careless of the honour of their countrymen in such matters, have generally conceded the point.

2. Several of the mechanical contrivances in Desaguliers's Experimental Philosophy, Birch's History of the Royal Society, and the Philosophical Transactions, have been published in the 'Collection of Machines approved by the French Academy,' and the inventions ascribed to some foreigner whose name was never seen on any other occasion, or in any other place.

3. The sexagesimal division of the circle was first objected to, by the English mathematicians Oughtred and Wallis, both of whom recommended a *decimal* or *centesimal* division; and Dr. John Newton (an Englishman also) published a centesimal trigonometrical table in 1659. In the Philosophical Transactions for 1784, Dr. Hutton proposed the construction of trigonometrical tables on a new plan, in which the arc of the quadrant should be divided into aliquot parts of the radius. This awakened the attention of the French to the subject; and they instantly set about preparing more extensive tables than those of Dr. Newton: thus there appeared centesimal tables by Callet in 1795, and by Borda in 1801. From this period the French always speak of the centesimal division of the quadrant as theirs; English authors also speak of the 'new *French* division of the quadrant;' although the original idea is undoubtedly English, and a table, as we have observed, was published here in 1659, nearly 150 years before our neighbours thought of any such division.

4. The method of denoting the angles of triangles by the letters A, B, C, and the sides respectively opposite to them by the same letters in another form, *a*, *b*, *c*, was devised by an Englishman, and given by Gardiner in the Introduction to his Logarithmix *seventy years* ago. These tables were widely circulated on the continent; and a new edition was published at Avignon in 1770. The French mathematicians soon perceived the advantages of this simple improvement, and with their usual generosity adopted it as their own.

5. Montgolfier's *Hydraulic Ram*, described and highly commended by Montucla, Sonnini, and other French authors, is obviously a slight modification of Whitehurst's hydraulic machine, described in the Philosophical Transactions for 1775.

6. Carnot has taken propositions from Thomas Simpson, which he calls *new*; but afterwards, through forgetfulness, refers to the very works in which they are to be found. We believe, too, that the

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the best parts of Carnot's theory of *correlation* are due to an Englishman, who, a few years ago, when it was a sort of fashion with our countrymen to strive for the honour of being members of the 'National Institute,' sent a paper on the negative sign, and had the deserved mortification of seeing it *rejected*, while all his thoughts were *adopted* in M. Carnot's '*Geometrie de Position*,' published soon after.

7. D'Alembert's dynamical principle, so much boasted by the French mathematicians, is obviously borrowed from Newton's third law of motion; being indeed little more than the same thing so modified as to suit the algebraical method of investigating problems. Yet no French author, since the time of D'Alembert, ascribes either the original law or its applications to Newton.

8. If there be any philosophical discovery in modern times, of which the undisputed honour belongs to one man, it is that of latent heat by Dr. Black. Yet Lavoisier, in his developement of this principle, disingenuously conceals the name of the discoverer, although he had written a fulsome letter to him, in praise of his original genius. Subsequent French chemists have agreed in suppressing the name of Black: and there is reason to think that they contrived their new chemical nomenclature, almost entirely for the purpose of describing the brilliant discoveries of Black, Cavendish, and other British chemists, in novel language, and depriving them of their merited fame. That nomenclature, notwithstanding the strong objections to which many parts of it are liable, now prevails universally; and the consequence is that Lavoisier is extolled on the continent as the father of genuine chemical science, while Scheele, Bergman, and Black, are thrown into the shade.

9. Laplace, in his Mécanique Céleste, (tom. iv. p. 27,) deduces a formula for astronomical refractions, strictly similar to the one discovered half a century before by Dr. Bradley. The French astronomers have uniformly adopted and extolled Laplace's formula, and taken no more notice of its correspondence with that of Bradley than if the latter had never existed.

10. In 1805 Dr. Thomas Young published, in the Philosophical Transactions, some ingenious researches on the minute actions of fluids: in the succeeding year M. Laplace printed his Essays 'on the apparent attraction and repulsion of small bodies floating on the surface of liquids,' and 'on the adhesion of bodies to the surface of fluids,' in which he acknowledges that he has taken *one* idea from Dr. Young's paper; whence it is reasonable to conclude that he has borrowed *but* one. What opinion, then, will the reader form of his liberality, when he finds, on comparing the two papers, that the coincidence of results is not confined to *one* point,

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point, but extends to every part of the investigations in question, without any material exception?

Thus far, (and we have by no means exhausted our materials,) we have been led by a sense of justice to our country: we must now attend to Mr. Dealtry. In the composition of his treatise he professes to have guided himself by two rules from which he says 'he has not intentionally deviated in a single instance.' 1. To illustrate every thing in the simplest and most perspicuous manner. 2. To introduce every subject which an ordinary student is likely to require. In conformity to these rules, he disposes his materials in the following order. Having given the algorithm of fluxions, and shewn how to find the fluxions of the most usual quantities, he explains their application to the maxima and minima of quantities, and to the drawing tangents and asymptotes to curves. He then gives a brief account of the method of finding and correcting fluents; and exemplifies their use in finding the areas of curves, the capacities of solids, the lengths of curves, and the surfaces of solids. The fluxional processes for determining the centres of gravity, gyration, and oscillation, are next explained; and followed by a very short chapter on second, third, and higher fluxions. He proceeds to treat of points of contrary flexure, radii of curvature, evolutes of curves, spirals of different kinds; and investigates the chief properties of some celebrated curves, as the conchoid, the cissoid, the logarithmic curve, and the catenary: thence he passes to the attractions of bodies, the nature and computation of logarithms, and the maxima and minima of curves under certain relations; and gives us two valuable chapters on the motion of bodies urged by centripetal forces, and in resisting mediums. We are next presented with two extensive and highly interesting chapters on fluents and fluxional equations; and the work terminates with a copious and diversified collection of problems in various branches of pure and mixed mathematics.

The distinguishing characteristic of this author is perspicuity. He writes like a sound logician, who does not rest in analytical speculations as an end, but considers them as means, (and admirable means indeed they are,) of disciplining the mind. We think with him that 'the mere knowledge of certain truths is, to the great body of literary men, a matter only of secondary importance, when compared with the advantages which result from the exercise of the understanding, and the improvement of the reasoning faculty:' and we rejoice that he has presented the public with a work in no part of which are the logical and metaphysical advantages of the science sacrificed to a love of abstruseness, or a wish to dazzle and surprise. Mr. Dealtry never loses himself in intricacies; and but seldom leaves his readers in the dark for want of any requisite steps in his investigations.

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gations. His introductory view of the nature of fluxions is not quite so well guarded, perhaps, against objections as it might have been, nor so full as many learners may wish; but by making his sixth article correspond with Maclaurin's analogous theorem he has sheltered himself under mighty authority. Mr. Dealtry has, farther, the great merit of deducing the fluxional expressions for tangents, radii of curvature, rectifications, surfaces, &c. with succinctness and clearness; and, *generally*, that of illustrating his rules by a sufficient variety of examples. Altogether, indeed, we consider this as the best treatise on fluxions (except perhaps that by Lyons) which has been published in England since the days of Thomas Simpson: and we regret, that a work which we so highly approve, should notwithstanding be marked with a few deficiencies, which prevent our giving it an unqualified recommendation.

As we have no doubt that this treatise will be reprinted, and as we shall take a very sincere pleasure in contributing somewhat to its perfection, we trust Mr. Dealtry will receive the subjoined remarks with the same kindness with which they are offered.

'An introduction,' says Lord Bacon, 'ought to have two properties; the one, that of a perspicuous and clear method; and the other, that of a universal latitude and comprehension, where the students may have a little pre-notion of every thing, like a model towards a great building.' This maxim comprehends the two rules which Mr. Dealtry prescribed to himself; yet he appears to have somewhat violated the latter. 1st, He has omitted several topics of discussion, which are quite as intimately connected with the general subject, as others which are found in his book. Why, for example, are the fluxional methods of finding the centres of gravity, gyration, and oscillation given, and those for the centres of percussion and pressure omitted? and why is no notice taken of the centro-baric method? Mr. Dealtry must be aware that the centres of oscillation, percussion and pressure do not universally reside in the same point: and he well knows that the centro-baric theory furnishes a remarkably elegant process for quadratures and cubatures, which often applies with ease to cases where the common fluxionary method is difficult and tedious. Why, again, is there no theory given of the fluxional analogies of plane and spherical triangles, useful as these are in plane and physical astronomy? And finally, why is no notice taken of the subjects of catacaustics and diacaustics? The theory of this sublimer part of optics is at once simple and fascinating, and there flows from it a peculiarly beautiful method of tracing the properties of spherical glasses single or compound, and of ascertaining their foci at any distance of the radiant point from the lens.

2dly. In some of the subjects introduced into Mr. Dealtry's work,

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work, there are omissions which ought to be supplied; thus, in the chapter on tangents, he has overlooked the case in which $\frac{\dot{x}}{\dot{y}} = \frac{0}{0}$ a case which will occur in the curve whose equation is $x^4 - a\,y\,x^2 + b\,y^3 = 0$, and in various others. This is the more remarkable, because it was exhibited by an early objector to the new analysis, (*M. Rolle,*) as furnishing a striking exception to the universality of the fluxional method. It is, indeed, a real difficulty to a learner, though easily surmounted by the assistance of an intelligent tutor, and ought certainly to have been explained in the work before us. Under the head of tangents, too, the author should have treated the *inverse* problem, in which the equation expressing the nature of the curve is deduced from the analytic value of the subtangent. The examples at page 329, are too restricted to supply this deficiency.

Again, in the chapter on points of contrary flexure, a student will not meet with all the information which he requires. He is not, for example, told that, at a certain point of a curve there will be *inflexion* and neither *maximum* nor *minimum* when $\frac{\ddot{y}}{\dot{x}^2}$ becomes nothing simultaneously with $\frac{\dot{y}}{\dot{x}}$. Nor is he taught to distinguish between points of inflection and *regression*. Regressions of the second species, indicated by the formula $\frac{\dot{x}\,\ddot{x}\,\dot{y} + \dot{y}\,\dot{y}\,\ddot{y} - 3\,\ddot{y}\,\dot{y}\,\dot{y}}{\dot{x}\,\dot{y}\,\dot{y}} = 0$ or ∞, certainly merited particular attention.

The succeeding chapter on the radius of curvature, though excellent as far as it goes, is still defective: for here, also, the inverse problem of finding the curve from the radius of curvature is omitted, although it may be subdivided into at least four cases, viz. when the curve is referred to a focus, when it is referred to an axis, when the radius or co-radius is given in terms of the abscissa, and when it is given in a curve referred to an axis. On this part of the subject, the papers of the Riccati and of Gabriel Manfredi, in the second volume of the Bolonian Commentaries, may be consulted with advantage.

There are some very ingenious and useful propositions in the chapter on spirals; but, to have rendered it complete, the author should have noticed the spiral of Pappus, and the Loxodromic spiral; especially as the latter leads to the solution of a very interesting problem in navigation, a subject which Mr. Dealtry obviously does not think beneath his notice, since he has treated of Mercator's projection. But the omission, which we most regret, is that of curves of double curvature, since the consideration of their tangents, their osculatory and normal planes, is extremely interesting, and, in the usual cases, free from any difficulty which may not be easily removed.

Farther,

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Farther, we must notice the chapters on fluents and fluxional equations. These, as we have already intimated, are highly ingenious and valuable, and their utility is much increased by the addition of some elegant propositions from Demoivre and Cotes; but they are not altogether complete. The integration of fluxional equations involving two variable quantities is imperfectly treated; the comprehensive method by a separation of the indeterminates is scarcely adverted to, and the *criterion of integrability* in equations of these kinds no where exhibited. For this the reader may be referred to the works on the integral calculus by Euler, Lacroix, and Bossut; by the latter of whom this branch of the subject is treated in a very masterly manner. We lament that no English author, with whose works we are acquainted, has entered upon this particular enquiry, notwithstanding it is that to which we must look for the principal improvements in the modern analysis.

A less important circumstance, which has been left unnoticed by Mr. Dealtry, is, that in the investigations of curves, such formulæ sometimes arise as admit of integrations which are really different, and supply us with curves of *various* kinds, even without the addition of any constant quantity. Thus the equation $\frac{2x\dot{y}-2y\dot{x}}{(x-y)^2}=\dot{z}$, may become by integration, $\frac{2x}{x-y}=z$, $\frac{2y}{x-y}=z$, $\frac{x+y}{x-y}=z$, $\frac{2y}{x-y}=y$, $\frac{x+y}{x-y}=y$, &c. or $\frac{2x+cx-cy}{x-y}=\int\dot{z}$, the fluent varying with the assumed value of c, but being limited by certain relations of the unknown quantities.

3dly. We would give a few instances in which the solutions of particular problems might admit of improvement. And here we first turn to the investigations relative to the conchoid, where those who learn the nature of the curve from this book, will be left in ignorance as to the existence of such curves as the inferior and nodated conchoids, and of that in which there is a conjugate point. Here, too, is a solution of the problem, 'to find the point of contrary flexure' in a conchoid, unaccompanied by the remark that the inferior conchoid is often without any such point.

In the chapter on the maxima and minima of curves under certain conditions, we object to the solutions of the 2d and 8th examples. Thus in the problem where it is required to find the curve, which by a revolution round its axis shall generate the greatest solid under a given surface, Mr. Dealtry determines the solid to be a sphere. But this is only a particular case of the general solution: for the fluxional equation to the curve is $\dot{x}=\frac{(y^2-e)\dot{y}}{\sqrt{[4a^2y^2-(y^2-e)^2]}}$ which becomes $\dot{x}=\frac{y\dot{y}}{\sqrt{(4a^2-y^2)}}$, an equation to a circle, only when $e=0$.

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$c=p$. Again, in finding the curve of swiftest descent, when the velocity varies as the square root of the ordinate, our author determines it to be a cycloid, but does not notice the essential condition, that the curve must *commence* at the upper of the two given points; as was first shewn by Newton in his admirable construction of the problem, given in Phil. Transac. No. 224.

The solution of the problem in which it is required 'to find when that part of the equation of time which arises from the obliquity of the ecliptic, is a maximum,' is correct: but has the disadvantage of not being *fluxional*. Were it not that Mr. Dealtry has declined to investigate the fluxions of spherical triangles, he might have exhibited a very simple solution in a small compass. For the sun's longitude (l) will form the hypothenuse of a right angled spherical triangle, of which his right ascension (a) will be the base, and the obliquity of the ecliptic or angle between them, a constant angle. Hence, by Cagnoli's Trigonometry, page 329 and 677, we have $\dot{l} : \dot{a} :: \text{sin. } 2l : \text{sin. } 2a$. Therefore, when $\dot{l} = \dot{a}$, as it must be in the case of the maximum, sin. $2l$ = sin. $2a$. Consequently, $2l$ must be the supplement of $2a$, or $l + a = 90°$. So that when $\dot{l} - \dot{a} = o$, or $l - a =$ a max. that is, when this part of the equation of time is a maximum, the sum of the sun's longitude and right ascension will be 90 degrees; the sun being either in the 1st or 3d quadrant of the ecliptic. The correspondent time is about May the 7th or November the 8th.

In solving the mechanical problems in which the effects of friction will be very considerable, it might have been advisable to shew how those effects are to be estimated or brought into the calculus, upon any assumed hypothesis: though if substances were perfectly smooth, or chains, cords, &c. perfectly flexible, the process of Mr. Dealtry would be strictly correct. Here too we would remark that, in prob. 107, where the time is to be computed in which a chain will run off a pulley, the length of the chain being L, the difference in the length of its two ends at the commencement of the motion $2a$, and $m = 16\frac{1}{12}$ feet, Mr. Dealtry's final expression for the time t is

$$t = \sqrt{\frac{L}{4m}} \times \text{hyp. log.} \frac{\frac{1}{2}L + \sqrt{(aL - 2a^2) + (\frac{1}{2}L - a)^2}}{a};$$

but this manifestly reduces to the simpler and more convenient expression,

$$t = \sqrt{\frac{L}{4m}} \times \text{hyp. log.} \frac{L + \sqrt{(L^2 - 4a^2)}}{2a}.$$

Prob. 108, is 'Suppose a weight suspended by a cord passing over a fixed pulley, to be uniformly drawn up: required the number of vibrations which the weight would make before it reaches the pulley?'

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pulley?' It is demonstrated by a fluxional process, that the number of vibrations made by such a variable pendulum is twice the number that would be made in the same time by a common pendulum whose length is a, the primitive length of the variable pendulum. The fluxional solution was certainly the only one open to our author; but the mathematical student will be aware that the problem may be solved more easily without fluxions: for an answer may be obtained by merely summing a series of fractions, whose numerators are equal, and whose denominators are square roots whose sides are single powers, decreasing from a given term in a given arithmetical progression. A very elegant solution, to a far more general problem, is given by Dr. Hutton, at page 195 of his 'Select Exercises.'

We have now obtruded on the patience of our readers, and the candour of the author, a considerable number of objections; but the truth is, that this is one of those works which can endure objection, and of which, therefore, it is a more useful task to point out the defects than the merits. We are sensible that, to the exceptions we have taken, Mr. Dealtry may have an answer which, in point of legal strictness at least, would be in a good measure available. He may allege that he has, in his preface, expressly disclaimed the purpose of writing a complete treatise;—that his object, as there stated, was merely to collect so much of analytical knowledge as might suffice for the illustration of the chief propositions of Newton's Principia;—and that he has in terms protested against all demands exceeding this limit. It is difficult, we acknowledge, to draw the exact line in such cases; and perhaps most of what we have described as the desiderata of Mr. Dealtry's publication, may have been omitted by him from deliberation, not from inadvertence. At the same time, we should more easily allow to this writer the benefit of the plea in question, if he had executed less well that which he has actually attempted; and we have so favourable an opinion of his performance that we cannot help wishing it were as complete as it is excellent. Indeed we know not where to look for a work which might so securely be recommended to that class of persons whom the author avows himself to have had principally in view;—academical students of the mathematics. Nor, amidst the other and more peculiarly appropriate merits which we have already ascribed to it, can we forget to mention a quality, in which some mathematical compositions of considerable eminence have been greatly defective—the unaffected language and unpretending manner in which its principles and results are developed.

This work is handsomely and, in general, correctly printed. There appears to us, however, to be nothing, either in the quantity

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of matter introduced, or in the length and structure of the analytical expressions, which could call for the royal octavo size; the only effect of which is, that the volume is rendered unnecessarily cumbersome and expensive.

ART. V. *The State of the Established Church, in a Series of Letters to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c.* Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. With an Appendix of Official Documents. pp. 151. Stockdale, Pall-Mall, London. 1810.

AN Established Church has for its end the maintenance of religion; and it pursues that end by the appointment of ministers, supported from public funds, whose business it is to perform religious offices, convey religious instruction, and promote, by precept and example, consistent practice. It must at all times, therefore, be desirable to discuss, in what degree the means employed effect the end proposed: and, if any plans are suggested by which greater efficacy may be given to the means, it is important that they should be fairly stated and considered.

But, in proportion as the subject involves considerations of deep and serious concern, it is essentially requisite that the task of discussing it should not be lightly undertaken. The person who comes forward for this purpose may reasonably be expected, to have previously examined his competency to the business. He should be satisfied that he is not led away by a fondness for finding faults, and amusing the public with plans of fancied perfection, never to be realized in any establishments in which human beings are concerned. Above all, he should be cautious not to bring to the discussion a mind soured by spleen, or perverted by prejudice; a disposition to give exaggerated statements of existing imperfections; and to set off facts and characters so as to convey, on the whole, a most unfair and false representation. Should he be unfortunately deficient in discretion, candour, or good temper, it is highly probable, that, whatever be his desire of doing good to the church, he may inflict upon it serious and positive injury.

The anonymous author of the work before us, who has thought proper to volunteer his services for the benefit of the establishment, is unquestionably very far from possessing these sterling qualities. In many of his assertions respecting particular circumstances of the church, and the character and conduct of the clergy, he violates every law of justice and decorum. His invectives are frequently

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frequently conceived and expressed in a spirit of the most determined bitterness: his statements are, in many instances, false in point of fact; and, in almost all, liable to the charge of misrepresentation. If it had been his declared object to degrade and vilify the clergy, and to loosen the hold which they have and ought to have on public esteem, we know not that he could have easily adopted language more suited to his views.

We have often accounted, in our own minds, for the great number of persons who have taken up the profession of reforming errors and abuses in all ages, from the facility with which it may be embraced, and the pleasure which attends its exercise. In the first place, it is perfectly easy to point out corruptions and abuses in all human institutions. In every system, at all extensive and complicated, the dullest of mortals has sufficient wit to discover something which is wrong: add to this, the more his views are confined, the more he sees matters in detail, and not in their general tendency. In the second place, few, we fear, are wholly exempt from a slight sprinkling of that species of querulousness, which generates, at times, an inclination to find fault, and makes the act of doing so no unwelcome employment. Still the generality of persons will be backward in indulging such a disposition, unless they can contrive to satisfy themselves that they are acting from some popular and virtuous motive, and not from the incitements of private spleen and ill-humour. When the character of a reformer is once assumed, this motive is readily supplied. Intemperance of expression and harshness of invective take the name of compliance with a strong feeling of public duty. It then becomes the office of hardy and unbending virtue to give the worst name to corruptions and abuses; to pry with busy nicety into the conduct and characters of others; to speak whatever may be deemed plain truth, without reserve; in other words, to misrepresent facts and to convey very injurious impressions, by means of exaggerated statements.

We conceive that we are putting the most favourable construction on the motives of the writer before us, when we consider him as a person deeply affected with the love of reform, and under the influence of this specious passion freely indulging a disposition to see things in their worst colours. He takes indeed frequent occasion to let us know that he is no lover of fanciful schemes. In one place (p. 32) he says 'he has as little inclination as any one for innovations;' in another, (p. 90,) that 'he has an innate dread of specious reform:'—we are not always, however, disposed to take a man's character of himself, and sometimes infer, from the very anxiety to remove an imputation, the existence of an inward consciousness that it is just. By supposing him also to

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possess too little judgment to see the full consequences of what he says, and too little delicacy to feel the proper way of stating what he intends, we may perhaps, account, in the least invidious manner, for the course and intemperate invectives of which we have to complain.

The author, writing under the form of letters, (ten in number,) assumes the privilege allowed by that species of composition, of setting down his matter in the most desultory manner. Frequently, when he appears about to discuss a part of the subject, he merely gives a short notice of it, and flies off at once to other topics. He expresses himself, generally with freedom, and sometimes with force; but his remarks are in many instances too flippant, and his occasional asperity of animadversion highly reprehensible.

He begins by complimenting Mr. Perceval on his attachment to the interests of the Established Church, in which we are cordially disposed to join—and he properly adduces, as proofs of such friendly disposition, his Majesty's recommendation to his Parliament to consider the case of small livings, and the liberal grant made in consequence. We have, however, a very early foretaste of the tone and spirit in which his observations are to be conveyed. He calls (p. 4) for 'a rigid and effectual reform of those *errors and decays* which have crept into the Established Church.' He tells us (p. 8) that, had there been *common and decent attention and zeal* on the part of the clergy, there would have been at this time very few seceders. Professing to feel great alarm at the dangers which threaten the established church, he wishes to lend his feeble aid in its support, and accordingly proceeds to the causes which have led to its decline, and to suggest the best means of counteracting them.

'In doing this, (he says, p. 11,) I shall be under the painful necessity of attributing to the conduct of a large proportion of the clergy the greater part of the evils which I shall point out; and of speaking of their character and conduct with a degree of censure from which I would willingly be spared. I must do so with the more reluctance, because I am not unaware that those who have a motive different from mine, constantly assail religion through its ministers; and that, while I arraign the clergy as a body, I may appear to lose sight of the very many (I still hope the majority) who are entitled to very different treatment.'

He considers our church establishment as consisting of well-endowed schools and seminaries for the education of ministers of religion, and large revenues set apart for the maintenance of the different orders. 'Of these numerous and costly establishments, (he adds, p. 14,) there is only one description which has not *widely* degenerated

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'degenerated from its original objects and utility.' After so sweeping a condemnation, our readers may be curious to know, in favour of which this splendid exception is made. He alludes, he says, to our public schools, which continue to afford a most wise and solid system of education; 'but he is bound to detach from the applause which he readily bestows on them, the modern state of our universities.' Now, that our public schools have not departed from the design of their original institution, we readily agree: but, on what principle it can be asserted that they have not, and that our universities have, we are wholly at a loss to discover. In both, combined with many evils which cannot be prevented, are found many solid and substantial advantages. If it be allowed that our public schools are subject to the best regulations which vigilant attention and prospective caution on the part of those who preside, can devise; that in them the faculties of the mind are stirred to activity, and that species of emulation excited, which draws forth various talent; it must also be allowed that here and there, from the impossibility of close attention to individuals, dulness will remain uninstructed, and idleness escape without effectual correction; that subordination will occasionally become relaxed; and that vicious habits will spread a taint, where the facility of contagion is necessarily so great. The advantages and evils, belonging to our public schools and universities, are inseparable from the nature of both; and we have yet to learn, what departure from the original institution is to be charged against the one, which does not, on the same ground, and with the same reason, apply to the other.

But we must yet dwell a little on the author's injurious statements respecting the universities—statements so strong, that, if opinions of them are formed from his representations, they will be supposed to be mere sinks of depravity and corruption. The evils which attach to our present church establishment have their source, according to him, in the want of subordination and discipline at the universities. In his statement of the cause of this, however, we can scarcely believe him serious. 'Much of it is owing,' he says, (p. 16,) 'to the introduction of many persons to the higher offices of this establishment, upon mere principles of charity, with little reference to weight, talents, and respectability.' He tells us, that 'poverty and prescription become almost the only passports to fellowships of colleges,' that 'young men of highest attainments, liberal fortunes and manners, are frequently dismissed to make way for persons who have no other recommendation but their poverty, and of genius and pursuits very little elevated above those of a common mechanic.' (p. 18.) If we wished to give a notable instance of a man writing on a subject of which his ignorance is complete in every part, we know not how we could possibly se-

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lect a more instructive specimen than this. It is singular, that, while his general head of accusation against the universities is that of a wide departure from their original institution, he should rest upon a charge, which has its only foundation in the necessary adherence to the terms of that institution; and in regard to which a departure from those terms would, if practicable, be, of all things, the most desirable: since the only cases where inferior merit and ill-founded pretensions place men in offices of academical trust and emolument are precisely those, in which a free choice is precluded by the unfortunate restriction of statutes. Throwing these cases out of the question as admitting no remedy, we can state from the best authority, that the assertion is palpably untrue: that wherever freedom of election is permitted, the claims of talent, learning, and character are principally considered, and that the most scrupulous attention is paid to the means of balancing the different pretensions of candidates. The danger evidently is from a different quarter, from too much weight being allowed to wealth and extraneous interest, in opposition to the claims of deserving and unbefriended poverty. If any well-founded accusation of this nature could be brought against the universities, we should then agree that they had departed from their original institution, and deserved some severity of invective. As the matter stands, we apprehend that the public will perceive, in the ground of the insinuations here thrown out, the fullest assurance, that in reality no improper influence is suffered to interfere in the disposal of academical preferments, and that due attention is paid to the claims of merit. In fact, the state of things in the universities is on that footing which is most natural and most desirable. The road of preferment is open to all; a fair encouragement is given to talent and industry; and in proportion as those who depend on themselves for advancement, are likely to make the greatest exertions, in that proportion, and no other, do instances abound of persons rising from inferior walks of life into stations of academical trust and power. But the author proceeds—

'The corruption of manners *suffered* by these persons to exist among the students is the groundwork of the greater part of the calamities which now threaten the church. There is no person who has been a member of either of these places of education who must not be sensible, that there are more vice and profligacy of manners *countenanced* at our universities, where a direct and obvious check exists, than would be suffered to take place among its members afterwards, when they arrive at situations in life which present no positive restraints; and that the scenes of riot and debauchery which pass *unnoticed* (or at least are ineffectually noticed) by those who cannot be ignorant of them, would in this metropolis subject the perpetrators to the correction of the police.' —p. 20.

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It must be observed, that in this passage (and others to the same effect) the writer talks of profligacy, corruption, &c. not as incidental to the universities, but as belonging to them generally, and characterising them systematically—not as existing in spite of the endeavours of those who preside, but as countenanced, or connived at by them. These, in truth, are hard terms; and, if infamy would indeed attach to the accused party, provided the charge could admit of proof; it cannot be much less infamous in the accuser to have advanced it, on light grounds, without proof, and without support.

How then is the accusation to be met? Not surely by denying that any instances of vice and insubordination occur in the universities. Wherever any large number of human beings are collected, there, we fear, some vicious taint will always be found. At an age when passion is headstrong, when the restraint of reason is feeble, and the rein of authority ill endured, it were indeed to expect too much, to hope that any degree of vigilance and caution could, in every instance, repress the tendency to irregularity and excess. But the accusation may be confidently met, by stating that the cases of corruption and excess are exceptions to the general system of manners, and to the general habits there established. These are, in the main, correct, decorous, and proper. On what plea the author can pretend to justify his assertion of 'countenance and connivance at irregularities in the universities,' we are totally at a loss to judge, nor does he pretend to explain. The experience of all 'who have been members of these places of education' will not, we are fully convinced, supply him with a single instance of this description. On the contrary, it will inform him, that nothing is omitted in the maintenance of becoming discipline, which discreet and cautious vigilance can suggest. He cannot surely require to be reminded, that, in such matters, there must always be a proper adjustment of the means to the end; that what is desirable, is not always practicable; that when the rein of discipline is drawn too tight, its purposes will often be defeated; and that authority exercised without judgment frequently provokes a resistance leading to an increase of the evils which it was intended to repress. That the persons who preside in the universities regulate their exertions in maintaining discipline, by moderation and discretion, we do and must believe: but we pronounce, without hesitation, the statement of wilful connivance at vice, to be a most unfounded and injurious calumny.

Having afforded this view of the manners of the universities, he proceeds to a sketch equally just and correct of their religious studies, and the attendance on divine worship. He states, that 'Christianity forms little or no part of the regular plan of in-

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struction;' that, 'contrary to the experience in every other profession, candidates for our ministry are taught every branch of science but that in which they are to practise;' (p. 21;) and that 'the principles of religion form no step whatever to the degree at Cambridge, and at Oxford a very trifling one.' p. 24. These assertions we must again meet with a positive denial. Certain it is, that, as the universities are places of general education for persons in every station of life, the instruction must be extended to the several parts of useful learning, not confined to one in particular. Certain too it is, that, preparatory to the exercise of every profession, the sacred, as well as others, a foundation must be laid in the knowledge of the learned languages, and of ethics, and in the general improvement of the reasoning faculties—and, in consequence, to these general objects the course of academical instruction is, and ought to be, mainly directed. But independently of these preparatory studies, it is well known that, at both the universities (no less at Cambridge, of which this writer expressly denies the fact, than at Oxford, of which he hardly allows it) lectures on the essential parts of theology are expressly given, forming, perhaps, no part of the subject matter of examination for degrees, but still enforcing, on the whole, no inconsiderable portion of attention to these objects.

On the subject of divine service, he says that, 'the attendance on it is rather a roll-call than a religious duty;' that 'it is hurried over, like a burthensome ceremony, that young men go there intoxicated,' &c. &c. p. 22. Here we perceive the same complete misrepresentation of substantial truth; yet so connected with incidental facts as not to be pronounced absolute falsehood. By the very repetition of religious duties, it must be admitted that the feeling of solemnity too frequently wears away, and that the attention is too apt to flag: on this account a tendency will always exist, in those who are obliged to a continual round of attendance, to substitute a mere formal observance for the essence and spirit of the duty. This evil, we fear, is seated in human nature, and if the author could discover any means of wholly preventing it, he would confer no common service on mankind. But it is decidedly untrue, that any systematic neglect, any general deficiency in the mode of performing the services in college chapels, assists and promotes this tendency. When he asserts that the students 'go to the chapels intoxicated,' what does he mean to impress on the public mind? That college chapels are scenes of habitual riot and debauchery? Perhaps he may have the modesty to confess that this is not his meaning; but that he has heard of such things. And what species of indecorum, and excess is there, we may ask, of which, in schools, in universities, in all public bodies,

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bodies, he and every one must not have heard some single instance? It is at once provoking and humiliating to have to notice such absurd trash.

From these opinions respecting the state of the universities, in which, as he insinuates, is seated the root of all the evils complained of, he proceeds, in the same strain of petulant invective, to animadvert on the usual mode of examination. He states his belief that there are few instances, in which a graduate who can procure testimonials to character, construe a chapter in the Greek Testament, and answer some questions from Grotius, may not succeed in procuring holy orders. He adds a facetious statement of the church having been deemed 'an hospital for incurables,' &c. (p. 26.) It is certainly true, that a liberal education, a moral character certified in a regular form, and a competent knowledge in the peculiar studies of the profession, ascertained by an examination of no great depth, do furnish the usual passport for holy orders; and we know not that any material alteration for the better could be made. It is also true, that the most learned, zealous, and judicious prelates, have followed this plan, without thinking that a greater degree of strictness would materially conduce to the interests of the church; and that notwithstanding this writer's expression, that 'so lax has *become* the examination for holy orders,' an expression well calculated to promote his views of degrading the clergy in public estimation—no greater laxity now prevails on this matter, than at all former periods. Ideas of theoretical perfection in the ministers of religion sound extremely well. But, when we come to consider the matter practically, we must descend into common life, and find what standard of clerical perfection it is possible for us to attain. On the subject of moral character and conduct, all must be agreed. On that of professional acquirements it must always be remembered, that competent information on the several topics, is all that can be expected from the general mass of the clergy. Deep and extensive erudition must, from the nature of things, belong only to a few. Surely this author himself will not seriously contend that a want of liberal attainments characterises our present clergy, or that general insinuations of gross ignorance are not palpably false.

We next advance to his representations of the character and conduct of the clergy. These are conveyed in language too rude and disgusting to be quoted at length. One or two passages will give our readers some idea of their general style.

He says, (p. 37,) that, 'as is too often the case, piety appertains to every species of worship, except our own—that the Methodists, &c. have none of that *slovenly indifference* which marks the conduct of so many of our own clergy'—'that a great proportion of

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them betray *an indifference of conduct, and a dissoluteness of manners*, which is most shameful,' &c. Again, 'Is there a subject of public corruption and profligacy, the developement of which does not discover its reverend associates and abettors?' p. 38. In the higher orders of the church, he tells us, 'we are too often obliged to witness a kind of negative virtue, which is removed but one degree from positive misconduct.' pp. 39. At pp. 68, 69, &c. are most false representations of the general manner of performing the church services, the neglect of rubrical duty, and the style of preaching. We are fully aware that he frequently qualifies his expressions by the terms 'many of the clergy,' 'in many instances,' and so forth; but this leaves, in full force, our general complaint of inflamed and exaggerated statements, calculated and designed to excite very injurious impressions. However, he does not always exhibit even this appearance of qualification. At p. 109, we have 'A parochial clergy thus *indolent and depraved*.' And again, 'It is not to be wondered that the Church of England is now *a scandal to religion*.'

On expressions so coarse and indecent, it is needless to offer any remarks—except that they proceed from a 'professed friend to the Church!' We will, however, notice one or two of the features which characterise this sort of statement, in order to put the reader on his guard.

In the first place, these representations proceed on the assumption of a position admirably calculated to sanction calumny, and mislead opinion, viz. that it is always allowable to attribute to a whole order of men the faults of a few of its members. Let this be once assumed, and it is wonderful how much may be proved. By the same accurate and conclusive style of reasoning, our nobility may be styled gamesters; our lawyers cheats; and our soldiers poltroons. An excellent opening is thus made for every species of abuse and misrepresentation, of which those whose taste lies this way may take full advantage.

In the second place, these statements proceed on the representation of occasional practices, as regular and systematic habits. 'A fox-chace, an horse-race, &c. it seems, is never without its reverend attendants.' p. 39. Now what is the real force of this expression, and of an hundred similar ones which might be produced? If the inconsistency of such pursuits with the clerical character be maintained, they only prove, at the most, that some individuals, out of a large number, act improperly. If, on the other hand, it be granted that it is not positively reprehensible in a clergyman to indulge, occasionally, in some of these amusements, and that the fault lies in that excessive attachment to them which causes the neglect of important duties: then the unfairness is more strikingly

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ingly apparent, which represents practices of occasional occurrence as fixed and regular habits, sufficient to engross all the time, and to taint the entire character.

In the third place, it should be well remembered, that the many instances of regular and virtuous demeanour in the clergy pass unobserved, whilst every single instance of disgraceful conduct strikes the public eye, and is eagerly pressed on general notice. 'Do not,' says this civil declaimer, 'our courts of justice teem with their offences,' &c. &c. p. 38. Thus, if one or two individuals incur public censure, it is impossible to limit the sentences of general declamation which may be framed against the manners and conduct of the clergy at large. On the other hand, those who devote themselves to the meritorious discharge of their functions, remain unknown to all, except the small circle amongst whom they immediately converse. Their silent virtues, the retired graces of their character, are not obtruded on the public eye. No busy examiner into 'the state of the established church' expatiates on the strict propriety of their conduct, nor on their earnest endeavours to promote the happiness of all entrusted to their charge. That such instances exist, that they exist in great numbers, we are prepared confidently to maintain; and we are convinced that, if the delineators 'of the whole order' would take the trouble of comparing the number of those who do honour to their profession, with those who disgrace it, they would feel and acknowledge the marked injustice of the vague and comprehensive invectives usually thrown out against them.

There is another representation of the writer, on which we wish to remark, as unfair and unfounded. We mean the invidious comparisons between the ministers of the Established Church, and those of dissenting sects. 'The Methodist, the Roman Catholic, the Anabaptist, and the Presbyterian, have none of that slovenly indifference which marks the conduct of so many of our own clergy.' p. 37.—'The established religion was never more grievously neglected, forming, one may almost say, in every point of view, a striking contrast to the zeal and piety which marks the conduct of every one of the numerous sects with which the country abounds.' p. 5. We have no pleasure in casting imputations on others, but we cannot suffer such injurious comparisons to pass without notice. Many ministers of dissenting sects amongst us, have, no doubt, their virtues and their merits; but we are yet to learn on what ground their general character is to be fixed at so high a point above that of the Established Church. Are they to claim an exemption from those failings and vices which are so industriously marked, whenever they occur, in the regular clergy? Are they never actuated by secular motives, and views of worldly interest? If their zeal is to be the theme of panegyric, is it not,

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not, in many cases, a zeal which commonly characterises the weaker party—a zeal founded on views of acquiring influence, and making proselytes, for purposes of secular advantage? Or, is it not frequently grounded in feelings of enthusiasm—feelings which have little tendency to generate sound practical piety, and even sometimes consist with very corrupt manners? Is not their ignorance frequently of the lowest description; their style of pulpit oratory such as to shock common sense? Is the Roman Catholic priest, in particular, to be admired (we speak generally) for the sincerity of his inward piety, in opposition to the cold formality of outward rites? We wish at all times to avoid the necessity of reflecting upon others; but, if the subject is forced upon us, we are bold to profess that, by whatever test the question be tried, the established clergy will gain by every fair comparison with the ministers of other sects, taken singly or collectively.

To what length, then, perhaps this writer may ask, are we disposed to go? Do we wish to contend that all accusations against the clergy are destitute of foundation? By no means: we readily grant that instances of indecorous conduct occasionally occur; and that cases of inattention and indifference are observable, which reflect much discredit on individuals. But we scruple not to affirm that the ministers of the Established Church, taken in their general character, are respectable for their attainments, decorous in their demeanour, and attentive to their duties. We will go farther, and state our belief that there never was a period in which the clergy were more characterised by sound sense, respectable behaviour, and rational piety, than the present. We believe too, that, within a few years, there has been a considerable increase of active zeal amongst them; caused, no doubt, in part by the necessity of resisting the invasions of ignorant fanatics. We speak not of that heated and intemperate zeal which places religion rather in mystical feeling than in sound morality; which, formed to catch the attention of the vulgar ever prone to the workings of enthusiasm, acts with a spirit of proselytism, and aids the purposes of schism; but of that more guarded zeal which, if less intense in its energy, is more sound in its principles, and more beneficial in its effects; which impels to an attentive discharge of all religious duties, and pursues the forward course of endeavouring to make men truly pious in their feelings, and practically virtuous in their conduct.

But it is not to the parochial clergy that this writer's animadversions are confined. The higher orders are blamed for suffering these things to be. 'The *indifference*, and often *total ignorance* of the higher orders of the clergy about the matter.' p. 43. Again, 'It is impossible that this would be the state of the church if

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if the higher orders did their duty,' &c. p. 72. If he means to say that any possible vigilance in the governing part of the church could wholly prevent individual instances of indecorous conduct, he is completely mistaken. If he means to insinuate, that the conduct of the governing part of the church exhibits an unwillingness to make proper enquiries into the state of matters under their charge, and a backwardness to interfere on just occasions, we believe that experience will give a direct negative to his assertions. Scanty, indeed, must be his knowledge, if it have not supplied him with many instances of persons in the highest stations of the church, who unite, to great respectability of private character, and great extent of learning, a most zealous attention to the duties of their charge, an anxious desire to provide against abuses, and to promote, by precept, discipline, and example, the proper discharge of all important duties.

Our limits will not permit us to follow the author through his statement of the several causes of evil to the church, and his plans for removing them. We are the less anxious to do this, as we perceive little that has not been often produced before, or that evinces either sagacity, judgment, or competence to the subject. He complains of the facility of granting licenses to dissenting ministers, the distribution of preferments by private hands, the unequal division of church property, and the non-residence of the clergy. On the latter, he remarks, p. 42, with his usual flippancy, that Sir W. Scot's Bill was 'unwise, unnecessary, and impracticable.' He devotes one whole letter (p. 60) to the defence of tythes, and another (p. 94) to the subject of small livings, and the mode of augmentation.

He expresses himself feelingly alive to the injury which the Established Church is sustaining from the 'rapid and alarming' increase of seceders from its rites and offices, and professes an anxious desire to remedy the evil by the most effectual means that can be devised. The subject is certainly important, and deserves to be deeply considered.

Whilst human nature remains as it is, some difference of opinion on these interesting topics must always subsist. Where a free profession of religious tenets is tolerated, and where the spirit of proselytism is allowed to exert itself without restraint, there the variations of opinion and the division into sects will most abound. It is difficult to bring into comparison the present number of seceders from our church and that of former periods; but, undoubtedly, at no time since the reformation has the number been inconsiderable. Witness the publications of the several periods, teeming nearly as much with complaints of the alarming increase of dissenters as those of the present day. Witness also the political influence which history shews them at all periods to have obtained.

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It is natural for us to see, in an exaggerated point of view, an evil which exists in our own days, and to suppose it greater than it has ever been. All matters of this kind, however, are subject to alternations. Particular opinions, feelings, and prejudices, become current, spread for a time, and afterwards die away. If the present be a period in which secession from the church has been on the increase, a time may come when, from causes equally unassignable, it may decline. We are unwilling to augur an increase to an unlimited extent, which will end in the downfal of the Establishment. We certainly cannot allow that any *increased* negligence of our clergy is productive of the evil; at the same time, we are fully sensible that an augmentation of zeal and activity on their part must ever furnish the most powerful means of checking and diminishing it.

Whatever we may think of the author's proposals for preventing the increase of dissenters, we differ from him very essentially respecting the means by which this increase will *not* be prevented. It most certainly will *not* be prevented by the plan which he pursues of degrading the regular clergy in public estimation, by exaggerating their faults, by dwelling with malignant pleasure on every topic of invective, and affixing, as stains on the whole order, instances of bad conduct, which, in exception to the general practice, occur in individual members.

Amongst the most important subjects connected with the increase of dissenters, is that of granting licenses to dissenting ministers in the manner now allowed by law. This is a subject which must be touched (if it ever be touched) with a very tender hand. Feelings and prejudices, of the strongest and warmest kind, are tremblingly alive upon it. Not only must we avoid the slightest violation of the genuine principles of a free toleration, but also every approach to it. At the same time, the case, as it now stands, is truly alarming. The lowest and vilest of human beings may commence gospel ministers at pleasure—may preach any absurdities when and where they please—if they fail of listeners in one place they may try their fortunes in another—the licenses do not merely supply ministers to existing congregations, they tend to create them. Successive swarms of teachers roam through the country, and feed, with a continual supply, that appetite for novelty, which prevails amongst the vulgar, in a manner the most favourable to their views. The matter, as we have already remarked, certainly deserves to be weighed with the most serious attention.

Another measure which calls for immediate notice, is some effectual augmentation of the stipend to the minister in those parishes where it is now too small to provide for the performance of the church

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church service, at least once every Sunday. In these circumstances, is it to be wondered, if the methodist preacher is successful, if schism and dissension spread, and the church loses its members? Whatever remedy be thought most advisable, it is evident that the existing evil is extremely striking; and that justice, and policy, equally call for some speedy correction. There remains another subject, which it is surprising that a government, well disposed to the Established Church, should have so long neglected. We allude to the want of accommodation in churches, for the inhabitants of large and populous districts. We will give this in the words of the author.

'This deficiency of churches must be apparent to every one. The parish of Mary-le-bonne alone is said to contain 60,000 inhabitants, while its church will not accommodate more than 900 persons. That of St. Pancras is in the same predicament. And many other instances, of the same sort, exist in the metropolis, and in various parts of the kingdom. On what ground this indispensable object has been so long postponed, or can be any longer delayed, I am at a loss to conceive. The plea of economy, on such a subject, can only be coupled with the most disgraceful hypocrisy. Shall a nation, possessing a public revenue superior to those of all the other states of Europe combined, have no part of it to bestow on that religion which is our safe-guard here, and our only means of happiness hereafter? Have we the means of enriching favoured families who want nothing, and can we found gaols, bridges, roads, barracks, &c. &c. and have nothing to spare towards affording the people at large the means of attending divine worship?' p. 131, &c.

Unquestionably, if we wish the people to remain attached to the church establishment, we must give them the means of attending the church service. If we wish to check the growth of heresy and schism, we must not leave matters in that state which affords decided advantages to the dissenting interests over those of the church. Dissenters of all descriptions provide, without the smallest impediment, abundant accommodation for the most numerous congregations. To what then are we to attribute so striking an inattention? Has the existence of the evil admitted of doubt? Has it not been pressed with sufficient earnestness on the notice of our legislators? or have difficulties of any magnitude opposed the desired remedy? We most sincerely hope, that the wishes and expectations of the friends to the Established Church, on this subject, will not remain long disappointed; and that, as soon as circumstances permit, some effectual plan will be presented to the consideration of parliament.

ART.

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ART. VI. *The Substance of a Speech delivered by Lieutenant General Turleton, in a Committee of the House of Commons, on the Army Estimates, March 4,* 1811. 8vo. pp. 56. London. J. Ebers, Bond Street.

THIS is no common pamphlet: criticisms we have had of all sizes, from the ponderous quarto down to the newspaper paragraph, on the policy and conduct of our present system of warfare in the Peninsula; but none of them have been recommended to our attention by circumstances of such weight and authority as those possessed by the work before us; the work, as the title-page informs us, of a senator and a soldier, of one who has himself commanded armies, (at least at home,) and who still boasts a share in our public councils; of Banastre Tarleton, Esq. M.P. for the town of Liverpool, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's Forces, Colonel of the 21st Regiment of Light Dragoons, and Governor of the Fortress of Berwick upon Tweed.

But these are not the sole claims of this pamphlet to notice; not content with the effect which his eloquence and wisdom produced on the House of Commons, the gallant orator has thought it necessary to embody them in a substantial and imperishable form. This we collect, not from the mere circumstance of the publication, but from a preliminary notice, which, though consisting of nearly nine lines, contains but one grammatical error, and not more than two or three statements which can be fairly charged with either inaccuracy or obscurity.

We could have wished to give the whole of the gallant orator's speech in his own clear and well-chosen expressions; but this is not possible—we have not room to hang up a full length, and must therefore content ourselves with exhibiting a miniature, taken from the report of the debate in the Times of the 5th of March, but which we shall subsequently amplify and illustrate, from the fuller and more authentic source with which the Lieutenant-General has furnished us.

'General Tarleton entered into a statement of the Continental war in which Great Britain was at this moment, and had for some time past been, engaged. He did this, he said, for the purpose of shewing that the means of this country were inadequate to the end, and that the contest must therefore terminate in destruction. In order to prove this, he, in a speech of great length, went over the whole of our expeditions to the Peninsula, and to Portugal, from the battle of Vimeira to the present hour, in which he endeavoured to shew that we had in the whole course of that time been playing a losing game, and that Buonaparte and Massena were *secretly laughing* at the folly and insanity of our present ministers. The first operation we had undertaken was to defend the Peninsula, the second was to defend Portugal, which having *failed* to do by suffering the enemy to take Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida,

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Almeida, the third operation commenced by retreating before the enemy, for the purpose of defending Lisbon. Lord Wellington, after having gained the battle of Talavera, for which he had been rewarded by that House with their thanks, and for which his Majesty had conferred on him the dignity of Viscount, had the *very next day*, retreated, and kept *continually* since retreating before General Massena, till he had been *driven* within the lines of Torres Vedras. To these lines General Massena had followed him close, with not more than *two-thirds* of his army, which was represented by Lord Wellington himself as wanting every necessary, and yet he suffered him to remain close to him with a very inferior force for upwards of three weeks—and after doing so, to get *thirty hours* start of him and make good his retreat to Santarem, where he was so strongly entrenched, that he could not attack him without the greatest risk. There (at Santarem) Massena, as he said to his master, was supporting his army by resources drawn from Portugal alone, while Lord Wellington was obliged to feed his own army, the numerous Portugueze who had been induced to quit their habitations and go within the lines of Lisbon—and the whole population of that city—on resources drawn from England, Ireland, America—the Azores, and almost the whole world—we were even obliged to supply the army in Portugal with red port, which was infinitely worse than sending coals to Newcastle! The general concluded by saying, that he should not make any motion on the subject, nor object to the estimates now moved, but he thought it his duty to make the statement he had done.'

From this sketch (ex pede, Herculem) our readers will form no very inaccurate idea of the scope and object of Lieutenant-General Tarleton's speech; and they, no doubt, will agree with us, that Liverpool is no less fortunate, in its military Mentor, than we endeavoured, in our last Number,* to prove it to be in its politician and philosopher. We there expressed some surprise at Mr. Roscoe's abstinence from all notice of the Peninsular war—our wonder is now at an end, and the deficiency is at last amply and ably supplied. Mr. Roscoe, we find, aspires only to the direction of our foreign policy, and trusts, with the due courtesy of office, the war department to the judicious management of the Governor of Berwick.

It has been justly observed, that much of the original spirit of a picture or a poem is apt to evaporate in the process of subsequent correction, and that high finishing and minute accuracy are too frequently purchased by some diminution in the vigour, and if we may use the expression, the vehemence of the piece. This observation is, we think, peculiarly applicable on the present occasion; for though the work before us possesses many minute graces and highly wrought illustrations, which are not be found in the above sketch, yet it must be confessed to fall somewhat short of it in strength;

* Article V.

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and, to use a forcible expression, hardihood of assertion and argument. We are informed by some who had the happiness to hear the speech, that though both versions are in essentials sufficiently accurate, yet that, where there exists any difference, the newspaper appears to give a truer report than the more measured and ornamented eloquence of the pamphlet.

In some points, however, it is but justice to Lieutenant-General Tarleton to supply, from the latter, certain omissions which, on a comparison, we observe to have been made in the former, and particularly in those passages which evince feelings of a dignified and noble modesty, which at once do credit to the author and give interest to the work.

It is due to him to say, that he states, without reluctance or reserve, that 'in the discharge of his conscientious public duty, he does not arrogate to himself any superior degree of patriotism and military knowledge; he,' with extreme candour, 'gives his Majesty's ministers credit for patriotic designs and virtuous motives,' and he professes that "though the laws of council bid his tongue be bold" he is sensible that he has not done justice to the great question which HE has endeavoured to bring under the consideration of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom.' He does not, we see, absolutely and ostentatiously claim the merit of being the first and only person who has brought this great question under the consideration of the nation, but, with a becoming diffidence, leaves his hearers to draw this inference for themselves. He is so good as to say, that he does not mean 'in *the narrative of the description*' he is then giving, 'to criticise or attack Lord Wellington's military conduct—the time is not yet come, the documents are not yet arrived to enable *him* to form a complete judgment on the subject of the present campaign,' and he pleasantly and kindly adds, that he has introduced the name of the Commander in Chief, for the same reasons only that 'the names of Cato or Hamlet are introduced in the representation of those dramatic productions.' Some of our readers will perhaps observe a slight degree of confusion in the composition of this sentence; but all criticism of that kind must be completely subdued by a consideration of the indulgent forbearance which it evinces towards Lord Wellington—Lieutenant-General Tarleton is satisfied with introducing his *name*, when it is evident that the precedent which he quotes would have justified his insisting on his Lordship's coming over to defend his measures, in person; as, except in one famous but solitary instance, we believe the *persons* of Hamlet and Cato have been considered quite as essential to the representation of the drama 'as the introduction of their names.'

We find in one version of the General's speech, that he even had the

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the affability to declare that he did not mean 'to enter into any rivalry with Lord Wellington,' and it is added that this declaration was received by the audience 'with a universal laugh.' This lively token of approbation must have been as flattering to the gallant orator, as it was mortifying to those bigots in military affairs who so obstinately insist on Lord Wellington's superior ability in the science and practice of war. But while we admire Lieutenant-General Tarleton, let us not be unjust to Lord Wellington,—it is to him no slight honour to be compared, even in a passing thought, with an officer of whom there is a very fine print representing him in the very act of drawing on his boots preparatory to taking the field; who has served in the distant and arduous command of a district in Ireland, who afterwards had confided to him the military care of Bath and Bristol, and the county of Somerset, and to whom is intrusted, as we have already hinted, the frontier citadel which protects Northumberland from the inroads of the Scottish invader.

It is now our pleasing duty to notice a few of those graces of composition which render this harangue so fascinating. We are struck particularly with the variety and splendour of imagery which adorn the following passage.

'They' (the ministers) 'conceive that a war upon the Continent will lessen the military power of Buonaparte, will protect our allies the Spaniards and Portuguese, and will delay, or ultimately defeat the invasion of the British isles; on the contrary, I contend that such *opinions*, with our limited population, speaking comparatively of it with the population of Europe, will offer up, as unnecessary victims, the best soldiers of Britain; will not avail ultimately in the defence of *our allies*, as the integrity of British resources can alone give *us* present security, and, in a more remote degree, afford a *point* and a *beacon* of *rally* and *redemption* to the *prostrate* nations of Europe.' pp. 8, 9.

This image of a 'beacon redeeming the prostrate,' and the novel use of the term 'rally,' appear to us amply to justify the gallant orator's confession of the 'boldness of his tongue:' bold, however, as the phrases are, we believe that we understand his meaning, and we cordially agree with him, that it must be in a very 'remote degree' indeed, that the system which he recommends could assist either in rallying or redeeming the nations of Europe.

Who can avoid sympathizing with his audience, when he says, of Sir John Moore, 'I hope the committee will pardon me, if I employ a few moments in giving a rapid sketch, yet faithful portrait, of this meritorious officer.'—We expect now that a panegyric is at hand; but General Tarleton is no such vulgar master of the art of emotion, and to our infinite delight and astonishment, we find that his feelings on this subject are altogether inexpressible, and that he

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solaces his grief for the loss of Sir John Moore, with an animated effusion to the memory of General Wolfe. With great art, however, he afterwards unites these interesting subjects.

'Posterity,' he pathetically adds, 'in regretting the premature conclusion of such valuable lives, cannot fail to appreciate the marked *difference* which resulted from their deaths.—They both fought and conquered.—Wolfe executed the plan of the Earl of Chatham, and a victory gave England possession of Quebec and Canada; Moore was employed by these ministers,' (not, we suppose, Lord Chatham's cabinet,) 'and although he evinced genius, intrepidity, and constancy, which he sealed with his blood, his army embarked with a heavy loss and great difficulty, and' (here, of course, we expect that the parallel is to fail, and the marked *difference* to appear, but no) 'and the French forces have *ever since been banished* from the northern provinces of Spain.'

This, we believe, is one of the most striking instances of surprize ever effected by the art of an orator.—Expectation is excited in a particular direction; but, as Mr. Puff ingeniously observes of the Beefeater, 'one must not be too sure:' for a moment after we find that there is little or no difference between the subjects of the orator's comparison; both fought, both conquered, both suffered great loss, both were killed, and the French were banished, in both cases, out of the province which was the object of the contest.

In the same style, General Tarleton alludes to the siege of Lisle, in 1792, and the expedition to Walcheren in 1809; but we cannot permit ourselves to say more on these points, than that he evinces his deep historical reading by informing us that the former was conducted by Prince Eugene, and his accuracy in asserting, that the latter enterprize received the *thanks* of parliament, a fact of which we believe the public were, until it was vouched by the Lieutenant-General, in absolute ignorance.

Nor is his geographical knowledge, or the modesty with which he avails himself of it, less remarkable; for he observes that 'it would be superfluous to enumerate the different towns, villages, and mountains, which were occupied by the allies, or the rivers that were passed, between the frontier of Portugal and the neighbourhood of Coimbra, which stands almost in view of the Atlantic ocean.' Again, he says, with equal succinctness, and, we believe, with equal accuracy, that 'the map of the Peninsula shows the Pyranees, the frontier of Portugal, and the French position at Santarem.' Of the two former facts, we were already aware; the latter, we own, is somewhat new to us, and we therefore rather regret that he has not, in a note at least, specified the map to which he alludes. On another occasion, however, he feels it indispensable to be more explicit on circumstances of *locality*,

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cality, and, accordingly, he states to the House of Commons the singular fact of 'the contiguity of Woolwich to the water,' meaning, as we suppose, the river Thames, though the context would appear, in some degree, to justify an opinion that in the Lieutenant-General's map this arsenal is laid down on the sea-side, and opposite to some point of the shores of the Continent.

We feel that we are proceeding to greater length than even the merit of this work will warrant; but we cannot refrain from imparting to our readers General Tarleton's conjecture on the causes which led to the attack at Busaco. 'Some Portugueze had espoused the French side of the question, and it therefore occurs to me that the Gallo-Portugueze persuaded the French General to try, at all risks, an attack on the British and Portugueze when formed into one line.'

This is generous; this is noble. He will not insult over a vanquished enemy; he will not hurt the feelings of the beaten foe, by attributing either misconduct to him, or ability to our own commander; but finding, or rather fancying that there was in the enemy's ranks a poor Portugueze renegado, he dexterously charges all upon him; and a certain Marquis D'Alorno is the victim whom he decorates with Lord Wellington's wreaths, and sacrifices at the same moment to Massena's fame.

We are now reluctantly obliged to close our observations on this interesting performance. The Lieutenant General, like Calchas of yore, is not only great in council and the field, but also partakes the gift of prophecy. *Μάντις κακῶν*, like the ancient, he obviously is; our readers will probably console themselves with adding that he is also, at least in one sense of the words, *Μάντις κακος*. —He prophesied that the denunciations of the Moniteur were about to be fulfilled, and the English driven into the sea—that Lord Wellington's conduct 'must inevitably lead to disaster and destruction;' that 'a large proportion of the navy of England was soon to be employed to protect and receive the surviving combatants of the British army;' that 'Massena and his master were bringing to a close the downfal of British resources, and, with a fell and malignant joy, already contemplating a mortal blow against the vitals of our empire and our constitution.'

It has been, in all ages, the sport of Fortune to defeat the expectations and hopes of the best and wisest of mankind; can we then wonder that such has been her wanton malice in the present case? On the very evening of the 4th of March, at the very hour when the Lieutenant-General was opening these dreadful prospects to the trembling senate of England, Massena's resolution of retreat was taken, the French army began to feel the agitated dejection of a flight, the invaders were about to become the pursued, the future

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conquerors were already defeated. Not even the eloquent despondency of Lieutenant-General Tarleton could predict for our army the terror, the disgrace, and the ruin which, at the instant he spoke, enveloped that of the enemy; and hardly had the press been delivered of the production of which we have endeavoured to express our admiration, when Lord Wellington's dispatches arrived to defeat the labours of the first, and blast the hopes of a second edition. We, however, are not so unphilosophical as to judge of merit merely by events; and we trust that our observations will have convinced General Tarleton at least, that the result of the campaign in Portugal has, in no degree, altered our opinion of his sagacity; and we doubt not that the country will be pleased to hear that he still preserves his spirit and his principles unshaken, and, like the patriot and philosopher of old, exclaims, amid the reverses of fortune,

Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni!

ART. VII. *A Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language; including Tables of the Elementary Characters, and of the Chinese Monosyllables.* By J. Marshman. Printed at Serampore. 1809. 4to. pp. 116.

AT the commencement of our labours,* we laid before our readers a circumstantial account of the state of the Baptist Missionary Society for the propagation of the gospel in Hindostan. We ventured to defend the proceedings of its members against the attacks of their opponents; to offer some apology for the quaintness of the stile in which their communications are usually made, and to reprobate the spirit with which they were examined. The writers were described as 'herds of low born and low bred mechanics,' whose minds were plentifully stored with 'the baseness and malignity of fanaticism;' and represented not merely as 'voluntary enthusiasts,' but as the most stupid of 'fools,' and most disordered of 'madmen.' Yet at the very time that these and more contumelious epithets were heaped upon them, those 'low born and low bred mechanics' had made themselves masters, not only of the various dialects spoken on the peninsula of India, but nearly of all the languages of Asia. They had completed a translation of the Bible into the language of Bengal; and, as we then observed, were printing the New Testament in most of the other languages and dialects of the

* No. I. Art. XVII.

East,

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East, and, in four of them, proceeding with the Bible. It might have been expected, that a regard for talents and exertions, certainly of no ordinary cast, would secure the possessors of them against the shafts of ridicule; or, at least, that a feeling of compassion would operate in favour of a class of men who, even supposing them to be engaged by mistaken zeal in a work of supererogation, were actuated by motives purely disinterested; and had voluntarily sacrificed their ease, their health, their friends, and country, without hope of reward in this world, and with the certainty of encountering difficulties and dangers of no common kind. Of the merits of their labours, whether literary or religious, and those of their unprovoked assailants, it is not our business to enter into any comparison; we hasten therefore to the more pleasing task of examining the work before us, in the course of which we think it will be manifest, that the mind of one, at least, of those 'low born and low bred mechanics' is stored with something better than 'the baseness and malignity of fanaticism.'

Mr. Marshman, the author of the 'Dissertation on the Chinese Language,' is a member of the Baptist Missionary Society, established at Serampore. Having acquired a considerable knowledge of most of the languages of the East, his attention, it seems, was turned towards that of China, the acquisition of which had hitherto been considered as a more arduous undertaking than that of all the rest united. His vigorous mind, however, soon broke through every obstacle, and, in less than four years, mastered this singular language so completely, as to enable him to translate a classical work, written more than 2000 years ago, examine two voluminous commentaries upon it, of more modern date, and, by the assistance of these and other original books, to compose the present Dissertation, which will be found as complete an introduction to the study of the Chinese language, as the Eton grammar is to that of the Greek.

The ideas of Mr. Marshman are communicated in so modest and unassuming a manner, and throw so much light on a subject, curious in itself, and but little understood, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of accompanying him through his 'Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language'—'a language of which' he intimates that, 'the information communicated bears a stronger resemblance to a transient flash which serves merely to discover the size of an object, without conveying any distinct idea of its shape, than to that steady light which gives us an opportunity of contemplating it at leisure, and forming a just idea of its proportions.'—p. 1.

Nothing dazzled by these false lights, he has steadily proceeded in his investigation of the principles of the Chinese language,

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as laid down in Chinese books; the result of which is the full conviction, 'that, though totally different in its nature, it is little less regular in its formation, and scarcely more difficult of acquisition, than the Sungscrit, the Greek, or even the Latin language.'

Mr. Marshman soon discovered, that as words, in other languages, are formed by the combination of certain symbols termed letters, so are Chinese characters constructed by the union of certain imitations of the objects of sense. This, he says, brought to his recollection an observation by the author of Hermes. 'Every medium through which we exhibit any thing to another's contemplation, is either derived from *natural attributes*, and then it is an *imitation*, or from *arbitrary accidents*, and then it is a *symbol*—thus, the words *mountain* and *river*, which do not exhibit the least idea of these two objects, except by arbitrary association, must necessarily be *arbitrary symbols*; so also *characters*, intended as *imitations* of natural objects, may form the basis of *another* medium of communicating ideas totally different from the *symbolic* medium.'—'This,' adds Mr. Marshman, 'at once describes and defines the Chinese characters. They are *imitations of natural objects*, combined in a variety of forms, in order to exhibit things and ideas "to the contemplation of others."'—p. 6.

He now proceeds to the consideration of his subject, under the three following heads, on each of which we shall offer some observations.

1. Remarks on the Chinese characters.

2. The sounds or the pronunciation of the Chinese characters.

3. Remarks on the grammatical construction of the Chinese language.

1°. The system of the written language of China, complicated as it appears on a superficial view, turns out, in fact, to be extremely simple, and, when the characters are properly resolved into their constituent elements, and the knowledge of these previously acquired, is, it would seem, not only easy of comprehension, but possessed of advantages which are not to be found in any alphabetical language. The number of these elements amounts only to two hundred and fourteen, which are called by the Chinese *Tsemoo*, or mother characters, and sometimes *pou*, or ruling characters; but they have generally been distinguished, by the European missionaries in China, by the name of *claves* or *keys*. By the various combinations of these mother characters, or of one or more of them, with parts of others, are all the characters in the language produced. The importance, therefore, of acquiring a perfect knowledge of them, as the first step to that of the language, must be obvious: and, to facilitate this, Mr. Marshman has very properly

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perly printed them, in two tables, in which they are arranged seventeen classes, the number of lines in each element correspon ing with the number of the class in which it is to be found. T name of each element is also annexed, and a small figure supe added, to denote the proper accent; next follows the significatio and at the end are figures expressing the number of characte classed under each element in a particular dictionary consulted l the author. Thus, at one view, the reader is presented with a cor plete synopsis of the whole language, and the system upon whi it is founded.

'Relative to the origin of these elementary characters, we are l wholly to conjecture. The invention of twenty-four elements whic void of meaning themselves, should yet constitute words, signifying l *compact* distinct ideas, has been esteemed so extraordinary, as almo to transcend the powers of the human mind. Whether this mode expressing ideas, or the imitative adopted by the Chinese, be the mo ancient, it is difficult to determine; but the latter seems more simp and obvious. However difficult it might be to invent and combi letters, so as to form words, to which ideas were to be affixed, it wou be natural for a person, who wished to retain, or convey to anothe the idea of an object, to trace, in some rude manner, an imitation character which might, in his opinion, serve to represent it. This evident, not only from the example of travellers and others unacquain ed with the principles of drawing, but even from the practice of chil ren, who, in their juvenile frolics, often amuse themselves in thus a tempting to pourtray objects which forcibly strike their attention.

'The first efforts of this kind would probably be made in delineatir objects of sense, and principally those of sight; which, on examinir the elementary characters of the Chinese, we find to be the cas Whether these imitations would bear any particular likeness to th thing represented, it is not easy to determine; that this might be th design of them is more than probable, but that the resemblance shoul in many cases, be so exact, as of itself to demonstrate the object re presented, is scarcely to be expected. Nor is any thing of this kin intended to be affirmed respecting the elementary characters. The are laid before the reader simply as such; and every man will judg for himself respecting any real or imaginary resemblance betwee

too, the head; *shoo*, the hand; *sin*, the heart

koo, the mouth; and the characters by which they are repre sented.'—p. 11.

That the imitative mode of expressing ideas was antecedent t the invention of any alphabet, is, we believe, as certain as that th oral preceded the written language. If it were possible, notwithstan ing all evidence to the contrary, that any doubt could be entertaine

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of the existence of letters among the Greeks in the age of Homer' it is at any rate manifest from the description of the shield of Achilles, that they were not ignorant of the art of painting—an art which, in its rudest state, can hardly be conceived to exist, without suggesting to the mind a train of ideas which must lead to something approximating to a written character. In fact, 'the practice of children in their juvenile frolics' is precisely what may naturally be supposed to take place among a people in a state of barbarism, or just entering on that of civilization. The imitation of the form of an object would serve as the sign for conveying the impression of the original to the mind. The rudest attempt of this kind, on record, is probably that of the Patagonians of St. Julien, who had no better mode of representing the ship of Sir John Harborough, than by erecting poles in the midst of bushes. The wild Hottentots of Southern Africa have advanced a step beyond this; being in the habit of drawing, on the smooth sides of their caves, the figures of the animals peculiar to the deserts which they inhabit, together with representations of their persecutors, the Dutch boors, in a variety of postures; sometimes accompanied with lines and marks, intended probably to express number and quality. The painted roll of the Mexicans went yet farther: it conveyed to Montezuma a detailed account of the number, rank, and equipment of the invaders of their country.

In like manner, although, as Mr. Marshman says, 'we are left to conjecture' with regard to the history of the Chinese elementary characters, there can be little doubt that, originally, they were representations or outlines of sensible objects. All the Chinese philologists agree in this point; but they contend that such were not the first efforts to establish a written character. The broken and unbroken lines of *Fo-shee*, the founder of the empire, variously disposed in circles, squares and polygons, which constitute the most ancient of their records, the *Ye-king*, are considered by them as the original language of China; but as all attempts have failed, and among others, that of Confucius, to give any plausible explanation of this ancient record, the intention of it must be considered as doubtful.

With regard to the present characters, the most accredited of their historians, *Se-ma-tsien*, traces them back to the reign of *Houng-tee*, about 2,500 years before Christ; at which assumed period their origin is sufficiently marked by a resemblance to the objects which they were employed to represent. Many of these have been preserved in successive editions of their ancient books, others on seals of agate, cups of serpentine stone, vases of porcelane, and a variety of articles collected as objects of taste. Several are contained in the letter of Père Amiot, addressed from Pekin to the Royal

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Royal Society of London. It there appears that originally represented the sun, which is now . The moon was , now . The middle of any thing was expressed by , now ; a mountain was , now : a field , has undergone little alteration, being still written ; a sheep was , now ; a mouth, , now ; a chariot or , now ; a gate , now .

These instances are sufficient to shew, that Chinese characters were originally intended as so many signs of sensible objects, and that they 'bore a likeness to the thing represented.' For the individual objects, first selected to form the basis of the grand medium of communication, we must refer to the two tables of the elementary characters, where, as Mr. Marshman observes, we shall find that,

They include the most remarkable objects of nature, as the sun, the moon, a river, a mountain, fire, water, earth, wood, stone, &c.; the principal parts of a house; as well as those utensils most in use, as a knife, a spoon, (or chop-stick,) a seat, a box, a staff, &c. nor are the grand supports of life omitted, grain, pulse, flesh, fish, &c. nor the primary relations of life, father, mother, son, daughter, however difficult to be represented. We find not only characters to denote the body, but also the soul or spirit, as well as certain articles of worship. Qualities, though somewhat more difficult of representation, are not wholly omitted, although the elementary characters expressive of these scarcely amount to thirty; among which will be found however such as are most obvious to the senses, as straight, crooked, great, small, high, &c. To express *actions* by appropriate symbols would seem still more difficult; accordingly we find that this class is even smaller than the foregoing; a few however are admitted which signify the most common actions of life; such as, to see, to speak, to walk, to run, &c. Such then are the ideas represented by these elements, which, as they compose the other characters, may be justly termed the ALPHABET *of the Chinese Language*, or IMITATIVE medium of communication.' (pp. 12, 13).

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Much as we admire the ingenuity of this '*Imitative Alphabet*,' we cannot be blind to the defective and injudicious selection of the objects represented by the characters, the greater part of which, as we formerly observed, are but ill suited to a general classification of ideas under their respective elementary heads. No stronger proof of this is wanting, than the inequality, in point of number, of the characters arranged under each element. Thus while some are the roots or primitives of fourteen or fifteen hundred characters, others can boast only of two or three, and some of them in fact are exploded altogether.

'It may not be unentertaining to the curious mind, to notice the *degree of proportion* in which these respective elements enter into the composition of the other characters. *Chou*, grass or vegetation in general, *soi*, water, and *mook*, wood, hold the first rank, the latter having 1232 characters into which it enters; *soi*, water, 1333; and *chou*, vegetation, no less than 1423. The elements which, next to these, receive the greatest number of characters, are those which represent the hand, the mouth, and the heart, the first standing at the head of 1012; the second claiming as its quota 983; and the third 956. *Nee*, the element for a woman, ranks next, standing at the head of 834; while *yun* that for a man, includes only 729; but *wy*, the element intended to denote reptiles, has underneath it a class containing 804. After these follow *gnin*, a word, which includes in its class 734; and *kyam or kyun*, gold, under which are placed 719 characters. *See*, the character for silk, or any thing fine and delicate, and *chok*, a bamboo, that notable instrument of government among the Chinese, claim each an equal number, namely 672. *Yok*, flesh, *san*, a mountain, *mook*, the eye, and *chok*, the foot, rank next, and include each of them somewhat more than 500 characters; as does *niew*, the element expressive of a bird. The elements which represent earth, stone, disease, clothing, and jewels, contain each somewhat above 400 characters in their respective classes; as do *ma*, a horse, and *khin* a dog; while *yut* a day; *tou*, a knife; *chee*, a place; *mie*, rice; and *cheok*, motion, stand each at the head of somewhat more than 300. Thus, *thirty* of these elements, expressive of the primary objects of sense, enter into the composition of nearly *twenty thousand* characters, which probably constitute the better half of the characters included in the language.'

'If some elements however enter into the composition of a *very great* number of characters, others will be found to have so few, as scarcely to entitle them to a place among the elements. The six characters which compose the class of one stroke beside being all obsolete, except *yut*, one, include together only 95 characters, and one of them only two. Among those consisting of many strokes, are to be found 40, the respective classes of which contain no more than 20 characters each, and some of them only ten; the whole 40 containing only 615. There are 20 others, which contain from 20 to 35 each; the aggregate amounting to 557. Thus *eighty-four* of these elements include, in the whole of their classes, only 1427 characters, which is but four more than the number placed under *chou*, vegetation, &c.' (p. 14.)

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Hence it is evident that the effective elements amount only to about *one hundred and thirty*; and that the remainder occur in composition, nearly in the same, or even a less proportion than the letters x and z in the English language. This fact, which we consider as completely established, must afford considerable satisfaction to those who incline to study the Chinese language, especially when they are farther informed, that the whole, that is the useful and practical part of it, contains only about *thirty-five thousand* characters. For although, by the permutation of the 214 elements, the number might be extended almost to any amount; yet the introduction of a new character into common use is an innovation, which nothing short of the Imperial sanction can force upon the old establishment.

The language, then, being thus limited, the probability is that, in the operation of combining the letters of an European alphabet to form syllables, and the elementary characters of the Chinese to form compounds, the advantages will preponderate on the side of the latter; for this plain reason, that they are made up of significant or expressive elements, which is not the case either with regard to the formation of syllables or words in other languages. We are inclined, therefore, to agree with Mr. Marshman in supposing the Chinese characters much easier to acquire, than the Sanscrit alphabet, which has more than six hundred combinations of syllabic characters perfectly distinct; and we think it probable that a Chinese youth, thoroughly acquainted with the two hundred and fourteen elementary characters, stands on much higher ground, with respect to a *farther acquaintance* with the language, than an English one, who has mastered the syllables '*bla, ble, bli,* &c. which Dyche has collected to the number at least of two thousand, and which, though destitute of meaning, are in reality the elements of the English language.' But though we admit the fact, we must protest against the aptitude of Mr. Marshman's illustration. If the elements of the English language are to be extended beyond the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, we should suppose that its significant monosyllables, especially those from Teutonic radicals, might take precedence of those combinations of letters 'which Dyche has collected,' and which, we hope, are in a state of rapid progress from the school-room to the grocer's shop. In point of fact, the English monosyllables significant of the 'objects of sense', are ten times more numerous than the significant elements of the Chinese language; and we can, therefore, see no reason why an English youth, employed in acquiring sense as well as sound, should not stand on an equality, at least, with one of China: but let us hear Mr. Marshman.

'Unite, for instance, two of these syllabic elements, *bar* and *bey*. These

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These indeed form a word, which conveys a complete idea, namely, that of a man accustomed to shave, but disjoin them, and what assistance do they afford in guiding the mind to the meaning of the compound word,* or even in recollecting it when known? this however is seldom the case with the Chinese elements. If we take the character 剃 *thi*, which denotes the man who shaves, or, more properly, the operation itself, we shall find that, although it might be difficult to guess the meaning of the word from merely viewing the elements of which it is composed, 刂 *tou*, the instrument, or the action of cutting, and 弟 *ty*, respect; yet when once known, these may assist the mind in recollecting the character by association of ideas. What is there again in the elements of the English word *burn*, which would either suggest the idea of fire, or enable a person to recal it when known, otherwise than by arbitrary association? whereas in the Chinese character 焚 *fwun*, which has beneath 火 *fo*, the character for fire, and above, the character 木 *mok*, wood, repeated, to denote a forest, it requires little labour to recal the idea. The same may be said of 餓 *gno*, hungry, composed of 我 *gno*, I, and 食 *suk*, eat; and of a thousand others. The Chinese then, formed on the imitative plan, from significant elements, must possess advantages, with respect both to prior acquisition and subsequent recollection, which are found in few languages formed on the symbolic plan.' (pp. 201.)

Our readers may perhaps recollect that, in our review of the *Ta-tsing-leu-lee*, we explained the principles upon which the combination of the elements into compound characters is grounded; that we considered the plan as admirably adapted for the groundwork of an universal language, but marred in the execution; that the scarcity of the representations of general ideas, in the elementary characters, unfitted them for a systematic classification of objects; and that chance or caprice appeared to have led to the adoption of many of them. The luminous view which Mr. [illegible] has taken of the subject, has confirmed us in our

* with his usual correctness. The component man of the beard.

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opinion, while it completely dispels the illusion of an universal and philosophical character realized in the imitative system of Chinese writing, however nearly in theory it may appear to approach it. Still, however, enough remains of this ingenious fabric to excite our admiration, and to account for the extragavant notions entertained of it by Fourmont and others; who, relying on the vague and declamatory accounts transmitted by the French missionaries, assumed as a fact, that the knowledge of the elementary characters alone would lead to the meaning of their various combinations; or, in other words, constituted the knowledge of the whole language. This conclusion was drawn from a supposition that there existed a constant affinity between the signification of every compound character and that of its component elements. Mr. Marshman, indeed, tells us that this view of it once appeared so rational, as to make him, for some time, dissatisfied with the explanation of every character, in which he could not recognize the idea expressed by its elements. An examination, however, of the imperial dictionary of *Kaung-shee,* convinced him of his mistake. He found, it is true, the parts of every compound character accurately described, but was seldom gratified with an explanation of the meaning, as deduced from its constituent elements.

'Indeed,' continues he, 'the nature of things seems to forbid our expecting this in the Chinese characters: for, not to say that a great part of this as well as other languages on the symbolic plan, *may have been* formed rather by chance than any determinate rule, the elements of the Chinese language are little more than two hundred, while the Greek roots exceed three thousand. Whoever considers, therefore, that variety of ideas which must necessarily be expressed—say by thirty thousand characters—will perceive that it is scarcely possible for the meaning of these, in every instance, to be clearly and distinctly deduced from the combination of only two hundred and fourteen primary characters, representing principally objects of sense. Not to add, with the ingenious Barrow, that the sense is sometimes so hid in metaphor, that though all the component parts of a character are well understood, the meaning may yet remain in obscurity.' p. 23.

This is doubtless a fair and correct view of the subject. In many characters, the plain and obvious meaning arises immediately out of their component elements; there are others, again, whose signification may be guessed at from some remote affinity with one or more of them; but it is probable that the composition of the greater part can no longer be traced to the ideas which gave them birth. In the character *koong* , a foreigner, for instance,

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the component parts of which are 大 *ta*, great, and 弓 *koong*, a bow, the connection is not very apparent between the roots and the compound. Yet if it could be shewn that the first strangers who entered China, carried bows of a larger size than the natives, there would be nothing very absurd in supposing them to have denoted foreigners by this name. We have so many instances, in our own language, of words composed of significant syllables, whose meaning is yet not obvious, that we need not be startled on meeting with similar difficulties in the Chinese.

On a former occasion we exhibited so many examples (and many others are to be found in the *Meditationes Sinicæ* of Fourmont, the *Museum Sinicum* of Bayer, Barrow's Travels in China, and the *Lun-ye* of Confucius) in which a close affinity is apparent between the compound characters and their elements, that we should not easily be persuaded to abandon this beautiful and philosophical part of the system. That it may have been carried too far, is very probable, and the French missionaries may in this, as in many other points, have exalted Chinese ingenuity to too high a pitch; but that it formed no inconsiderable part of the original plan upon which the written character was constructed, we have not only the testimony of the Chinese writers of all ages, but the more important evidence of our own senses. Were it necessary, indeed, we could offer a thousand examples, in all of which the compound ideas, expressed by the character, are distinctly produced from the simple elements. And if Mr. Marshman was disappointed in not succeeding in his analysis as often as he wished, by consulting the dictionary of *Kaung-shee*, we can venture to assure him that his expectations would have been amply gratified by examining a Chinese work on grammar and philology, called *Choue-ouen*. The imperial dictionary of *Kaung-shee* is to the Chinese precisely what that of Dr. Johnson is to us, 'a dictionary of the language, in which the characters are deduced from their originals, and illustrated in their different significations, by examples from the best writers.' It does all this completely, and it professes to do nothing more.

What we have stated will sufficiently account for the disappointment experienced by Mr. Marshman; whom we were not displeased to find acknowledging, in almost every example adduced, that 'the significant elements' might be traced in their compounds. Thus, he tells us, a district or division, composed of one hundred men, is *pak* 佰, a compound of *yun* 亻, a man, and 百 *pak*, a hundred.

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dred. *Mun* 問, to ask, which is composed of 門, *moon*, a door, and 口 *kou*, a mouth, may probably, he thinks, have some allusion to the idea conveyed; as may, also, 聞, *mun*, to hear, composed of *moon*, 門, a door, and 耳 *gnee*, the ear. But *chun* 閏, to pass in and out, which is formed of 門 *moon*, a door, and *nee* 女, a female, 'could not surely, continues Mr. Marshman, suggest the idea of binding up the feet of the females from their birth, in order to incapacitate them for this motion in riper years.' Again, the character 忎, *gnee*, to be displeased, formed by *sum* 心, the heart, and *tou* 刀, a knife, placed above it, may, he thinks, allude to the pain occasioned by the sensation; and though it does not immediately follow that *wong* 枉, perverse, being composed of 王 *wong*, to reign, and 小 *sum*, the heart 'should be intended to intimate that the heart is perverted by ambition,' yet, in his opinion, even 'this association of ideas assists in recollecting the character.' We have taken at random the following compounds from the *Lun-ye*, which are at least 2000 old, merely to shew that the connection between the compound and simple ideas is not a modern invention; thus *ho* 和, ease, comfort; a compound of 禾 *ho*, rice, and 口 *kou*, mouth. 天 *tien*, the material heaven, but more frequently,

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frequently the deity, compounded of 大 *ta*, great, and 一 *yu* one; the *great one*. 治 *chee*, to govern, whose elements are 𠂤 *tcheou*, a bamboo, and 台 *tcheu*, a clapping noise, the stroke of the bamboo; a very expressive character to a Chinese. 驕 *kheu*, proud, haughty, is composed of 喬 *keu*, high, and 馬 *ma*, a horse. We agree, then, with Mr. Marshman, that

'To those who delight in tracing the operations of the mind, in different nations and ages, and in observing the various ways in which it combines the ideas, it will be entertaining to notice the association of ideas which must have given birth to the formation of many of these compounds; and while their quaintness may perhaps occasion a smile, the degree of connection observable in them forbids our thinking they could be formed entirely without design.' p. 25.

To assist the learner in the analysis of compound characters, several examples are given of such as consist of three, four, and more primary elements; and the difference is carefully pointed out between those which contain so many distinct and separate ones, and such as are compounded of parts that have been previously united, and assumed *another name and meaning*; of this kind one example will be sufficient. *See* 詩, poetry, is composed of *guin* 言, a word, 土 *thoo*, the earth, and 寸 *chin*, a measure; but the two latter had previously been united in the character 寺 *chhee*, a temple; the real compound parts of 'poetry,' are therefore 'a word' and 'a temple.' On this account Mr. Marshman very properly cautions the learner 'how he attempts to derive the meaning from the smaller divisions of a character, rather than the larger.' p. 29.

The remaining observations on the mode of compounding characters will be found of the greatest use to the student. Indeed the

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the principal aim of the author seems to be that of removing those difficulties by which it was supposed to be obstructed; of these, not the least was that arising from the immense number of characters required to be known by a proficient in the language. This number, according to the accounts of the French missionaries, was not less than 80,000. So formidable an undertaking was sufficient to repress the most ardent mind in the very outset of its studies, and, we doubt not, has tended to discourage many from attempting it at all. It turns out, however, an exaggerated statement, made without the least authority. Mr. Marshman took the trouble of ascertaining, by a careful estimate, the number of characters contained in *Kaung-shee*'s dictionary, and he found them not to exceed 35,000, many of which were synonims. This number, then, may be assumed as the full amount of the *effective* characters in the Chinese language, which cuts off at once more than half of the labours of the student; and even of this half, one third is more than sufficient for all the common purposes of business. Five thousand characters, indeed, made up of significant elements, each comprehending a distinct and complete idea, must be equivalent to at least 10,000 of our words, a number which exceeds what is required in the ordinary occupations of life.

The generally received opinion, then, is erroneous, that the characters in the Chinese language are more numerous than the words in other languages. Scapula's Lexicon contains about 44,000 words, Ainsworth's Dictionary more than 45,000, exclusive of nearly 10,000 proper names, and Johnson's Dictionary full 45,000. To shew how few characters are necessary to compose a work, on any particular subject, we may observe that the whole of the text of the *Ta-tsing-leu-lee*, consisting of more than 100,000 characters, does not, actually, comprehend more than 1,860 different ones. This also appears to be the case with regard to the work of Confucius, translated by Mr. Marshman, in which we should guess the number of distinct characters not to exceed 1,000. The construction of the language is extremely simple, and infinitely less difficult than the Sanscrit, of which, we are told by the author, he has done little more than digest the elements, after a diligent labour of seven years; whereas, in the course of four, he acquired a very competent knowledge of the Chinese, the syntax of which he found so easy, that the attainment of about thirty prepositive and auxiliary characters put him in possession of the whole grammar.

Mr. Marshman has taken some pains to collect information respecting the dictionaries of established reputation in China. The earliest work of this kind, which is still appealed to as high authority, is mentioned, in the introduction to the Imperial Dictionary,

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as a compilation made by the learned under the direction of an Emperor of the family of the *Han*, which mounted the throne nearly 200 years before the Christian era. Six other compilations of this kind were edited at successive periods, each containing corrections and improvements of that which immediately preceded it, and such additions as were made to the language in the intervening periods. The last work of this kind is the Dictionary of *Kaungshee*.

'In this dictionary are the forms, the names, and the different senses of the characters defined and supported, with a fulness and precision, which scarcely admit of improvement. The arrangement too is so simple, and yet so perspicuous, that one, totally unacquainted with the Chinese characters, may, in a few hours, make himself master of it with perfect ease. The only *desideratum* to the study of the Chinese, is a translation of this dictionary; and in this, nothing is necessary beside merely rendering it into English in the order in which it lies: it being, in my opinion, almost impossible for an European to alter it to advantage.' p. 108.

Here, then, is an excellent opportunity for the Directors of the East India Company to shew their regard for the interests of science, and to repel the charge of neglect which has sometimes been brought against them on that score. From the delight which Mr. Marshman appears to feel in the study of the Chinese language, 'a study,' he observes, 'which connects so much pleasure with the labour, that it will probably never be relinquished but with life;'—we should select him, of all mankind, for such an undertaking. It would require but a small degree of encouragement to prevail on so zealous and industrious a student, to engage in such a cause; and, if we may judge from the great number of characters contained in the present 'Dissertation,' and from the neat and accurate manner in which they are executed, the work might as well be carried on at Serampore as in London. Such a translation would supersede the projected dictionary by Messrs. Langlés and De Guignes, from the characters collected by Fourmont; and a well-timed liberality on the part of the East India Company, would thus confer on England the credit of giving to Europe a work of unquestionable authority, free from those spurious characters and forced explanations, which are foisted into all the manuscript dictionaries compiled by the French Missionaries.

2. We now come to that part of Mr. Marshman's book, which treats of 'the pronunciation of the Chinese characters,' which are not, as some have erroneously supposed, addressed to the eye alone, but have each a name. Were this indeed not the case, it would be a language fit only for the Abbé Secard's academy of mutes.

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Many of the characters have, it is true, the same name, and hence the pronunciation of them is liable to some ambiguity; less, however, than might be supposed, from the great disproportion between the number of characters and words, the former being to the latter at least as twenty to one. Here then a question naturally suggests itself—Since the Chinese have no knowledge of an alphabet, how do they acquire the *name* of any new or unknown character which presents itself? The fact is, that the Chinese *have* an alphabet; a regular series of characters, set apart, and employed almost exclusively, as marks of sound—an alphabet simple in its construction, effective in its operation, and capable of being extended to the formation of as great a number of words, as are to be found in any language whatever: an alphabet intricately interwoven with their 'imitative characters;' and by the aid of which, new sounds are conveyed to all parts of the empire, and both new and old transmitted from one generation to another.

The sublime invention of an alphabet, by which the figure or representation of an idea was presented to the eye, while the sound of it reached the ear, and both, by means of the one and the other, conveyed with equal perspicuity to the mind, has always been considered so wonderful in its nature, and so powerful in its effects, as to transcend the utmost stretch of human intellect. Yet, unless we are mistaken, the construction of the Chinese alphabet will shew, that its invention might have been, and probably was, the happy thought of some individual. This may be deemed a bold assumption, when it is recollected, that, after every research, the common conclusion has been—that the invention of an alphabet is of divine origin. But—*nec deus intersit*—why should we call in supernatural aid, where the powers of the human mind seem adequate to the necessity of the case? Conceiving then, as we do, that the close connection which subsists between the Chinese characters and their alphabet, now first brought into open day by Mr. Marshman, will throw very considerable light on the transition from hieroglyphic to alphabetic writing, we bespeak the indulgence of our readers, while we endeavour, briefly, to notice the cause to which the failure of former researches may be attributed; and to explain in what manner an alphabet may have derived its origin from hieroglyphic characters.

The great obstacle in the way of those who have engaged in this inquiry, was their ignorance of any living language constructed on the imitative system. Their only resource lay in the few detached fragments of ancient inscriptions, which, though put together with the nicest skill, were still found too imperfect to connect, in one unbroken chain, the written hieroglyphics of former times, with the alphabets of modern Europe. Egypt was the only

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country in the western hemisphere, likely to supply the deficient link in the chain. Its magnificent temples, its catacombs, pyramids, and obelisks, most of them exhibiting, in their numerous inscriptions, the remains of ancient learning, and all of them, the imperishable monuments of ancient greatness—those stupendous fabrics, of which the age and origin are placed beyond the reach of probable conjecture, could not but excite the attention of mankind and raise an anxious desire to develope the signification of those mysterious records. But all the explanations, from the days of Orus Apollo to Abubekr Ben Wahshih,* are so unsatisfactory, and contradictory, that their tendency is rather to perplex than elucidate. With such materials it is not, therefore, surprising, that the endeavours of modern writers should have failed to trace, in a satisfactory manner, the passage from those unknown symbols to the letters of the alphabet. Long, indeed, before any inquiries appear to have been instituted, the hieroglyphics of Egypt had ceased to be connected with any living language, and were consigned wholly to sacred purposes; they had become the instrument of priestcraft, to preserve the mystery of the profession from popular knowledge and encroachment.

It is highly probable, however, that the mysterious inscriptions on those magnificent obelisks, were not originally, as Warburton conjectured, subservient to the sacred rites of the priests, but, on the contrary, were, like the Chinese characters, the universal language of the country; an opinion, in which the ingenious President De Brosses† fully concurs. Why, he asks, should they have exposed to the public eye, inscriptions which the public could neither read nor comprehend? At the same time it is certain that, so early as the age of Herodotus, hieroglyphics had ceased to be the language of Egypt, and that the knowledge of them was confined to the Hierophants. Another language, perhaps, had already superseded their use, when Cadmus carried the sixteen letters of the Phœnician alphabet into Greece, or at the still more early period when Moses quitted Egypt; as, almost immediately after that event, and before the delivery of the two tables on Mount Sinai, he was commanded, on the discomfiture of Amelek, to 'write this for a memorial in a book.' This, then, being the earliest mention of writing on record, and contained in the most ancient as well as the most authentic, of histories, it would now seem a hopeless undertaking to ascertain, at what time alphabetic writing took place of hieroglyphics in the western

* *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters explained*; written in Arabic about 1000 years ago, found at Cairo, and translated by J. Hammer, secretary to the Austrian mission at Constantinople—a curious book, and deserving to be better known.

† Traité de la Formation Méchanique des Langues. Tom. 1.

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world, or by whom the former was invented. The important link which connects them, is irrecoverably lost; and we gain very little, in the pursuit, by being told that the Greeks gave the name of alpha to their first letter, because it was the Phœnician name of an ox; and that the Hebrew א *aleph* is supposed to resemble the head of that animal, in imitation of which the small alpha α of the Greeks is still preserved. Admitting that all the letters in the Phœnician, Egyptain, and Greek alphabets, were originally significant of sensible objects, or of the hieroglyphics for which they were substituted, the knowledge of such a fact could not, in the smallest degree, advance the present inquiry, or explain in what manner, and upon what principle, the passage from the former to the latter was effected. In the work of *Abubekr Ben Wahshih*, above-mentioned, there is an alphabet of this kind, called Shimshim, the whole of which appears to be taken from hieroglyphics; but in this, as well as in all others, the link which connects the objects of sight with those of sound is wanting.

Since, then, the old world has, in vain, been ransacked to elucidate this curious subject, let us turn to a new quarter of the globe, where a living language exists, constructed, like that of ancient Egypt, on imitations of sensible objects; a language, used by two hundred millions of people, and intelligible by nearly one third of the human race. Much as the French missionaries have written on this subject, they have afforded but little information on that part of it, which is perhaps the most interesting, the connection between the characters and the system of sounds. One of these gentlemen, indeed, has given us a laboured essay on the passage of hieroglyphic to alphabetic writing,* in which, although he clearly points out several approximations made by the Chinese towards an alphabet, he asserts, in distinct terms, that they have not in the course of 4000 years reached that invention; or rather, (as he continues,) 'have been too wise to descend to the adoption of one.' The late Sir George Staunton was of opinion that the intercourse of two nations, having distinct hieroglyphic characters, would lead to the invention of an alphabet, each marking, in the sounds of its own characters, the names of foreign objects, merely as notes of sound, and divested of their usual signification. At Canton, for instance, where the English language, or a jargon of it, is spoken by all nations, 'a vocabulary has been published of English words, in Chinese characters, expressive

* Essai sur le passage de l'écriture hiéroglyphique à l'écriture alphabetique, ou sur la manière dont la premiere a pu conduire à la seconde, *par M. Cibot. Mem. Chin. Tom.* 8.

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merely of sound, for the use of the native merchants, who, by such means, learn the sounds of English words.'

We have only to observe upon this passage, that, although an intercourse of one hundred and fifty years may have produced a vocabulary, it has failed to produce an alphabet. All foreign appellations, being designated by as many distinct characters as they contain syllables, it is obvious that, in proportion as the vocabulary is extended, will the principle of an alphabet be departed from, which consists in a small selection of marks or letters, whose combined sounds are applicable to the words of all languages.

But it will naturally be asked, why the Chinese at Canton, if in possession of a regular alphabet, continue to write foreign names in the common characters, instead of employing their selected alphabetical ones? We shall probably be able to explain this seeming difficulty. There are only four general descriptions of people in China—the men of letters—the peasantry—the artificers—and traders—the last of which stand the lowest in public estimation; yet, it is with these only, and the rabble of Canton, that foreigners are admitted to any intercourse; and when we add, that even the learned appear not to have extended the use of their alphabet beyond that of ascertaining the precise sound of the characters in the dictionaries, it may reasonably be presumed, that the vulgar are ignorant of the existence of an alphabet altogether. Besides, every syllable of a foreign word would require, as we shall presently see, *two* alphabetic characters to denote it, whereas *one* common character employed for its sound only is sufficient for each syllable, a convenience which, to a merchant, may be deemed of some importance.

It remains to explain in what manner, according to our ideas, the Chinese alphabet may have been derived from their hieroglyphic characters. We have already endeavoured to shew that the elementary characters were, originally, imitations of sensible objects; that the sun was represented by ⊙, and the moon by , which, by a general system of reducing all circular or oval, to straight and angular lines, became and . We also explained by what means all the characters of the language were produced from the union of two or more of the 214 elements. Let us now suppose, what we conceive may very naturally have happened, that, among other combinations, that of the two characters *sun* and *moon* occurred to form a third, which was meant

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to express the idea of *splendour* or *brilliancy*, thus . It is possible that the signification of this new compound would, from habit, occur to a Chinese, on mere inspection: if, however, an explanation of its meaning was thought necessary, it would easily be communicated by a periphrasis of some well known and established characters, as those two, for example, which signify *great* and *light*. But it was also necessary to give a *name* to this new compound. According to their system, it might take the name of either of the elements or some other, different from both. We will suppose that the inventor at Pekin chose to call it *ming*, a sound of which a second person could not form the slightest conjecture, as it bears no affinity either to the name of the sun, which is *je*, or to that of the moon, which is *yué*. How then is he to communicate his intention to a person at Canton? how cause the name of *ming* to pass current, as significant of *splendour*, throughout China? To effect this must certainly, in the first instance, have required intense thought and long reflection; or, one of those lucky hits which sometimes flit across the imagination, and lead to the most important results. In either case, the process was probably something of this kind. The inventor would look for some character among those already named, the pronunciation of which approached nearest to the sound of *ming*—we will suppose among the elementary characters. In casting his eye over the list, it would not escape him, that the character *moo* had the same incipient sound with the new character *ming*, and that the same position and movement of the lips were required to pronounce both. *Moo* , *wood*, then, being an established elementary character, might be selected to supply the initial sound of the new compound *ming*. In pursuing his search among the elements, the word *ching* *blue*, another character already known and named, could not fail to strike the ear as being symphonious with *ming*; nor would it be very difficult for such a person to conceive that if the sound of *m* (which to pronounce require the lips to be closed) was substituted for *ch*, (which could only be uttered with the lips open,) or, in other words, if the initial sound of *moo* was united with the final sound of *ching*, there would be produced the exact sound of the new compound character *ming*; and thenceforward the initial sound of every monosyllable in the Chinese language, whose pronunciation required the letter *m*, would be indi-

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cated by the character *moo*, and the sound of every word, ending in *ing*, by the final character *ching*; and these two characters, *moo* and *ching*, whether in their present, or in a more convenient form, would become, to all intents and purposes, two letters of an alphabet.

From the operation we have been describing, a series of sounds might be selected, out of the characters already named, to answer every exigency. Nothing farther, indeed, was necessary for conveying the sound of any new character, than writing after it two of the selected characters, whose initial and final sounds would make the sound required; which is precisely what is practised in all the Chinese dictionaries. If, then, by proceeding in this manner, the Chinese have been able to construct a series of simple sounds, of a limited number, and permanently fixed, by which the names of all their characters and the words of other languages can be written; if, by means of their own imitative characters alone, and without any foreign aid, it shall be found that they have actually done this, the discovery of an alphabet is complete, and the great problem solved. The same kind of proceeding is equally applicable to the derivation of that alphabet, to which those of the western world are indebted for their origin, immediately from the Egyptian hieroglyphics; and all this may have been effected by a simple and natural process, without the 'interposition of divine aid.'

Whatever may have been the precise mode of proceeding, the simple fact is, that the Chinese are in possession of an alphabet, constructed on the principle described. It consists of thirty-six selected characters, whose names supply an equal number of initial consonant sounds; and of twelve other chosen characters, furnishing the same number of final sounds. By the several combinations of these initial and final characters, are produced 432 simple monosyllabic sounds, which, in fact, are the total number of syllables in the language; but, as those few sounds, when distributed among 35,000 characters, would occasion endless ambiguity, the sounds of the finals have been variously modified, so as to increase the number of original syllables in the language to 846; and these again, by the application of accent and quantity, are extended to 2,178, as will be seen more distinctly hereafter.

The system of the Chinese alphabet is explained in the introduction to the Imperial dictionary, by twelve tables; those selected characters representing initials, being ranged across the head of the page, and those exhibiting the finals, in a column down the margin: and at the angle, formed by lines drawn from any two of these, is placed a well known character, harmonizing in sound with that which is produced by the union of the initial and final characters.

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characters. This arrangement corresponds with that of the figures in a common multiplication table; for example,

INITIALS.

Finals		P-*ong*	Ph-*ong*	M-*ing*	Ts-*ing*
	K-an	pan	phan	man	tsan
	K-ou	pou	phou	mou	tsou

where it will be seen at once that the initial of p-*ong* united with the final of *k*-an, make *pan;* ph-*ong* with *k*-an, *phan;* m-*ing* with *k*-an, *man*, &c. Mr. Marshman has, in this way, constructed four tables, containing all the syllables which can possibly be formed from the alphabet, and which constitute, in fact, the whole of the spoken language of China.

The thirty-six initial sounds are distributed into nine classes or series, and when expressed by the letters of our alphabet, stand as under:

1. K. Kh. K. Gn.
2. T. Th. T. Ng.
3. Ch. Chh. Ch. N.
4. P. Ph. P. M.
5. F. Fh. F. M.
6. Ts. Tsh. Ts. S. S.
7. Tch. Tchh. Tch. Sh. Sh.
8. Y. H. Y. Hh.
9. L. Y.

It will be observed, that the third letter in each of the series of initials is precisely the same as the first, and that several others are repeated. The alphabetic characters, however, are all different, and a distinction is therefore probably made by the Chinese in their sound. If, as is probably the case, the difference amounts to little more than a mere refinement, the real consonant sounds will be reduced to twenty-four, which is the number in the Sanscrit alphabet, exclusive of the ten aspirated consonants. Our author suspects the second *k*, in the first series, may approach to the sound of *g*, the second *t* to that of *d*, the *p* to *b*, &c. Supposing this to be the fact, 'let any one,' says he, 'refer to the Sungscrit alphabet, and he will perceive that they are *the identical series contained in that alphabet*, more imperfectly executed indeed, but sketched perhaps with greater boldness and more precision of design.' We are not inclined to lay much stress on this apparent similitude, nor do we think that such a coincidence, 'though scarcely to be paralleled in any other two languages, not derived from each other,' will warrant the inference which, we are aware, will be drawn from

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from it, by some of our ingenious countrymen in the East. The affinity of the Burman to the Sanscrit alphabet, and of the Thibetian and Siamese to that of the Chinese, might be expected from the relative situation of the respective countries. But the deductions of comparative etymology are so frequently fallacious, even between polysyllabic languages, that little dependance can be placed in conclusions drawn from the consonance of syllables, much less from the letters of two alphabets.

'Relative to this coincidence between the Sungscrit and other Indian alphabets, and the Chinese system, I do not offer any opinion, as I have no hypothesis to support; my only wish is simply to state facts, as far as they have come to my knowledge. I leave it to the learned to determine, whether the outline of the Sungscrit alphabet was derived from the Chinese initials, or the latter from the former; or whether they originated independently of each other.'—p. 43.

We are convinced that Mr. Marshman has 'no hypothesis to support;' but as, from the hints he has thrown out, we anticipate much ingenious speculation, from the Literary Society of Bengal, we are unwilling to pass hastily over this part of the subject, persuaded that the more closely the language, the literature, and other circumstances relating to the Chinese shall be investigated, the stronger will be the conviction, that these people are the unmixed branch of a primitive nation, speaking an original language, written in a character exclusively their own.

We cannot, then, perceive the smallest necessity for reducing ourselves to the alternative proposed by Mr. Marshman. The truth is that, by his own account, the first four series only agree with the Sanscrit, the remaining five being essentially different: but were the fact otherwise, we see nothing very remarkable in such a coincidence. The capacity of man for uttering consonant sounds is so very limited, that we shall probably not err much in considering all the known alphabets in the world, as substantially alike. Divest them of their refinements, make allowance for the different employment of the organs of speech in pronunciation, and for the convertible sounds of *d* into *t*, *b* into *v*, &c. and little difference will be found in the *powers* of the simple alphabetic sounds, in use among different nations.

If, however, the alternative should be forced upon us, from the similarity of arrangement in the first four series in each alphabet, (which we admit to be a strong circumstance in favour of a previous intercourse,) we shall still have no hesitation in saying, that the Hindoos were the borrowers, and not the Chinese. We can conceive in what manner the letters of the former might have been abridged from the characters of the latter; but we can form no distinct idea how a Chinese character could be constructed from the

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the materials of which the Sanscrit letters are composed; still less how the sounds of the Sanscrit alphabet could be transfused into 35,000 Chinese characters, each of which, it is to be presumed, had already a name. Had the Chinese found it necessary to borrow the *sounds* of the Sanscrit alphabet, they would also have borrowed those simple *letters*, of so tempting a name,* instead of adopting the complicated and inconvenient characters now employed to express them. We might expect also that, while they were borrowing, the Hindoo system of numerals would have presented themselves, as particularly useful to a trading nation which had none of its own. Besides, we find that the Chinese alphabet 'exhibits a degree of refinement which seems unknown even to the Sungscrit grammarians;' nay farther, that it forms 'the most extensive consonantal system which the human intellect has produced.' It is certain, then, that the Hindoos could not supply the Chinese with what they never possessed; while the Chinese alphabet would suffice to express even the most tremendous of the more than sesquipedalian compounds, which occur in the Sanscrit. In fact, the two languages are totally different; they have no points of resemblance or analogy; they cannot, by any etymological contrivance, be brought even to approximate.†

The statement of a few simple points of comparison may probably lead us to the right conclusion with regard to the question of precedence, in the arts of civilized life, between the Hindoos and the Chinese. We find the latter, then, to possess a connected series of written annals, carried back more than 4000 years, in an uninterrupted succession: whatever doubt may be thrown on the first 2000 years of this period, none can reasonably exist with regard to the remaining part; while the latter have not a single page of history, not the record of an event which they can verify. A few dateless inscriptions on stones, (records chiefly of grants of land,) and the testimony of Grecian, Persian, and Chinese history are the best, we might almost say, the only evidences of their antiquity as a nation.

The Chinese have a regular system of chronology, for referring all physical and political events to their proper periods, by means of a cycle of 60 years, which serves, at the same time, to regulate the inequalities of the lunar and the solar year. The Hindoos are in possession of the same cycle of 60 years, but they

* *Devanagari* 'the letters of the gods.'

† We recommend Mr. Marshman to procure the Chinese treatise 'On the Origin of the Sanscrit Language,' written about the 1020th year of the Christian era; and also that of the Emperor *Kien-Lung*, composed in 1749, on the Sanscrit, Thibet, and Mougul languages, translations of which would throw much new light on the language and literature of the Hindoos. According to these it would appear that India was in a state of barbarism about 1000 years before Christ.

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seem to have no knowledge of its application, either to chronological or astronomical purposes; even their genealogies are without date. The truth is, they have no more of chronology than of history; thousands of years are confounded with millions, and both are lost in the immensity of their *manwataras*, or rounds of time.

The Chinese have been able to transmit to posterity their history, laws, and institutions by means of the art of printing, which appears to have been in use before the Christian era. The Hindoos neither discovered, nor adopted this art. Their literary treasures were confined to manuscripts which, being solely in the possession of Brahmins, were at all times liable to forgeries and interpolations. These have, in fact, been proved upon them to a very great extent. The boasted antiquity of the Vedas and Puranas has recently received a severe shock; it having been shewn, we had almost said proved, that the date of the latter ought not to be carried back beyond seven centuries.*

The Chinese have a systematic dictionary of their language which, though published before the Christian era, is still referred to as high authority;† and this language is very generally understood throughout the empire. In India, the 'learned pundits' alone have any knowledge of the Sanscrit. The people were always carefully debarred from the mysteries which it enveloped.

The Chinese are in possession of a code of laws, founded on good sense and practical wisdom; a government which professes, at least, to protect and punish impartially the prince and the peasant. Their lands are held by a sure and moderate tenure, the system of taxation is peculiarly mild and proportioned to every condition in life. Their ancient religion was too simple to continue long; its only object of worship being the invisible deity, and its only organ, the sovereign; they, therefore, borrowed from the Hindoos, (the only thing perhaps they ever did borrow from them,) a religion more complicated and, on that account, more suited to vulgar understandings. But what is the case with regard to Hindostan? It is summed up, and we think, fairly, in the words of a modern geographer. 'Not one rule for the conduct of life, not one discovery generally useful to mankind, can be traced to that celebrated and miserable country, where passive millions drag a feeble existence under the iron rod of a few crafty *castes*, amidst a climate and a soil almost paradisiacal, and where it seemed impossible for

* Mr. Bentley's very excellent paper in the 6th vol. of Asiatic Researches.

† The *See-ouen*, compiled under the dynasty of the *Han*, a work which is constantly quoted in the Imperial Dictionary of *Kaung-shee*, and which, according to Mr. Marshman, 'must be nearly two thousand years old, and probably the most ancient dictionary at present extant in any nation.'

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human malignity to have introduced general degradation and distress.'

We feel the more disposed to mark the great difference in the moral character and political circumstances of the two nations, on account of the attempt which has been made to prove the descent of the Chinese from the Hindoos, an attempt, however, which rests on no better authority than the assertions of 'learned pundits,' and a text of Menu (probably a supposititious one) which includes the *Chinas* among those of the *Cshatriya* or military caste, 'who abandoned the ordinances of the Veda, and lived in a state of degradation.' With all possible respect for the talents and ingenuity of the distinguished scholar,* who adopted this opinion, we must be excused for doubting a conclusion so gratuitous. We cannot pay the least regard to the 'assurances of the learned pundits' of Bengal, 'that the Chinas of Menu settled in a fine country to the *north-east* of Gaur, and to the *east* of Camerup and Nepaul; and that they had seen old Chinese idols, which bore a manifest relation to the primitive religion of India, before Budha's appearance in it.' Those 'learned pundits,' grossly ignorant of the history of their own country, are not, in our judgment, the best authority for illustrating that of another. We pretend not to determine in which of the fourteen regions of beatitude, or of the holy places of Vishnu, a line drawn 'north-east from Gaur' will meet another line drawn 'east from Camerup and Nepaul,' but we are quite certain that, if by Gaur be meant the kingdom of that name to the S. W. of Cabul, two such lines could never, by any human possibility, intersect on the surface of our globe; and consequently those degraded and unfortunate *Chinas*, travelling in search of that point, would find 'no resting place' on this nether world. The line of 'north east-from Gaur' might conduct them into Russian Tobolsk, but would never guide them to China.

As to the 'old idols,' these were in truth Budha's own gods, and perfect strangers to the Chinese for a thousand years after the pretended emigration of the *Chinas*, according to the text of Menu.'† But the 'learned pundits,' it seems, continue to know the Chinese by the name of *Chinas*. And so do we, and so does all Europe, with a little variation, in the name, a name however which is utterly unknown to the Chinese themselves. An emperor of the dynasty of *Tsin*, indeed, attempted to bestow that name on the country, but it did not survive the family; this, however, happened about one thousand years after the separation of the *Chinas*, when the Chinese first

* See a discourse on the Chinese, by Sir William Jones.

† The compiler of Menu is supposed by Sir William to have lived *somewhere* between 1000, and 1500 years *before* Christ; Budhism was first introduced into China sixty-five years *after* Christ.

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visited the countries to the south west, among which *Min-too* is particularly mentioned by name. Hence, through Persia and Arabia came *Sin*, *Sina* and *China*.

Were we inclined to pursue this subject, we might ask, why these *Chinas*, in separating from their nation, dropped their simple alphabetical language, and adopted a system of hieroglyphics which has never been known to follow, but universally to precede alphabetic writing? why, after forsaking the laws, and customs of their forefathers, they adopted others diametrically opposite? We might farther enquire, by what process the physical change of complexion was effected, from the glossy black of ebony to the pale and sickly hue of a dried tobacco leaf? by what means the sober and placid countenance of the Hindoo was transformed into the wild and disturbed features of a Chinese? We doubt not that the 'learned pundits' can easily reconcile such difficulties; but debarred, as we Parias are, from the light of the Vedas, we should as soon think of comparing the African negro with the Hottentot, as two people so remarkably distinct, as the Chinese and Hindoos are, in every moral and physical quality.

We have been drawn, rather unawares, into this digression, in consequence of the lamentable propensity of some of our countrymen in India to receive, as recondite truths, all the outrageous fictions which may be fabricated in the fertile workshop of Benares. When we find it not only gravely argued, that, from the British islands emanated all the extravagant dogmata, by which the faith and practice of the Brahminical religion are regulated, but that these arguments are favourably received at home, we cannot help expressing a marked contempt for such wretched impositions. The author, however, we believe, has recently read his recantation, and confessed, what all the world knew before, that he had been the dupe of the Brahmins.

It is now time to return to Mr. Marshman. His discovery of the Chinese alphabet, though not quite new, has at least disentangled it from the mysterious characters in which it was involved, and which had concealed it from those Europeans, whose whole lives were passed in the country. A fact the more remarkable, as the practice of ascertaining the sounds of characters, by the division of others, appears to have been well known to them.* Fourmont had transferred these alphabetic characters from a Chinese dictionary into his Latin folio, but so disguised them among his *prefecti*, *ante signani*, *milites* and *commilitones*, that it would require more than

* Pour indiquer le son du caractère *d'homme*, le grand dictionnaire de *Kang-hi* met les caractères de *jou* et de *lin*, avec celui de *tsie* après, qui indique l'élision; ce qui signifie qu'il ne faut prendre que le *j* de *jou* et le *in* de *lin*, ce qui donne *jin* ou *gin*. *Mem. Chin. Tom.* 8, p. 121.

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human patience to develope his explanations. Mr. Marshman, we are pretty certain, never saw the *Meditationes Sinicæ* of Fourmont. It is evident, indeed, from the following passage, that he stumbled on the Chinese alphabet by mere accident.

'It is difficult even to guess who was the author of this system, or the age in which it was invented. On first observing it, the thought occurred to the writer that it might possibly have originated with the present dynasty, and the idea of it have been borrowed from the Tartar system of letters. But several things rendered this improbable: the same system is found in several dictionaries which existed *long before* the Imperial Dictionary was compiled: and indeed on close examination the Tartar alphabet does not appear to contain this system of initials. To introduce a new system of pronunciation, which should be attached to the same characters, must be attended with greater difficulties than the introduction of a new language; and is such an innovation as has scarcely been known in any nation, much less in China. The invention must at present therefore be left in obscurity, while the scheme itself exhibits a curious proof, both of the vast powers, and the limited nature, of the human mind; of the former, in the regularity and extent of the system, and of the latter, in stopping at the monosyllabic form! How astonishing that, with the idea of combining the *characters*, that of combining the *names* of these characters should never have entered the mind! an idea which seems connected with the other in the most natural and intimate manner, and which would have rendered the oral part of the language as definite and as copious, as that of the characters.' (p. 41.)

It is quite certain that a set of syllables, all beginning with consonants and ending in vowels, liquids, or nasals, whether in a separate or combined state, will not be deficient in euphony; but the fact is, the formation of a polysyllabic language would be incompatible with the system of employing characters as representations of sensible objects. Experience has proved, that hieroglyphic monosyllables have invariably given way to alphabetic or syllabic combinations. The Chinese must be aware that the adoption of the latter would infallibly destroy their admired fabric, and render useless their millions of books, many of them preserved for twenty centuries. Their extreme veneration for all that is ancient is a feeling which may have contributed not a little, by its hostility to innovation, to the stability and integrity of this vast empire. So sacred, indeed, is this attachment to the characters of the language, that it is not a mere want of taste, but a positive misdemeanor, to tear a written paper and throw away the fragments; such scraps, whenever found, are carefully picked up, and put into a small pouch or hollow bamboo, which every man of taste and letters carries about his person.

The simple monosyllables, as we have already observed, amount only to 846; by certain intonations, however, applied to the greater part of them, this number is capable of being extended to 2178. These

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These intonations, which are neither more nor less than the Greek accents, are thus distinguished: 1. *Pheng*, even or moderate, the common or grave accent. 2. *Siang*, ascending, which answers to the acute accent. 3. *Shee*, protracted, or the long syllable; and 4. *Yu*, to stop short, to re-enter, the mark of the short syllable. Dividing then the 35,000 characters by 2178, the number of characters having precisely the same sound will be *sixteen*; if by 846, we shall have 41 characters each bearing nearly the same sound. The recurrence, however, of these paronymous monosyllables does not, in the opinion of Mr. Marshman, 'prove so great a hindrance' as might be imagined. That it does however prove not only 'a hindrance,' but is also productive of frequent and sometimes of ludicrous mistakes, we are quite certain. The following edict, which we copy from the Pekin Gazette, affords a decisive proof that the poverty of the language is 'a hindrance' even to the Chinese themselves. 'Whereas the names of the viceroy of *Yunnen*, and the Lieutenant General of that province, being pronounced alike, though differently written, may occasion some confusion, it is therefore ordered that the Lieutenant General *Shoo-lin* do change his name to *Shoo-ching*.' *Imperial Edict, 15th May*, 1800.

But, it may be asked, says Mr. Marshman, 'what are the 846 characters which express the original monosyllables, or even the two thousand which express them intonated, to the *whole*? As sounds cannot be conveyed to the eye, if there be only 30,000 characters, the sound of at least 28,000 must still be left undefined.' The remedy for this seeming inconvenience is that of which we have just spoken. The few monosyllables contained in the language being accurately described, and their various intonations defined, by means of the alphabet, it was only necessary to affix one of these defined characters after each character in the dictionary, in order to ascertain the pronunciation of every character in the language.

'This is exactly the plan which the Chinese philologists have adopted. Were we, for example, in the course of reading, to meet with the character , *faithful*, of the name of which we are supposed to be ignorant; on turning in the imperial dictionary, to the key *sin*, the heart, we shall find this character among those which consist of four additional strokes, and underneath it *ch*-ee and l-*oong*, given as the two characters, from which the sound of it is to be formed, i. e. *choong*, but lest the sound should be mistaken, it is added underneath, 'harmonizing in sound with *choong*,' which latter character is found in the table of the two thousand intonated sounds. Thus, then, by means of these 2000 characters, the formation of the name and intonation of which are clearly laid down in the imperial dictionary, is the pronunciation of every character fixed in so clear a manner, that any one in Britain, who is

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is master of the system here given, may ascertain the sound, as though he were at Pekin.' p. 73.

3°. We have but little to observe upon the third part of the 'Dissertation,' which contains 'remarks on the grammatical construction of the Chinese language.' Like every other part of the work, it exhibits marks of an active and intelligent mind. This division, it is true, is more defective than either of the preceding; but the little it contains is genuine, being grounded on the best possible authority, that of Confucius, a collection of whose discourses and opinions the author had previously translated. From this work, and two commentaries upon it, the author has drawn a set of examples for the purpose of elucidating the 'grammatical construction of the Chinese language.' This course, he tells us, he was induced to prefer from a conviction that 'one fact, clearly established, is a better addition to the general stock of knowledge, than a great number of theoretic speculations.' It is worthy of remark, that the style and manner of Confucius and his immediate followers, were found to differ very little from those of the best writers of the present day. One of the commentaries consulted by Mr. Marshman was published 1,500 years after the death of Confucius, and the other much later, yet the only difference he could discover between them and the original consisted in the former being rather less concise. 'Indeed,' he adds, 'whatever I have heard or read of the language, tends to convince me, that it is radically the same, whether exhibited in the conciseness and sublimity of the ancient sages, the easy and copious style of the modern writers, or the familiarity of conversation.' This is, perhaps, the most extraordinary instance that the world has exhibited of a living language proved, by direct and positive testimony, to have been written and spoken by nearly one-third part of the human race, for more than 2,000 years, without undergoing any material change. How true, and at the same time how strictly applicable to the Chinese, is the observation of Dr. Johnson, that 'the language most likely to continue long without alteration would be that of a nation raised a little, and but a little, above barbarity, secluded from strangers, and totally employed in procuring the conveniences of life.'

The grammar of the Chinese written language must, from the unchangeable nature of the characters, be very simple; they remain in fact the same invariable monosyllables through all their numbers, cases, genders, persons, moods, and tenses; and the same character may be employed as a noun, adjective, verb, or participle, without the addition or subtraction of a single iota from its original form. It is obvious, however, that the signification of characters, in whatever part of speech they may be employed, must be connected by some sort of auxiliary particles; these are exceedingly few in the written, but more abundant in the colloquial

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colloquial language. The numeral adjectives are employed to express definite numbers; but indefinite number, as well as gender, is marked by a few auxiliary characters selected for the purpose.—The case is also determined, like our own, by expletives, generally prefixed; the genitive has *tie* after it; the dative *eu*, and the ablative *tung* before them. Adjectives generally precede the noun, as *ta*, great, *jin* man: *ye jin*, one man, would be clear enough in writing, but in speaking, ambiguous, and might be taken for a *virtuous* man; it is therefore usual in colloquial language to interpose a particle, and to say *ye-ko-jin*, for *one man*. The comparison of adjectives is also effected by appropriate particles. The personal pronouns are *ngo* I, *ne* thou, *ta* he; by the addition of *mun*, they become plural, as *ngo-mun*, *ne-mun*, *ta-mun*, we, ye, they; the farther addition of *tie* converts them into possessives, as *ngo-tie* mine; *ta-mun-tie* yours, &c.

The verb, like other parts of speech, has all the various modes determined by auxiliary characters, and where these are omitted, the sense is made out by the context. The present, past, and future are the only tenses which they have thought it necessary to distinguish; for instance, *ngo-lai*, I come, *ngo-lai-leao*, I came, did come, or have come, *ngo chau gai* or *ngo pee gai* I shall or will come. Simple as all this may appear, it is stated to be found amply sufficient in practice. Their sentences are invariably short, and on that account less liable to ambiguity. The best proof of its sufficiency will probably be found in the long duration of the system.

Our opinion has generally coincided with that of Mr. Marshman in his view of the Chinese language. We think, however, that he has greatly underrated its difficulties, which are not dependent on the mere recollection of the characters, but arise from causes which, having been fully stated on a former occasion, we do not conceive it necessary to repeat. But were we to admit, what is by no means the case, that the acquirement of this language was a mere act of memory, we must still hesitate before we allow 'that to imprint on the memory a distinct idea of two human countenances is an act of precisely the same nature with imprinting on the mind the figure of 2,000 Chinese characters.' The parallel is unhappily chosen. In every human countenance there are the same number, the same general form and disposition of features. It is not the trifling variation which occurs in these—it is the intelligent mind, the *visible soul* that stamps on each a distinct impression, and renders one man unlike another. But we are not disposed to find fault where so much praise is due. There is but one suggestion we are desirous of offering to Mr. Marshman; that in his future publications he will make use of the *Quan-wha* instead of the *Siang-tang*, or provincial jargon of Canton, which is as harsh and uncouth,

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as it is incompatible with the system of pronunciation he has explained, and with which all his examples ought to correspond. Instead of this, we have *muk* for *moo*, *sum* for *sin*, *gnee* for *eul*, &c. It is true we are told, in a note, that much of the volume was printed off, before he had made the discovery of the alphabet in the imperial dictionary; but he also tells us that 'in numerous instances he preferred the Canton dialect, as that which would enable our countrymen to bring the Chinese words into most immediate use.' Our eighteen or twenty countrymen at Canton will scarcely thank him for this mark of predilection in their favour. For our own parts, we shall be greatly disappointed, and mortified, if the translation of *Kaung-shee*'s dictionary, which we anticipate with feelings of much satisfaction, be not executed precisely according to the system laid down in the introductory part of that national work.

ART. VIII. *Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire.* By C. W. Pasley, Captain in the Corps of Royal Engineers. Part I. 8vo. pp. 533. London. 1810. Lloyd.

NO text in Cowper has been more popular than that which says,

> War is a game which, were their subjects wise,
> Kings should not play at.

In Switzerland a game has lately been made of war, *(Das Kriegspiel,)* which is played with figures upon a map, and recommended as exceedingly instructive to military students, because the principles upon which it is constructed are applicable to real operations in the field. It is well for the Swiss if they can now amuse themselves with this game; and still better will it be if they should hereafter profit by it! Well too would it be for the world, were it restored to that state on which Cowper's text was founded; even poets will not venture to call the war of this day the *game* of princes. We know, with awful certainty, that we contend for the safety of our country, and that war is, and long must continue to be, our most momentous business; and an author has now come forward with the spirit of a soldier, and the heart of an Englishman, to enforce upon us the conviction that the struggle is for our existence, and to show us how it may be carried on to a triumphant end. We do not, as it will be seen, concur in all Captain Pasley's doctrines, and the principles of some of those in which we agree are carried, we think, to an unwarranted extent; but the subject of the work is so important, the views which it takes are so enlarged, the reasonings so fairly and so candidly detailed, and the spirit that dictates

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dictates the whole is so pure and patriotic, that we feel we cannot better perform our duty to the public, than by laying before them a summary of this most interesting book, and endeavouring to support the general opinions of its author, by a view of the actual strength of the British Empire, so consolatory, so proud, and so unanswerable, as to put the lily-livered crew of our *husbanding* politicians to shame. In these days when

πολεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει

we may truly say with Tyrtæus,

Ξυνον δ' εσθλον τετο πόλῃ τε, παντι τε δημῳ.

'The main object of this work,' as stated by the author, 'is to endeavour to prove, that by certain new measures, and by certain additions to our means of defence, supposing we had not a single ship on the ocean, we might still hope to maintain our independence.' In other words, he contemplates, not merely the possibility, but even the probability, and in the event of a peace the certainty, of the enemy's obtaining over us a naval superiority; and he therefore rests his whole plan and hope of our ultimate defence upon a vigorous exertion of our military power on land. He does not stop to consider whether a standing army is constitutional or not. He does not even allude to the jealousy which our ancestors entertained on this subject: all such questions, if ever they occurred to him, he has waved; he looks only to the portentous signs which Europe at this hour displays, and he wastes no time in combating the theories which a century, and the twenty years which have passed since the French revolution (more fertile in wonders than a century of the usual course of human affairs) have rendered, for the present at least, irrelevant and obsolete.

It is Lord Bolingbroke, we think, who, in speaking of standing armies, says, that 'it is only occasionally that we should be soldiers, and, in those rare cases, only to a limited extent. Like other amphibious animals, we must, indeed, come occasionally on shore, but the water is more properly our element, and in it, like them, as we find our greatest security, so we exert our greatest force.' We do not know that we can give a fairer summary of Captain Pasley's essay, than by saying that it is, or at least aims at being, a refutation of these tenets of Lord Bolingbroke.

This work, Captain Pasley informs us, was intended to consist of two parts; the first treating of our military institutions, properly so called; and the other of the moral and political causes which operate upon a system of warfare, as it is at present, or must hereafter be conducted, on the part of this country.

For reasons assigned in his preface, and to which we are disposed to accede, Captain Pasley has altered this arrangement—he has, in the volume now under consideration, treated the latter branch

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branch of his subject only, as being the most pressing, both in regard to its own importance, and to the exigencies of the times in which he writes, and he has postponed, to another volume, (which, however, he says, will speedily appear,) the examination of our practical military institutions.

Captain Pasley begins by a comparative statement of our own means and those of the enemy, which may startle those who have been accustomed to rely implicitly on our insular situation.—Of this statement the following will be found to be a succinct but not inaccurate abstract. 'The five grand points,' he says, 'to be considered between nations at war, are, their population, their revenue, their means of rearing seamen, the energy of their executive government, and the spirit and patriotism of their people. The proportion of population against us, (those nations which are under the tyranny of France being included in the account,) is more than five to one; of disposable revenue France upon the lowest calculation possesses two-fold means, and these means may be greatly increased by adopting our system of taxation. Whatever Buonaparte chooses to impose must be paid, if it be within the bounds of possibility; and no one will dispute his inclination or his power to push the financial resources of the continent to their utmost stretch, in order to annoy us. Our own resources,' he argues, 'whether upon the commercial system, or that of the economists, must meantime decline; for whether at war or at peace, the main object of France will be to injure our trade. This she has the means of doing, and the revenues of the French empire may, ere long, become superior to ours in nearly the same ratio as its superiority of population. During the war, while it continues on its present footing, France cannot form a marine capable of coping with us; but peace will immediately give her the power of training seamen to any extent. The comparison between the executive government of the two countries, as applied to the immediate purpose of war, is still more in our disfavour. All the measures of our own government, right or wrong, are sure to be so warmly attacked by the existing opposition, that a great part of the time of every ministry is wasted in self-defence against the incessant assaults of their parliamentary opponents. The enemy has no parties to manage, no declared attacks on his measures to arrest or repel, no popular clamour to silence, no jarring interests to conciliate in the appointment of his officers civil or military. In process of time despotism becomes, perhaps, the most impotent of all forms of government; but long before the process of decay can take place in France, according to all human probability, the fate of this country must be decided. The advantages of public spirit and patriotism are unquestionably on our side; but these may be too confidently relied upon. All history proves that one state conquers another not by superior freedom or virtue, but by possessing

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more numerous, braver, better organized, and better commanded armies, with a more vigorous system of military policy, and more constancy in repairing disasters in war. Such being the relative force, resources, and energy of the two contending empires, is it possible that we can preserve our naval superiority any number of years? That power that is likely to have most money in order to buy materials and naval stores, and to employ most shipwrights, will be able to build and equip most ships; that power that has the greatest population can put most men into its ships after they are built, and that which has the greatest extent of sea-coast, and which rears most seamen by its ordinary commercial navigation during peace, will be able most speedily to man its fleets with good sailors at the commencement of a war, and most readily to replace their loss during its continuance. But that power is or will be France. The French empire, with so decided a superiority in every point upon which naval power is founded, will be able to equip a navy more than double in force to ours, or indeed in any greater proportion that might be thought needful, manned by seamen equally or nearly as skilful as our own.'

In thus opening his work, Captain Pasley seems to have thought it expedient to assume an appearance of despondency, that it might afterwards be strongly contrasted with the real scope of his argument. We venture to be of opinion that this is neither necessary nor judicious; and we feel confident that it is utterly unfounded. Without despairing of our finances or our navy, there remain, we are satisfied, motives quite sufficient to incite us to great military exertions. Captain Pasley needs not, like Cæsar, in order to inspirit us to fight ashore, destroy our fleet: indeed we feel that we shall give strength to his ultimate conclusions, if we can show that his discouraging estimate of our population and finances, and his despair of our commercial ascendency in peace, are unfounded; and, while he argues the urgent policy of the measures which he proposes, he will surely consider those to be useful auxiliaries who can show that our resources are equal to the accomplishment of his objects.

The population opposed to us in our contest with the Emperor of the French, Captain Pasley estimates as five to one, and, numerically speaking, he is perhaps sufficiently accurate. But the power of producing and maintaining armies results so little from mere population, that previous to the time of Francis I. it is well known no standing army was or could be maintained in Europe, and from that time armies have only increased with increasing civilization. The cause of this is not obscure. Millions of persons may subsist in a rude state, and consume the produce of the soil, without acquiring a particle of that kind of power which contributes to the maintenance of an army, or to any other national object.

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object. In the feudal times, imperfect agriculture and the want of roads, scarcely permitted the cultivators to dispose of a surplus sufficient to furnish money contributions for the support of the regal and baronial courts. The progress of civilization taught a more economical and effectual application of human labour; and an increasing number of persons could be fed, besides those who cultivated the land. To procure their share, these superfluous lookers-on became manufacturers, whence arose, in the natural order of gradation, trade, money, and facility of taxation; and it is in reality from the degree in which scientific or skilful labour exists in a country, that the permanent maintenance of armies is to be calculated. In a ruder state of things nothing can be furnished beyond the raw material—untutored man.

The real inquiry for our purpose therefore is, the quantity of machinery, of scientific labour, and of the means of employing both existing in England, as compared with the same resources in the dominions of Buonaparte. A difference in our favour all will allow: because if both had remained stationary since the commencement of the war, our superiority was evident from the vent of our manufactured goods on the continent, and that too in despite of the higher price paid in England for labour to each individual workman.—And what has happened since the commencement of the war? Except those ornamental manufactures which are maintained, not by profit, but at the expense of government, from motives of vanity or policy, all manufacture in France is extinct, or nearly so. Over the rest of the continent war has occasioned a desolation unparalleled since the irruption of the Barbarians; and war contributions have annihilated the visible capital of the manufacturer, and therewith, of course, all his exertions. This we may conclude without fear of error from the otherwise unaccountable and incredible avidity with which English goods are purchased, even in increased quantities, though at a price proportioned to the danger of hazarding the vengeance of the laws, if they may be so called, which have been made for their exclusion.

The prosperous application of large capital we have daily opportunity of seeing. In one place, a large steam engine performs the manual labour of five hundred able men; in another place, a cotton mill works with all the delicacy of five hundred skilful artisans; and a thousand men may thus be marched to the army without national loss. In machinery less striking than these popular instances, no less progress has been made. For instance, agricultural instruments employed about a hundred and twenty persons, masters and workmen, in London, twenty years ago—now upwards of two thousand are engaged in this manufacture: but this increase in their number is accompanied by the discharge of thousands and tens

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of thousands from manual labour; and so proportionally has machinery lent aid to all other trades and callings. Co-operating with machinery in advancing our national power is obviously the division of labour; the effect of which having been so ably examined and stated as to have become an undisputed principle, has only been mentioned in this place, lest we should seem to forget that it has conspicuously increased in the last ten years.

Another cause of national power, though not unknown, and even faintly recognized by all when mentioned, is not so highly appreciated as it deserves. We allude to the striking increase of task-work, which operates *directly* on the individual so employed, causing him usually to produce twice as much work as before, and with twice as much complacency as when he toils listlessly for daily wages,—the effect on him being in the one case to make him do as much, in the other as little as possible. The *indirect* effect of task-work is on the day-labourer, who is not permitted to lag far behind the task-workers when a comparison is at hand. An appeal to the several classes of society would produce their testimony that task-work has increased, and is increasing, in almost every species of labour to which it is applicable: but the most important example of this is in agriculture, which must always remain the most general occupation in England; and in short it would not be too much to affirm, that the habit of task-work has augmented four-fold within the last twenty years, and doubled within the last seven.

It is obvious that we have only to contrive machinery to do the work of men, and we may maintain them in the service of the public—to divide labour, and to extend the fashion of task-work, by which few do the work of many, and we may take the overplus into our army and navy. We have already done this to the amount of more than half a million of men, of whom 400,000 have been added to the military establishment since the commencement of the war.

The following statement of our effective forces (including officers) at the close of the last year, will be at once satisfactory to our readers, and useful to our argument. Our regular cavalry appears, from the authentic returns, to have been on the 25th of December last 31,375. Our regular infantry, including the foreign and colonial corps 211,574. The artillery, horse and foot, 22,346, making in all of regular land forces 265,295 men. The vote for seamen and marines was, in 1810, increased to 145,000; and it was stated in Parliament that this increased vote was necessary, because that number were actually in the service. The regular militias of the empire amounted to 95,440, and thus we have a total of actual military and naval force of upwards of five hundred thousand men—a force more than double the military establishment of the Roman

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man empire under Augustus. And here we must observe, that the measure of interchanging the British and Irish Militias, the most important and beneficial to the empire which has been proposed since the union, will have the effect, in addition to many other and greater advantages, of increasing our actually disposable force by nearly 16,000 or 20,000 men, the number of regular troops which it has hitherto been thought expedient to retain in Ireland, and which we apprehend may be most safely and most usefully replaced by the British militia.

The local militia of Great Britain which assembled for exercise at the last inspection, amounted to 167,000. The volunteers in Great Britain are 52,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry. In Ireland 67,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry—a total irregular force of 312,000.

Thus, in the whole, we offer to the world the proud and commanding spectacle of eight hundred and twenty thousand men in arms; and this has been accomplished, as the increased comforts of all classes of society abundantly prove, without any unnatural exertion or ruinous expenditure of our strength. To our enemy every thing is opposite; and accordingly, with all his five-fold superiority of population, he does not, certainly only because he cannot, maintain many more troops and seamen than ourselves, even by the severest exactions of tyranny. Yet such is our habitual despondency, that while in possession of this mighty force, we have expended two millions and a quarter on martello towers and fortification in these very British islands since the commencement of the war!

But if the numbers of the armed masses of the two powers be thus less unequal than they are generally supposed to be, they will be brought still more nearly to a level by a consideration that the number of actual Frenchmen serving in the armies of Buonaparte is less in a considerable proportion than that of the actual British in the armies of Britain; and it is not to be doubted that the natives of Britain and France respectively form not only the foundation, but the essence and efficiency of the forces of the two nations.

Under all those considerations we are disposed, not indeed to assert that we possess or can possess a military population equal in arithmetical amount to that of France, but to insist that there is no such disproportion as should excite any despondency, or even any fear. We confidently believe that the disproportion is not greater than the habitual strength, courage, and patriotism of British soldiers, are equal to counterbalance and compensate.

Thus far on the first point of Captain Pasley's statement; we must now proceed to the second.

The doctrine of the economists, in the rejection of which we are sorry to see that Captain Pasley hesitates, seems in reality to have been

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been invented and propagated by the supple philosophers of France, in concert with its politicians, for the purpose of exalting the resources of France beyond those of Britain. If our limits permitted, we should, out of respect even to the hesitation of Captain Pasley, have been glad to collect into one point the facts and reasonings which have so victoriously overthrown that theory, and which we satisfy ourselves would have removed all his doubts: but we are obliged to proceed to treat of English commerce on other grounds, premising that the discussion divides itself into two parts much more distinct than is commonly supposed,—the prosperity of commerce, and the quantity of our exported commodities. For although Adam Smith has very well distinguished between these, and shewn from the example of China that internal commerce may exist in any degree in a nation almost secluded from intercourse with the rest of the world; yet our naval habits, and the convenience of recurring to the known quantity of imports and exports, have confined the attention of the public to a part instead of the whole: and as Captain Pasley himself seems apprehensive of the effects of the anti-commercial decrees of Buonaparte, we shall, in the small space that can be allowed for so large a subject, endeavour to throw some light upon this question.

To suppose that we profit from foreign trade only, is no less than to attribute to it a miraculous quality; as if a shopkeeper should imagine that gain could only accrue to him by selling to persons ignorant of the English language; or to imagine that if a barrier were placed around each county or parish in England, so as to take an account of all commodities interchanged, a large increase of trade must take place. Let us put aside for a moment the idea of money, and suppose two thriving artizans, a hatter and a cabinet-maker for instance, to interchange their respective commodities; it is clear that the creative industry of both would augment the value of manufactured produce, and the family of one would wear better hats, while the house of the other would be better furnished than before, and national wealth would be thus augmented by the profits of *two* persons instead of the profit of *one*, which latter case is the less favourable result of any commercial intercourse with foreigners.

We proceed now to a comparison of our exports and of our internal commerce. The value of British produce and manufactures annually exported, has increased pretty steadily from forty to forty-five millions within the last ten years, excepting always the twelvemonth of unusual and we fear unprofitable speculation, which produced an enormous augmentation of exports in 1809. But though this increase is respectable, and may prove the futility of any attempt against our external commerce, it is as nothing compared with

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with the increase and importance of our internal commerce, of which indeed it is no real criterion, though usually adopted, for no better reason it should seem, than that our internal commerce cannot be so obviously or accurately ascertained. We must therefore seek a criterion drawn from other sources, towards which an estimate of the sum annually expended in Great Britain will not be useless.

Considering that the expense incurred in parish workhouses in 1803, was about 12*l.* for each pauper, we may venture to conclude from the notorious rise in the price of the necessaries of life, that it now amounts to 15*l.* per head; which can scarcely reach the average of the expenditure of other individuals, so that we may presume each person in England to expend annually 20*l.* The number of persons in Great Britain (including the army and navy) was about eleven millions in 1801, and to this a considerable addition may now be assumed, if population increases with the comfort and prosperity of individuals, which we shall presently demonstrate to have increased considerably. If our population be taken at twelve millions, the expenditure of all the inhabitants of Great Britain will be 240 millions sterling.

If it be said that of the 240 millions annually expended in Great Britain, 15 or 20 millions are paid for imported foreign produce consumed here; this is more than balanced by the domestic commerce of Ireland, which cannot be less than 20 millions, and is really about 30 millions per annum.

Our domestic customers, therefore, purchasing to the amount of 240 millions, and our foreign customers 45 millions, is proof that external commerce, however important, adds no more than a fifth or sixth part (two elevenths) to our commercial prosperity; and the greater portion of this is carried to our own foreign possessions and to Ireland, leaving *one eleventh part* of our commercial prosperity to be derived from customers over whom we have no controul. Captain Pasley (to whom such mercantile calculations were not to be expected to occur) will no doubt rejoice to learn in how great a degree our resources are thus independent of foreign trade, the diminution of which would only, in the common course of events, diminish our foreign expenditure to the same amount, and throw it upon our domestic expenditure. But we are aware that the interruption of our foreign trade must always have some effect on our means of prosecuting a continental war; it, however, at present chiefly operates, we think, not by diminishing, to any considerable degree, our resources themselves, but by rendering the application of those resources to foreign expenditure more difficult—for having a large sum to pay abroad, and not being able to send goods to create a fund for these payments, the rate of exchange must necessarily be against us, and the expense of the war abroad is thus increased by the loss at which we make our remittances—but this loss, we contend, is not yet,

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yet, any more than the greater expense to which it is collateral, too much for the ability of the country. Besides, it is to be hoped, that from these very expenses may result an improved state of foreign commerce, which may have the effect of diminishing the rate at which we make those remittances.

To the extent here stated, we therefore admit, that the contraction of our continental trade is a *check* on the prosecution of great continental operations, and so far of Captain Pasley's principal objects; but it is only a *check*, and by no means a serious or irremovable obstacle. Our public revenues are chiefly drawn, as we have said, from a surer and more abundant source, our internal commerce, and what is still more satisfactory, without any sensible diminution of the former comforts of human existence.—This, if actual, could not be concealed, because it is ascertainable from the produce of those excise imposts which have been kept distinct from the additional, or war taxes, and also from that portion of the produce arising from exported commodities. But, upon investigation, we find that the consumption of those articles which form the comfort of the most numerous class of the community has not diminished, but on the contrary increased, and in the following proportions:—tea, 31 per cent.; sugar, 43; malt, 46; beer, 39; spirits, 21; and soap (representing the comfort called cleanliness) 26 per cent. The average increase of all these articles is 34 per cent, and, deducting one twelfth for the additional population before mentioned, about 31. The habitations and dress of the lower orders are evidently improved in a larger proportion. Useful industry must have increased in the same proportion as the comforts of the multitude, since a labourer cannot spend what he has not earned: and it must not be forgotten that the quantity of commodities consumed is an indication equally of comfort and of increased internal prosperity, altogether independent of nominal money value, and of commercial intercourse with the rest of Europe. Nor can we omit observing, that the Post-Office revenue, which is, in a great degree, a criterion of the internal commerce of a country, its diffusion of education, and its general advance in civilization, has gradually increased in the last ten years from 1,136,000*l.* to about 1,800,000*l.* being an improvement of above 50*l.* per cent. on the produce of the year 1800.

Whence then, it may be asked, the complaints of the merchant and manufacturer, that trade is dull or extinct? The following is the solution. The more flourishing trade really is, the greater is the increase of traders: more crowd into it, and the competition is often fatal to the venturous man who encounters established rivals. The speculators of 1809, who are now becoming bankrupts, and who had little or no capital at first, are loudest in their complaints, and the natural discontent of Englishmen, or perhaps

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perhaps of mankind, joined with the obvious prudence of concealing a prosperous adventure in times when trade cannot be conducted in a regular channel, deafens us with a repetition of this cry; though little retrenchment in their comforts or even their luxuries has been made by the complaining individuals themselves—though the expenditure of the great mass of the people is visibly increased,—and though every trading and manufacturing town in Great Britain exhibits also an increase in the number and value of dwelling houses, and all the other indications of growing, if not accumulating, wealth.

The present revenue of the British islands, however large and flourishing, does not satisfy Captain Pasley's mind, and he supposes it probable, 'that in a limited number of years, the revenue of our enemies may so increase, as to become superior to ours in a much greater ratio than at present.' What the revenue of the French empire at present is, we do not know, because the accounts are accommodated to the wishes of the government. Mr. Walsh states it at 60 millions sterling, but adds indeed that this is much below the real amount. His description of the manner in which it is levied proves very plainly that direct taxation is much heavier in France than in England, probably twice as heavy. But all discussions on taxation are useless, unless we take into view the comparative ability of payment, which is amply proved when taxes which no man is compelled to pay, in other words, when indirect taxes continually produce more and more. Of the comparative increase of our revenue from these sources we have spoken already, and the absolute amount is not less satisfactory. We may safely say that the duties (customs and excise) on tea and sugar produce six millions annually, malt and beer eight and a half, spirits five and a quarter, wine two and a half millions: except the last, these are all articles of vulgar luxury, producing together 20 millions sterling; and thus furnishing ample proof that our taxes though burdensome are not oppressive, and that hitherto they only operate like the climate of Europe, which, producing nothing spontaneously, compels the inhabitants to labour for food, and by the salutary rigour of which man has attained to greater plenty, and more security against famine, than he could find in the terrestrial Paradises of the East.

Exclusive of the expense of collecting the taxes, our national revenue may be taken at upwards of 65 millions, which is about double the amount of what it was in the year 1800, and is a full fourth part of the general income; which income must have therefore doubled within the same period.

This augmentation of wealth is not more than sufficient to explain that state of national prosperity which no man can avoid acknowledging, when he contemplates the infinite enterprize which has sprung up, and is maintained by the superfluity of money, by the

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the *superlucration* which can scarcely find vent for its acquisitions. Canals, docks, water-works, roads, bridges, inclosures, and other national speculations attract adventurers; and are prosecuted not merely with assiduity, but eagerness, and each of these innumerable works, which are now going on in the country, are at once the consequences and the causes of public wealth. Some of them are more wisely imagined and more prudently conducted than others; but the aggregate offers a most satisfactory view and proof of national prosperity.

We now conclude, (without thinking we have exhausted, or even fully stated, this part of the subject,) by observing, that including Ireland, and excluding the cost of collection, the national revenue amounts to seventy-one millions, of which not six are produced by Ireland, on a population which may be estimated at about five millions of persons. Her taxes therefore are at the rate of 24*s.* each, while on the population of Great Britain, taken at eleven millions, the taxes are at the rate of 6*l.* on each person, and yet, we believe, that the taxes in England are more readily and easily paid than the smaller rate in Ireland. Do we want a stronger proof than this instance, that it is industry acting on a sufficient capital which constitutes the strength of a nation? The French revolution and Buonaparte have destroyed all the capitalists on the continent, and do we still foolishly fear that he can levy taxes indefinitely on the beggared population? In such a state of things the old observation that two and two in taxation arithmetic sometimes make but one, would be fully verified. He may ruin and even starve his unhappy subjects, but they cannot pay what they have not; and we confess there is no part of Captain Pasley's essay which we think less founded than that which treats of the probable superiority of the French finance over ours. While Buonaparte continues his present commercial, or rather anti-commercial system, and while France continues to be a land of slaves, we will not join in Captain Pasley's apprehensions of the increasing prosperity of her revenues and her trade.

Such then are the actual resources of the British Empire: they arise not from temporary and accidental causes, but from the character of the people and from the nature of a government which in a greater degree than any other that has ever existed, gives free scope to the activity and enterprize of all its subjects. Captain Pasley has undervalued these resources, partly it appears for the sake of contrasting a seeming despondency in the outset of his work, with the grand prospects which he afterwards opens to us, and partly also perhaps because the subject itself is not one of those which he has been accustomed to contemplate.

We will now proceed with our examination of Captain Pasley's topics; and first, of his opinions on our colonial policy. Suppose, he says, at the commencement of the revolutionary war,

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Great Britain, possessing a disposable force of 150,000 men, had acted upon the system of acquiring colonies, and pursuing this object vigorously, became mistress of thirty such islands and fortresses, as Malta, Minorca, Corfu, Ceuta, &c. the enemy meantime employing her forces in subjugating the continental powers. Such possessions have seldom or never afforded a revenue more than sufficient to pay the expenses of their civil government; and the utmost assistance that their population ever gives to the military establishment of the conquering country, consists of a few battalions of raw volunteers, and those only in case of actual attack. All the charges therefore of maintaining the troops and constructing or repairing the works of fortification necessary for defence, must fall a dead burthen upon the mother country. Suppose that the naval power on both sides were equal; the ordinary garrisons for the defence of each of these conquests could not be averaged at less than 5000 men. After the acquisition of thirty such, we should therefore, instead of gaining any additional strength, entirely lose the use of our 150,000 soldiers; and as much of our revenue as was necessary for paying this great body of troops would be swallowed up and lost to all other national purposes. Admit that these possessions, by the favourable effect which they produced upon our commerce and manufactures, might enable us to pay 50,000 men more, which is rating their advantages at the utmost, still they would reduce our disposable force from 150,000 men to a third of that number. France meantime conquers the continent of Europe: her naval power, by supposition, equal to our own, enables her to attack Great Britain, and it is scarcely to be hoped that her enormous armies could be resisted for any time or with any final success by the portion of our army which we had reserved for home service; while we could derive no assistance from the remaining part, parcelled out into small garrisons, divided by the sea from the mother country and from each other. 'Such,' says Captain Pasley, 'is nearly the system which we have been pursuing since the French revolution took place, and such has been its tendency—the annihilation of a part of our disposable military force; impotency in all the grand objects of warfare not connected with maritime power; disappointment in all our expeditions whenever we have aimed at more than the attack of an island; want of confidence on the part of our allies, and a certain degree of contempt on the part of our enemies, of whose progressive aggrandisement to the gigantic degree of power which they now possess, our colonial policy has partly forced, and partly induced us to remain passive spectators. The superiority of our naval power has,' he adds, 'hitherto prevented us from feeling the insecurity of these colonial possessions; but when the French fleets shall be able to meet us on equal terms, (and a few years peace would certainly enable them to outnumber

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number our ships in any proportion which they might think needful,) from that moment all will be open to invasion; and be their value what they may, they must fall into the hands of an enemy, who, having the choice of objects, will be able to spare infinitely more troops both for the attack and defence of them than we can afford. Malta and Gibraltar indeed could not be wrested from us, till the enemy had gained such a naval superiority as to cut off supplies from them; but the rest of the frail fabric of colonial power would fall to pieces almost as soon as we felt it to be in danger.'

All this, and much more in the same style, is very forcibly put; and, with some abatement, we are disposed to accede to the proposition which Captain Pasley ultimately endeavours to enforce, but not certainly to all the arguments he uses for that purpose: for instance, we can, by no means, concur in the estimate which he makes of our colonial interests. We cannot forget that our own experience, and the favourite theories of the enemy, tend equally to conclusions on this subject very different from those of Captain Pasley. We are convinced that our naval superiority rests mainly on our colonial strength, with which it has grown, and with which we fear it would decay. Ships, colonies, and commerce, are the avowed objects of France—objects not of mere profit or of pride, but of her sincere and sagacious enmity to England. While the present war continues, Captain Pasley himself admits the value of our maritime possessions, but we must contend further, that such a prospect of peace as Captain Pasley opens upon us, affords additional grounds for the ancient predilection of this country to the maintenance of her colonial system. The enemy's immense population; his unlimited continental dominion; the wide range of his coasts; his almost innumerable harbours and sea-ports; the extended commerce between the distant parts of his empire—a commerce that will be, as it were, at once foreign and internal—how are all these to be, in any degree, counterbalanced? We think the answer is obvious and conclusive—by our colonies;—which equal the numbers that drink liberty and life from the fountain of the English constitution, to those that groan and wither under the iron sway of the usurper; which confer upon us a wider dominion and a larger range of maritime territory, more harbours and sea-ports, and a commerce vastly exceeding his, and comprising, at the same time, in a greater degree even than his own, all the respective and mutual advantages of a foreign and an internal trade.

We do not, however, conceal from ourselves that colonial strength is more precarious than that which arises from our own immediate and internal resources, and we do not wish to damp any of that spirit for military exertion which Captain Pasley endeavours to excite. We think with him, that England should be a great

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great military power; but we also think that she should not, on that account, the less endeavour to continue a great naval and commercial power—she is equal to both, and we are satisfied that it is in the pursuit of the latter, that she will find the most copious means of accomplishing the former. Here, as in other cases, we think Captain Pasley has taken a view of the subject too purely military, and either from want of practical knowledge, or from a love of paradox, (a fault from which he is not altogether free,) has undervalued our colonial resources, and placed them injudiciously by way of antithesis and contradistinction to our military force and continental influence. Our opinion is, that they are not only reconcilable, but almost inseparable.

Captain Pasley proceeds to state, that 'we have an arduous task before us; it is no less than to overturn the great continental empire which threatens our destruction. A necessity, that will brook no ordinary measures, strongly urges us to the attempt; and if we set about this noble enterprize with the spirit of men, if we make the attack upon this colossal power, before it is well knit together and firmly consolidated, while anger and revenge yet rankle in the hearts of the great mass of population of which it is composed; and if we transfer to the conduct of our operations by land the same wise and vigorous system of policy which has made us by sea almost invincible, there remains little doubt of our ultimate success; but till we shall send forth our armies to fight the enemy on the banks of the Ebro, the Elbe, or the Loire, with as much confidence as we believe we should feel in fighting upon those of the Thames—till we come forward, in the face of the universe, with a view to the applause of the present and of future ages, and throwing the gauntlet to our adversary, boldly challenge him to meet us, hand to hand, in any part of the known world, the efforts of our armies must all terminate in disappointment, and a career of disgrace must be terminated by ruin.' (p. 117.)

'The wonder is,' he adds, 'and posterity will consider it almost incredible, that the spirit with which we have acted in naval war, is radically different from that with which we are acting by land.' This is illustrated by putting a case which will come home to the feelings of every man. 'Suppose a British fleet, of forty sail of the line, were destroyed, what would be the consequence, if we thought of naval war exactly as we do of war by land, attributing to it, also, no more immediate effect upon our security? We should receive the news as we now receive that of a retreat and re-embarkation. Probably, no inquiry would take place; if it did, it would be a mere matter of form. No person would be punished, nor even censured, unless the strongest proof of flagrant misconduct were brought home to him. This man's former services would be remembered; another's wife and children;

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and these things acting upon the humanity of a good natured nation would, with the aid of a little interest, obtain impunity for the guilty. The people's indignation would soon die away; at most, it would vent itself in peevish complaints against ministers for ever wasting the public money in so useless and chimerical an attempt as that of forming a navy to cope with the fleets of such a power as France, a measure superfluous to the safety, and dangerous to the liberties of the British nation. Thus we should act if we regarded our fleets with the same feeling as our armies, and pursued war by sea with the same principle, or, rather, the same no-principle, as war by land. But reverse the case, and suppose this fleet destroyed, our feelings, respecting the navy, being what they actually are; the consequence would then be, as soon as the first grief and consternation were over, a general cry for immediate inquiry. If misconduct were proved upon any branch of administration, the minister so convicted, or, perhaps, the whole administration, would be displaced: if it were in the admiral, or any of his officers, death, or the worse punishment of perpetual ignominy, would be their sentence. It might, possibly, prove to have been the effect of accident, neither to be foreseen nor prevented. At all events, the utmost exertion would be made to repair the loss; all the shipwrights of the kingdom would be collected in the royal docks, and the work would go on night and day. The merchant ships would be emptied of their men; large detachments hurried on board to supply the place of marines; quotas furnished by all the counties; and the commanders, whose principal claim was their parliamentary interest, if any such had been employed, would be thrown upon the shelf to make room for a Rodney or a Nelson. Meantime, the citizens of England would take arms; the country would be covered with camps; and, in short, only appear more determined and more terrible. Let us act only with the same vigour by land as by sea, and the usurper of Europe will tremble upon his throne.'—(p. 124—126.)

The want of this vigour, we are inclined to agree with Captain Pasley, has been the prime cause of all our failures, all our disappointment, all our disgrace; it has tainted our councils like an original sin, and if the system were continued, the consequence must be a fall from which there can be no recovery. We rejoice, however, that a bolder and wiser spirit has of late animated our councils, and we think that the harvest which we have already gathered of glory and confidence in our strength, and the discomfiture and disgrace inflicted on the enemy, are at once proofs of the truth of Captain Pasley's doctrines, and promises of what we may reasonably expect from a continuance in a system, which has now, we hope, some chance of becoming permanently and universally popular.

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But the secondary causes of failure are those which come home more directly to the feelings of the people: these Captain Pasley generalizes under three heads;—defective military institutions; an erroneous treatment of the natives of the country which is the seat of war; and a mistaken policy in regard to other powers, which are neutral, or, at least, not principals in the quarrel: the two last subjects, he says, comprehend the *politics of war*. The first of these causes is very briefly adverted to: the subject is of high importance, but it is reserved for future discussion. The two other causes of failure he considers more at length, and lays down some general principles by which the disasters arising from them may be avoided.

'First, endeavour by every means in your power to make, and to preserve, the people of every country which you enter, either as a conqueror, or as an ally, your friends: for the people (by which I mean almost every individual in a nation, exclusive of the legislative and executive powers, and of a part of the nobility) is in all countries the strongest party.

'Secondly, as there are some powers, whose friendship in war is likely, upon the whole, to be more fatal to you than their enmity, decline or refuse the alliance of such states, even if pressed upon you; courting only the friendship of states of a contrary description.

'Thirdly, respect in all cases the law of nations; avoiding a crooked, intriguing, timid policy. Be a true friend to your allies in their utmost adversity. Be an open, a determined, a terrible enemy. Support not only your interest, but your dignity: for whenever you forget the latter, you lose sight of the former. An insult should therefore be resented more deeply than an injury. The honour of a great nation, such as we are at present, should be as spotless as that of a soldier: but it will be found, that unless, by adopting a more manly system of martial policy, we set ourselves above fear, it will be impossible for us to set ourselves above reproach.' pp. 140, 141.

In discussing the policy to be observed towards other states, Captain Pasley boldly avows and very ably supports an opinion which, in modern times at least, has not been very popular in England, that a system of conquest and aggrandisement—of permanent annexation to our empire of the countries we may be able to subdue, is our best and safest policy. The following passages will do justice to his opinions.

'I must observe in the strongest manner, that no power in the critical situation wherein Great Britain now stands was ever saved by coalitions. We must trust to ourselves alone. We must draw the sword with the spirit of principals not of auxiliaries, and we must never cease to increase our own power by conquest, till we have made ourselves the strongest power in Europe, by land as well as by sea.

'That part of our policy which deserves the most unqualified cen-

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sure is the system of courting the friendship of all nations, or more accurately speaking of all governments whatever indiscriminately, even the most weak and contemptible. Ample experience must by this time have taught us that the friendship of such states is a burthen instead of a benefit: it is the inevitable fate of such powers to follow the strongest in war, and were we by the heaviest expence of blood and treasure to succeed in re-establishing the Stadtholder, the King of Sardinia, and the various Italian states, and even to place on the throne of those states branches of our own royal family, still we should find in a new war, that we had only transferred the sword from one set of enemies to another. By whatever name the ruler of the Dutch is called, Holland will always be our foe till we either reduce it to a province of Great Britain, or make ourselves stronger than France by other conquests.

'What is the effect of a contrary system, when we display our standard in some new country, the natives of which have any degree of judgment or resolution? They either ask or endeavour to learn our views. We probably offer them some advantages, which they neither wish for nor understand: and we profess that we only intend a temporary occupation. The brave and high-minded, disdaining to be sold at a peace for some West India island, immediately fly to arms to oppose us. The self-interested, the timid and the servile, looking forward to recommend themselves to their former masters, become equally our enemies. Men of all characters and parties forget their domestic feuds, and unite against us. Hence even if we gain a partial success by force of arms, our power is in constant danger, either of being subverted by open insurrection, or of being undermined by secret conspiracy.

'If we acted on a contrary system, and declared that we would maintain our conquests to the last extremity; our adversaries, who in that case would form only a part, not the whole of a nation, after being subdued in the field, would soon be reconciled to us, by our humane conduct, after they knew that we would not forsake them. The self-interested would dread to embark in any conspiracy against such a determined nation: on the contrary, they would make a merit with us of discovering and counteracting all plots, and of repressing all discontent, amongst their own countrymen.

'Our unambitious, unwarlike policy is thus the cause, which has either formed or added strength to French parties, in all countries in in which we have ever acted. It was almost the only cause, that combined and armed the natives of Spanish South America against us, and inspired them with an almost incredible degree of horror and aversion at the sight or name of an Englishman. It is a cause that has hitherto tended to make us hateful or contemptible, wherever we have carried our arms, even where it has not actually contributed to our ruin or disgrace, as was the case at Buenos Ayres.'—pp. 164, 166.

He pushes the principle of this opinion to its full extent; he disapproves of our system of rushing blindly into offensive and defensive alliances. He would have no friends but strong ones—with

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with a weak people he would have no alliance—rather than assist them in their first opposition, he would permit them to be overrun, that we might reconquer them from the enemy, and add them to our force, not as allies but as subjects. This is a sufficiently bold avowal; but he goes still farther. He not only justifies but appears to recommend an interference in the internal administration of the allies we may have. At these doctrines we own we are inclined to pause. We will not defend all the system of this country, with respect to its alliances. Many of our allies have been to us, we are reluctantly obliged to allow, not strength but weakness. We agree that there has been perhaps too great a fondness for making alliances, and too great a readiness to be duped by the mere promise of a new friend, without inquiring into his worth or his power. We know too, that we have often risked greatly for those who deserved least from us, and that we have frequently put ourselves to inconvenience, and even to peril, in the hope of assisting those whose case was irremediable, and whose ruin inevitable; but these, errors though they be, are honest and generous errors; and though they are to be regretted for the past, and avoided for the future, yet we cannot bring ourselves to wish that the principle which prompts them should be enfeebled or eradicated. The extinction of that spirit would undoubtedly prevent the recurrence of those errors; but it would produce, we are convinced, others of still more pernicious effect. The national character is, we believe, one of the best bulwarks of England; it is confidence at home, and it is terror abroad: but if a cold and selfish policy is now to benumb us; if we shall hereafter unite with the strong only because they are strong, and shall abandon the weak to the oppressor, only because they are weak; if too, we shall refuse to protect, unless we are allowed to govern; if, in short, all our relations with foreign powers are to be either selfish and calculating, or meddling and arrogant; we fear that our rank among nations will be lowered; and that Europe, which now looks even to our failings with respect and hope, will contribute with satisfaction to the efforts of France for the overthrow of our power.

The opinions of Captain Pasley respecting Spain are especially worthy of attention, because here it is that the bold system which he recommends may immediately be put in practice. Here is not merely the fair field, but the vantage ground on which the enemy may be met; and so much has already been done, that if the public mind were but wound up to the pitch of the occasion, a triumphant result would be as speedy as certain. Not conceiving from our past policy that the British government would have displayed so much energy as it has done in the cause of the Peninsula, and knowing too much of history to be led astray by the then prevailing opinion that

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a nation of armed citizens was not to be overcome by a vastly superior military force, he says, that at the commencement of the contest he had no sanguine hopes of its result; but the very misfortunes of the Spaniards have so tried and proved their genuine courage and genuine patriotism, that at this moment, he adds, I esteem them more for their perseverance under calamity, than if with a better political and military system they had been able to realize their just intentions of carrying the war into the heart of France. In this respect he differs widely from the unthinking crew, who are now as unreasonable in their abuse of the Spaniards, as they were in their expectations from them at first.

'When Castanos, by superiority of numbers, surrounded and took the army of Dupont—when the inhabitants of Zarágoza and Valencia so obstinately resisted, and triumphed over the desperate attacks of the French, who were obliged from all points to retire behind the Ebro—then nothing but Spanish patriotism was talked of in England, and all manner of impossibilities were expected from it. After the end of the same year, when events had awfully proved the inferiority of new levies, and exposed the precarious situation of a nation, which has neither an establishment of well disciplined troops, nor of fortresses, to oppose to veteran armies; instead of profiting by the lesson, and seeing these important facts in their real light, we suddenly became as loud and unreasonable in our abuse, as we had formerly been absurdly extravagant in our admiration, of the Spanish levies; and for a long time afterwards we accused these brave men, the victims of their attachment to the cause of their country, of want of patriotism.'

'Want of patriotism was most unfeelingly thrown out against the heroes who buried themselves in the ruins of Zaragoza—against the young students of the universities, who served as private soldiers, and nearly perished in the disastrous operations of Blake—against the many thousands of unhappy men, the flower of the youth of Spain, who from a want of good officers, and of all the essentials of an army, which are not to be acquired in a few months, nor even in a few years, were unable to withstand their warlike invaders in the field, and who (small as the proportion of them that have actually fallen in battle may be) have been wasted away, by an accumulation of evils ten times more destructive than the sword. Those, however, who ascribed the misfortunes of the Spaniards to any thing but a want of good will in their own cause, were soon confirmed in their favourable opinion of that nation by the most convincing facts. What stronger proof could be desired of patriotism in any country, than that the people of Asturias and Galicia, after they saw themselves abandoned by a gallant body of more than 25,000 British troops, disdained to submit to that very French army, from which it was generally supposed that we had made a fortunate escape, in being able to effect our reimbarkation, after a rapid retreat?'—pp. 196, 198.

What we ought to have done, according to this competent judge, was to have employed an army of fifty or sixty thousand men in our

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our Spanish war; to have doubled that number, if possible, and to have kept it complete by every exertion in our power. 'It is no economy,' says Captain Pasley, 'either of money or of lives, to make war by driblets.' We ought to deal in war by wholesale. We have generally employed no more men than are barely sufficient to match the enemy in the field, in those countries which we have designed to wrest from him, as if it would be an unfair advantage to send more troops against him than he has got ready. Wherever he has not been able to pour in reinforcements and weigh us down by numbers, this has answered, because with equal numbers, or even with numbers not greatly inferior, we always have beat the French, and by God's blessing, shall continue to do so; but even then it is a wasteful and ruinous policy.

In these propositions of Captain Pasley for the conduct of the war, we are glad to recognize the very principles on which this country has of late acted. We agree with him, that it is the true economy to make war by wholesale: we know not whether even the exertions recently made, to place at Lord Wellington's disposal a great and efficient force, would satisfy the *wishes* of Captain Pasley, but we are sure that they satisfy his *principles*. And although the army assembled in the Peninsula may not amount, by ten or fifteen thousand, to the number of men required by Captain Pasley, yet the having collected and directed to one object a force of 40,000 British soldiers, must have obtained his applause, while the success that has ensued has fortified his argument; and will encourage us to proceed in a course which must lead (if any can) to the final success of the perilous contest in which the ambition and tyranny of France have involved our allies and ourselves.

The contentions of our parliamentary parties are more than once noticed by Captain Pasley as another cause of our military failures, by conducing to our timid policy at home, and by encouraging our enemies, and dispiriting our allies abroad. The natural tendency of such a system, is to intimidate public men, and to paralyze public measures—to recommend to the adoption of a minister or a general, not what may be useful or glorious, but what shall be easy and safe; and to dissuade him from the most important objects of national security and honour, because they necessarily involve a degree of hazard, and are subject to the chances which must affect all human efforts.

> 'And enterprizes of great pith and moment,
> With this regard their currents turn awry,
> And lose the name of action.'

While this is the situation in which a British administration is placed, in how different and in how much more commanding a position does the enemy stand! He has no account to render to

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political antagonists, no popular council to manage or conciliate, no improper disclosures to deprecate, no intemperate discussions or judgments to delay: his power is self-centered, and his efforts are animated by the energy of a single will, uncriticised, unshackled and undivided. We are far from wishing to stifle the voice of a free people, or to impede the course of constitutional discussion. Our observations are directed against those, if such there be, who inflame, not inform, the people, and against discussions imprudent, ill-timed, and ill-intended. Let those who may startle at such expressions, look to the manner in which Lord Wellington has been attacked, and the defence of Portugal represented as impossible. It is well for England, and, we trust, for the Peninsula, and for Europe, that our general was neither to be dismayed nor disgusted. Accusations of rashness and presumption he has repelled by the most consummate skill and prudence—complaints of lost opportunities and of inactivity he has refuted by the best concerted movements and the most rapid and vigorous pursuit, and the prophets of discomfiture and disgrace he has put to shame, by splendid successes and transcendant glory.

Captain Pasley speaks with the utmost respect of General Moore, and is especially careful that his writings should not seem to imply any thing in any way injurious to the memory of so brave a man. Those persons, he says, who state their opinion that he was for once mistaken, advance nothing that ought in justice to be considered derogatory either to his talents or reputation. That he was mistaken, the important events subsequent to his retreat have proved. If he had fought any where on the frontier of Galicia, as the men would have been in their full strength, their numbers undiminished, their spirits unbroken, the cavalry so superior to the enemy's, their artillery at hand, instead of being left on the road, or sent on shipboard as at Coruña,—surely that army which, under such complicated disadvantages, was still able to beat the French there, would have been far more able to beat them in its strength. Then, too, Romana was at hand, to co-operate with us. And here a tribute not less honourable than well deserved is borne by Captain Pasley to the merits of that true Spaniard, who has now closed his heroic career; and most ably has he vindicated him against a reproach which has been ungenerously and unjustly brought against him, for crossing the line of Sir J. Moore's retreat. Our limits will not permit us to follow Captain Pasley through this discussion, but we recommend it to those whom it concerns. Romana is beyond the reach of censure or of praise: not therefore for his sake, but for the sake of England, do we rejoice that these injurious reproaches have been so fully and feelingly refuted by a British soldier.

Then

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Then too the Galicians, who so shortly afterwards recovered their country from that very enemy against whom we did not venture to defend it, would have rallied round us. In the defence of their own mountains they would have been efficient auxiliaries; and under the protection and instruction of our army, they might have been disciplined, as the Portugueze have since been, with such success. The strength of the Bierzo had long before been emphatically pointed out by Romana, in case of the worst; and Mr. Frere, who knew the country, conceived it impossible that such a ground should be abandoned. Though our army was inadequate for deciding the fate of Spain, Captain Pasley, who was with that army, affirms that still it was capable of doing something—fully capable, at least, of maintaining its footing in the peninsula; and as the war between France and Austria broke out immediately afterwards, such a measure would have been highly advantageous to the common cause. That war was at that very time foreseen; and if Sir J. Moore had made his stand upon the frontier, and instead of countermanding the reinforcements which were actually embarked, had prest the government to send out all the force that could be spared, what would have been the consequence? Either Buonaparte would not have withdrawn so large a part of his forces from the peninsula, in which case the scale, actually upon the turn, might have inclined in favour of Austria; or if he had withdrawn it, our army would have been upon the spot to take advantage of the favourable crisis.

Captain Pasley's mind is of too manly and too philosophical a stamp to look at the past for the ineffectual purpose of regretting it. To prevent the conquest of Spain, he says, we must adopt more vigorous measures, both military and political.

1st. We must send such a force as will enable us to act on the offensive, and to protect the formation of new Spanish armies, as effectually as we have done the Portugueze army: we must take the brunt of the war upon ourselves, and meet the enemy in pitched battle. He thinks, too, that we should have more than one British army in the peninsula, or we lose all the advantages which we ought to derive from our naval power: and wherever we have an army of our own, there ought to be an army of our allies attached to it of an equal or greater number of men, under orders of the British general.

2d. We should, he asserts, demand that the general of the British army acting in co-operation with the Spaniards shall have the chief command of the combined troops, with the absolute disposal of provisions, stores, and means of transport.

3d. To obviate the difficulty of subsisting an army in Spain, a country, of which Henry IV. said, referring to the chance of an invading

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ing army there, *quand on y va fort, on meurt de faim: quand on y va foible, on est battu,* Captain Pasley boldly recommends that our officers should exercise that authority, which by the laws of war belongs to every army, and take without hesitation whatever they can find of which their troops may stand in need; and thus one cause, which has grievously embarrassed our movements, would be done away. For hitherto our officers have not ventured to assume any responsibility out of the routine of their military duties. Instead of perceiving that whenever a country became the seat of war, martial law, according to the nature of things, must be in force there, they act as they have been accustomed to do at home, where the authority of the civil magistrate is required for every thing; and they blame the Spanish magistrates for not doing in their behalf what it is not in their power to do, and what they ought to see done for themselves.

These three points Captain Pasley argues with considerable force and ingenuity: but again we confess we are not prepared to go the full length that his principles would carry us. We are satisfied of the policy of endeavouring to raise Spanish armies on the footing of that which has been so successfully formed in Portugal; it is an object for which we should do all that a due attention to the feelings of a high-minded nation will permit; but we must not forget that it was their insults upon the national character, and their disregard of the national prejudices, that raised upon the French the enthusiastic vengeance of Spain. We should be careful to guard ourselves, not merely from the reality, but even from any colour of resemblance to the insolent and profligate invader. It has lately become the fashion to repeat in this country, that a *right* has accrued to us out of our efforts and successes, to insist on the adoption by the Spaniards of measures of our dictation. God forbid that this doctrine should be acted upon by our Generals or our Ministers. Our efforts have been voluntary; we had a right to withhold them; we have chosen to make them; but to barter or to sell them, and to require, as the price of our assistance, even the slightest degradation of Spain, as an independent nation, would be the height at once of folly and injustice, a perfect imitation of French fraternity. Our interference must be as moderate, as our intentions are honourable; we are bound to recommend to Spain what we conceive to be most conducive to the welfare of the common cause, but she is not to be treated like a common soldier enlisted into our army, and drilled into the manœuvres and measures which we may choose to adopt. But it is said that 'without some vigorous interference all will be lost.' Let all be lost, but the character of our country; let all be lost but the confidence of the nations in us; let all be lost but the conviction that we have done right, and the

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the hope and means of hereafter doing successfully. We may lose the arm of Spain, let us not lose her heart also. We confidently believe that nothing has been omitted, or will be wanting on the part of our government of recommendation, of persuasion, of entreaty, even of importunity, to induce that of Spain to adopt measures of efficient policy; and we no less confidently hope, that the lustre of our successes may pierce the cloud of prejudice and error which has hitherto overcast the councils and the fate of this interesting people.

But while on these points, and to this extent, we are obliged to enter our protest against Captain Pasley's principles, we most cordially concur in his views of almost every other circumstance of the peninsular contest. Our extravagant hopes, our subsequent despondency, our enthusiasm at one moment, our injustice at another, our spirit flowing and ebbing with successes and reverses; all these, we fear, it cannot be denied, that Captain Pasley has had too much reason to blame.

We will not follow Captain Pasley through the details of operations which, a year ago, he recommended; still less will we now venture any propositions of our own. We view the cause of the Peninsula, with hope and confidence; and if we feared that the country required any stimulus to similar sentiments, we should therefore even the more strongly recommend to its attention, the work of Captain Pasley, which, though written in a spirit more devoid of party feeling than any work on similar topics which we have ever seen, yet, by a fortunate coincidence is, in its principles, a powerful auxiliary to our present system of military policy.

The next part of our foreign policy examined, and indeed severely criticized by Captain Pasley, is the subsidizing system—a policy which all administrations have pursued, one inheriting it from another, and for which none therefore is exclusively to be censured. Instances may occur, we know, in which aid in the nature of a subsidy may be the only one that can either be afforded by us, or reach the object to which it is destined. We know, too, that there are cases (as of Portugal at present) in which pecuniary assistance may be employed most beneficially for the common cause; but these are, we think it must be admitted, only exceptions, and we concur with Captain Pasley in his disapprobation of a general subsidizing system.

The weaker states, we have seen, Captain Pasley would reject as allies, even when their alliance was gratuitous; we are not therefore surprised that he reprobates the buying of such assistance, or rather as he would say, of such weakness to our cause. The comparative advantages of aiding by money or by men that kind of ally which alone Captain Pasley would consent to have, he thus in substance states.

'Suppose

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'Suppose that a vigorous and faithful ally requires our assistance, a power whose alliance it is consistent with those principles of policy which have been inforced in the former part of this work, to accept, Russia or Austria for instance. These powers have always been able to find money for those wars in which we have taken no interest, or in which they have fought against us: and the fact is, that no government ever raises more troops than it expects to be able to maintain by its own resources. If we send a British army to the assistance of such an ally, we serve him just as effectually as if we enabled him to maintain an extra army of his own of the same numbers. But what are the effects of the two different systems? Suppose we send 60,000 men to co-operate with our ally, a large British army has thus an opportunity of learning the art of war: men and officers measure themselves both with friends and enemies; and it is not assuming too much for the British character to say, that in all probability they find themselves superior to both. They maintain and increase the glory of their country, and they make the British name respectable and terrible. By exchanges, promotions, and movements of corps, every regiment in the service becomes full of officers and men inured to war. Our national councils become lofty and vigorous, and full of hope, and even if the external war should terminate unfavourably, we have a regular army for our home defence, in the best possible state; fully capable of meeting the enemy, of instructing the new levies, and showing them an example; so that the system which affords the only hope of breaking the power of the enemy, is also the one which would best enable us to resist and repel invasion.'

'Now take the other alternative, and instead of sending men, give our ally a subsidy which will enable him to raise 60,000 of his own troops. The immediate, and not the least evil, is that we are known to the continent, not for our real and tremendous strength, not for our high honourable character, the orderly discipline, the humanity, the generosity, the invincible courage of our soldiers, but only for our prodigious wealth, only as a nation who pay others to fight instead of fighting ourselves. In this light we are represented by the enemy, and in this light our very friends cannot fail to consider us, if friends they can be called. Should they succeed, we gain neither increase of territory nor of glory—not even the gratitude and respect of those whom we have served. But if the same allies declare against us, in consequence either of defeats, or fickleness, (we have had sufficient experience of both,) then the additional army of 60,000 men, which has been formed at our expence, becomes a ready weapon in the hands of our enemies for our destruction. Thus then the effects of the subsidizing system are more ruinous than the worst disasters which a nation acting upon the warlike system

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system can incur. The whole body of a national army becomes inured to war by hazarding a part of it, in the manner which has just been shown, so that the loss of 30 or 40,000 men can be immediately replaced by troops equally good, and serious as such a loss would be, the enemy has gained no direct addition to his own numbers. But a subsidizing nation may find itself at once exposed to the whole united force of its original enemy, and of its former friends combining unexpectedly together for its destruction. Had we set out upon the subsidizing system by sea as well as by land, and hired the other maritime powers from the Dutch and the Danes, down to the Venetians and Genoese, to fight upon the ocean for us, we should most certainly have been at this day a province of France. The principles of war are the same upon all elements.'

There are cases indeed where a very deserving ally may be in extraordinary distress, and it becomes expedient to subsidize it. Spain and Portugal are cases in point. In Portugal we are acting, as far as this policy extends, perfectly right; we have taken the Portugueze army into our pay, we have trained them, and the consequences were seen, when they fought side by side with us at Busaco, Fuente d'Onor, and Albuhera.

Connected with this part of his essay are Captain Pasley's observations on our relations with Sicily, and into this subject he enters with a degree of, we had almost said, rashness, which perhaps our readers may have scarcely been (even by our previous observations) prepared to expect. Here he finds united two chief objects of his attack—an alliance with a weaker power, and a subsidy—and accordingly he pours forth all the vials of his wrath on that government and our connexion with it.

Very early and frequently in his work Captain Pasley insists on the importance of Sicily to us; but he always accompanies this assertion with either a broad hint or a positive avowal that we should show our sense of this importance by forthwith expelling our ally, its present sovereign, and seizing upon it as our own in full dominion. 'Sicily,' he says, 'which is worth more than all the West India islands put together, has, by some wonderful turn of thinking, lost *all* its importance in the eyes of the British nation.' This seems at first sight an extraordinary assertion in a work, one of the most copious topics of which is a complaint of our employing so many troops and squandering so much money in the defence of this island—but, in what we have already said, our readers will find the explanation of this inconsistency. Captain Pasley's opinion, though somewhat diffusely, and therefore not always clearly given, is simply this, that we do not adequately show our conviction of the value of Sicily, except we lay hold, by main force and for our own use, of that country into which we have been admitted as allies and protectors. This is bold doctrine, and our

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our readers will agree with us that we should be prepared, if we are to execute it, with some excuse or pretence. This appears not to have escaped Captain Pasley, and in many parts of his work we find what we suppose he meant to administer as opiates to our consciences, and to suggest as apologies for our conduct in the events of our resolving to undertake this honourable work. All petty plunderers from Robin Hood to the devil of Genoa, all conquerors from the Roman to the French republic, have paid the tribute to public opinion, of endeavouring to give some colour of justice to their violence. The outlaws alleged that they robbed only wealthy barons, roguish lawyers, or lazy priests, and shared their spoils with the poor, the honest, and the industrious. The plunderers by wholesale affected to lament the fate of their poor neighbours, who were groaning under oppressive and corrupt rulers, and generously made war upon them for the sake of bettering their conditions. We are not therefore so much surprised at the torrent of reproachful names which Captain Pasley has poured forth on the poor Sicilian cabinet—'vassal of France'—'miserable ally'—'deceitful and hypocritical court'—'weak, ignorant, and effeminate government,' are some of the gentlest epithets with which he compliments them. On the other hand, the people and the soldiers are 'honest, brave, friendly to the British, and worthy and desirous of a better government,' or, in other words, of becoming *our* subjects.

'If we had taken possession of Sicily for ourselves, our power would have been firmly cemented by the love and respect of a grateful nation, whose population would have furnished us with a faithful and formidable auxiliary force—instead of which, by going as allies, not as conquerors, we have been supporting in that island a government not only hateful to its subjects, but doubtful in faith to us.'—p. 168.

Neither our reading nor our experience would have induced us to believe that an endeavour to subject to our power a distant people differing from us in language, manners, and religion, was likely to have been more popular amongst them than a generous friendship and a disinterested protection. But here, too, Captain Pasley appears to have anticipated our objection, and he seems to think that this is a 'dignus vindice nodus,' and he accordingly brings forward witnesses to prove what mere reasoning would not have led us to believe. These he has drawn very properly from the classes about whom the discussion arises, and our readers will think he has sufficiently supported his case, when they learn that his evidences are a peasant, a foot soldier, and a dragoon; all good Sicilians; but he shall state his own case.

'When we first landed in Sicily a *peasant* asked me whether the Sicilians were not in future to consider themselves subjects of King George? On my explaining that we came as allies, not as usurpers, he walked sullenly

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sullenly away, saying, if that was the case, he wished to God we had never entered the country.'—p. 171.

'When I first visited Sicily, as I was preparing to step into a boat at one of the sea-port towns, a *soldier* addressed me, and entered into a most violent abuse of the Sicilian service; he said their allowances were shamefully scanty, and, miserable as they were, that they were embezzled by the villainy of their superiors.'—p. 353.

'A *dragoon* once asked me how it was to be expected that he was to fight like our English soldiers who were properly treated and taken care of? Even my horse, to use the man's own words, is fed twice a day, but I myself am allowed but one meal a day, and that a poor one. Is this treatment for a soldier?'—p. 353.

Cogent as this evidence is, we cannot admit it to be sufficiently powerful to justify the seizure of Sicily, because it is liable, we fear, to be turned against ourselves. Is there no peasant in the British isles who grumbles at his government, and who, if Buonaparte were to land a great army on our shores, would converse with one of his officers as the Sicilian peasant did with Captain Pasley? As to the foot soldier we have a case in point in the complaint of Corporal Curtis, of the Oxfordshire militia, against his colonel, which was made a subject of discussion in parliament, and was, we believe, conceived nearly in the same terms as that of the Sicilian against his officers—'scanty allowances, and villainous embezzlements.' These we apprehend would scarcely justify an attempt on the part of King Ferdinand to seize upon Malta or any other British possession. One of Corporal Curtis's accusations was, as we recollect, that his colonel, a gentleman of 10,000*l.* a year, had cheated him out of a pair of breeches; and yet it appeared on the trial, that at the very moment of making the complaint the corporal had the identical pair of breeches actually upon him.

But to be serious; all this part of Captain Pasley's work we think fraught with dangerous principles, or, at least, principles carried to a dangerous extent; but, above all, we are obliged, having already only slightly alluded to this point, to enter our direct and indignant dissent from the reasonings by which he would justify or colour over the interference, on our part, with the internal concerns of an ally. What shall we say of the deductions which may be made from the following passage?

'When unfortunately you have formed an injudicious alliance, use your *influence* to persuade your ally, for his own sake as well as for yours, to adopt wiser and more humane measures towards his subjects, in order to make himself strong against foreign invasion.' Should your advice be obstinately or contemptuously rejected, then look carefully into his conduct; and if you find any *flaw in his title deeds*, or that he has not strictly fulfilled every part of the mutual agreement, charge him with his *perfidy*, and withdraw your assistance from such a ruinous cause, the chances are'—p. 157.

Much

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Much recommendation there is, we are sorry to say, of this kind of policy, in different parts of this work; but our general respect for Captain Pasley dissuades, and our limits restrain us from making larger extracts on this point: that which we have quoted is quite sufficient to develope the principle and to justify the disgust which we feel at the promulgation of a doctrine so mean, so mercenary, and so dangerous. We hope that Captain Pasley will, on reconsideration, purify his work from this blemish—we are confident that these are not his own matured and well weighed sentiments; and in almost all indeed of what he says on the subject of Sicily, we can trace the unlucky influence of another author, from which Captain Pasley's high and honourable spirit should free itself.

We are not the advocates of the Sicilian government, we are not the defenders of its measures or its policy—we know that there is much to regret in both, and none can feel more deeply than we do, the injury which the weakness and folly of any established government and the discontents of any people as yet unsubdued by France may inflict on themselves, on us, and on the hopes of Europe; but we cannot believe that the injury arising from such causes can be either so certain or so great, as that which would result from the departure of Great Britain from that system of generous and disinterested succour which it has been her glory, and because her glory, her interest, to offer to those powers with whom she has contracted engagements, or who may be disposed to unite with her in opposing the common enemy of all ancient and legitimate governments.

Captain Pasley appears to contemplate, as less improbable than it is generally supposed to be, a rupture between France and Austria; the late domestic alliance he does not consider as any very sure pledge of peace; 'the history of the world shews,' he says, 'that such connections form but a poor bond of union between sovereigns.' Holding therefore that Austria is the natural ally of Great Britain, and that a war between her and France is not improbable, Captain Pasley thinks that it would be our duty to support her with our whole strength, and he considers whether we should apply our assistance by sending a corps to serve in direct co-operation with the Austrian army, or by making a vigorous diversion in Italy, Holland, or the North of Europe. To the latter plan Captain Pasley inclines; and undoubtedly for the reasons which he states, and for many others which might be added, we entirely concur in this preference, though we do not look to any early opportunity of putting it into execution.—Indeed, there is no event which we should more lament, than a recurrence of those desultory and unconcerted efforts which the powers of the continent have already too often and too rashly made to free themselves from the yoke of Buonaparte. To his oppression there must be a period:

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riod: a day of retribution and freedom will at last arrive; and nothing, we are convinced, but the rash and premature attempts of individual nations can retard it. We sincerely wish to the continent, as the only means of ultimate redemption, an uninterrupted continuance of its present sullen subjection, till the measure of suffering is full; till a simultaneous movement of indignation shall excite Prussia, Austria, Holland, and Germany; till they shall be prepared to strike, at once and in concert, at the colossal despotism which bestrides them. For that hour England will anxiously watch; at that hour she will be prepared to put forth all her strength; to pour, even with a prodigal liberality, all her power and all her resources to the succour of the continental insurrection—an insurrection which, so made and so succoured, must be successful.

A conduct similar to that which we think good policy dictates to the Germanic powers, would also be the interest of Russia—she, we own, may come to hostilities with France without risking her existence; and she might, perhaps, single-handed, carry on a war troublesome and expensive to the enemy without endangering her own security; but situated as she is in all respects, political, moral, and physical, we cannot hope that her single efforts can make any serious impressions on France, while it is doubtful whether France might not be able to inflict great injury on her. It is therefore to be desired that she too may for some time avoid hostilities, and may employ herself in repairing her losses and in collecting her strength, till an opportunity shall occur of making an effort in conjunction with her neighbours. This, we are convinced, is her wisest policy, and that which offers the best prospect of the deliverance of Europe. In the mean while we doubt, whether, with these views, it would be prudent to pursue towards Russia the measures which Captain Pasley recommends of 'making her feel and dread our power.' Undoubtedly if we considered Russia to be zealously and irrevocably the ally of France, we should endeavour to enforce this proposition to its full extent; but we cannot believe Russia to be so blind to her best interests, and so besotted in her thraldom: and as long as any reasonable hope remains of her returning to better councils, it would not be prudent either to exasperate or to weaken her, to deprive her at once of the wish and of the means of joining in the general effort. We admit that this forbearance may be pushed too far; but we should regret to see the chance of the co-operation of Russia prematurely cast away. One false step on the side of rashness might be more injurious to the general interests than a thousand errors of delay.

On the subject of Sweden we more implicitly agree with Captain Pasley: with him, we own that we feel neither pity for, nor

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confidence in the rulers of that country, who have broken their faith with every body—with their legitimate sovereign—with their allies—with the usurper whom they themselves set up—nay with their own countrymen, by resigning to Russia the finest province of Sweden. The leading men have been long considered as the pensioners of Russia and France; and with enemies of this description no half measures should be pursued. It is to be hoped, too, as Captain Pasley observes, that 'the people cannot approve of, and that they will not long submit to, their country being betrayed or sold by the cowardice and villany of a few; we ought therefore to carry the war into Sweden, not as enemies but as deliverers, stretching forth our protecting arm to save her from the bondage that awaits her, and to aid her in avenging her wrongs; and when by our assistance the Swedes have got rid of their base usurpers, let them decide whether they will reinstate their former government or not; for any attempt upon our part to force it on them, would be not only highly impolitic, but in execution absolutely impossible.' —p. 429.

Probably their wish will be to re-establish their lawful sovereign, who alone, of all the continental princes, has not disgraced his illustrious ancestry, by truckling to the upstart tyrant of France. But Captain Pasley thinks it not impossible that they may prefer a federal union with Great Britain—we are inclined, on the other hand, to think Sweden the only part of the North of Europe where such an union would be opposed by a high-minded love of independence, such as it behoves us to hold sacred. The character of the Swedes induces us to look to an alliance with them, like that which unites us to the Portugueze and Spaniards, founded upon mutual esteem and correspondent honour—all that is good and estimable in human nature, and therefore all that can be permanent.

All these considerations with regard to Sweden impress themselves the more strongly upon us from the conviction we feel that Buonaparte's chief object in placing his creature on her throne, was the check which he thus hoped to obtain upon Russia; a check which it will be found he has obtained, and which we cannot but believe it to be of the utmost importance, nay of absolute necessity, to remove, before we can expect any efficient co-operation from that power against the common enemy. We are aware that we cannot, at this crisis of the war in Spain, (for to Spain Lord Wellington has again removed the war,) spare an adequate force for a regular Swedish campaign; nor, if we could, should we wish to see it so employed. Naval hostilities, with that portion of land enterprise which we know can be connected with naval operations, would be sufficient for our object. Our quarrel is not with Sweden but its rulers; and

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and by harassing the coast and annihilating their commerce, we should, if we can trust our informants, raise upon those rulers the vengeance of the Swedes themselves. That government cannot long go on without some degree of confidence and support from the people: the constitution affords the latter more influence on the public councils than it possesses in any other country in Europe except our own. A maritime war would cripple the custom revenues of the Swedish government, and oblige it to have recourse to internal taxation; and, for that purpose, to the popular and representative assemblies, from whom we should be inclined to expect some of those honest and honourable energies, which cannot but exist in a country that has never yet been absolutely enslaved.

But we have already exceeded the limits which we had proposed to ourselves, and we must hasten to a conclusion by a short summary of the reflections to which Captain Pasley leads us.

Peace with Buonaparte, or with France under any other ruler, while France possesses its present extent of coast, it is folly, or frenzy, or treason to advise. To carry on a defensive war, is to remain stationary in power, while our enemy is increasing in strength. This also is demonstrably the certain road to ruin. We have an efficient regular army at this moment of upwards of 250,000 men. If we could lay this island alongside France, what then should prevent us from doing it as resolutely as ever Nelson brought an enemy's three-decker to close quarters? What should deter us from meeting Buonaparte any where with equal numbers—from casting the liberties of the world into the scale, and trusting to God and our good cause and our own right hands for the triumphant issue? But we are masters of the sea—uncontrouled, undisputed, absolute lords of the whole ocean. It is in our power therefore to chuse the vantage ground, and to attack the enemy whenever and wherever it is most advantageous for us, with such a force as shall ensure success, were there even no superiority of courage on our part, and if the people whom we go to deliver were to be passive spectators of the contest. With such a force, with such means of augmenting and such resources for supporting it, knowing too, what even the most panic stricken of the tyrant's flatterers in this country dare not deny, that wherever our troops have been fairly tried against his Invincibles, they have uniformly beaten them, what is it that can have occasioned the absurd and mischievous feeling of dismay, which gives ear to any voice rather than the voice of hope, to any counsels rather than those of true patriotism, true courage, and true wisdom? This is a subject too wide and too important to be lightly glanced at. We should be glad to pursue it; but we can only at present in few words illustrate

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the principle of *husbanding* our resources, which is the watch-word of the despondents, and then conclude.

By this precious phrase, it is meant that we ought to save our men and our money till we are actually invaded by the enemy. Now of the policy of husbanding money with such a view, we have an illustrious example in the Greeks of Constantinople, who hoarded up those treasures to be plundered by the Turks, which they would not employ in carrying on the war against them; and the equally wise policy of husbanding an army has been exemplified in our own days by Prussia. Prussia had an army of the 'best disciplined troops' in the world; they were the admiration of all Europe upon the parade, and they had once been the terror of Europe in the field. But the present army had been *husbanded*; the consequence was, that in the hour of trial they came to the field like raw militia men opposed to veteran troops; and in a single day the Prussian monarchy was overthrown. The event of the battle of Jena might have been predicted with perfect certainty: for in military science, as in every other science, art, or trade, practice is essential to perfection. The prize-fighter improves both his skill and his muscular power by daily trials and exertions; the more he uses his arms, the more tremendous is the blow which he is able to give with them; while the Hindoo devotee, who sits with his hands before him in the same posture of devotion for weeks and months together, husbands his muscles till he loses the use of them!

'Oh woe to thee when doubt comes on!' says a wild German writer; 'it blows over thee like a wind from the north, and makes all thy joints to quake!' Woe indeed will be to the statesmen who doubt the strength of their country, and stand in awe of the enemy with whom it is engaged! and woe will be to us, and to Europe whose deliverance must come from us, and to liberty, and knowledge, and pure morals and true religion, which with us must stand or fall, if the government of this mighty country, in these momentous times, should be entrusted to men,

> 'Who talk of danger which they fear,
> And honour which they do not understand!'

We have been told of the danger of Lord Wellington and his army in language which it is humiliating for an Englishman to read as coming from an English press—language as base as the basest political cowardice could inspire, and as mischievous as the foulest treason could have dictated. But not such is the feeling of the nation. What if the tyrant himself should come with a new army of the North and his legion of honour, to put in execution his old boast of driving the English into the sea? On the banks

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of the Tagus we can assemble a British force sufficient to cope with any that he can bring against it; and we can supply it there. Would to God that he would come!

One effectual victory, one thorough success pursued to the destruction of an enemy's army, commanded by him, and oh what a spirit would be kindled throughout Europe! nor would the effect which would be produced at home be the least beneficial of its important consequences. We have not yet as a nation learnt to think highly enough of our power. We must exalt ourselves if we would not be humbled by our enemy. This maxim has been established by Captain Pasley. We have no hesitation in affirming that this book is one of the most important political works which has ever fallen under our observation. To the ability with which it is written we repeat our already frequent testimony; to the object it proposes we give our unmixed approbation; and though we frequently differ, as we have shown, in the degree to which they ought to be carried, we cordially admit the general validity of the principles which it inculcates.

ART. IX. *The Odes of Pindar, in celebration of Victors in the Olympic, Pythean, Nemean, and Isthmean Games, translated from the Greek, not one fourth part of which have ever appeared in English, including those by Mr. West.* The whole completed and now first published by Francis Lee, A. M. Chaplain in ordinary to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Member of the Asiatic Society, &c. 4to. Miller, London. 1810.

All the Odes of Pindar, Translated from the Original Greek. By the Rev. J. L. Girdlestone, A. M. Master of the Classical School of Beccles, in Suffolk. 4to. Bacon, Norwich. Baldwin, London.

TO transfer the beauties of Pindar into another language, or indeed to imitate his beauties at all, was, almost two thousand years ago, considered by a very competent judge, as a wild and hopeless undertaking. We know not whether the authority of Horace have operated very forcibly on the conduct of succeeding poets; or to what other cause we must attribute the circumstance, that no complete version of the Theban Bard has appeared until now, in any modern language. Many indeed are the learned and unlearned names, which, in our own country, have sought to pin their celebrity to some single tatter of his saffron mantle; but if any of these have hoped to perfect the 'doing of his works into English,' they have all, in their turns, shrunk from the task, and abandoned the unfinished adventure to some future and more fortunate bard.

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Ogilby could toil through Homer;—Dr. Trapp could persevere 'in spite of nature and his stars,' through the whole of Virgil; but Pindar's little volume has still kept its virgin honours inviolate: the flight of his Pegasus has been too high for common heads; and common hands have been repelled by the Cadmean harp as if its strings were of glowing iron. West himself, who proceeded farthest, and performed his work most elegantly, has scarcely completed a fourth part of the five and forty odes of his original. A far shorter excursion than his, exhausted all the rest of the aspirants; and the sixth Olympic ode has been a *pons asinorum*, which few indeed have overpassed. Accordingly, while our standard translations of Homer and Virgil are generally known and read, both by scholars, and by those whose only idea of the original is taken from Pope, Dryden, or Sotheby; Pindar, translated only by piecemeal, has remained unknown, except by name, to the majority of the people; and even by the greater part of those who have some pretensions to learning, has been held out to indistinct and distant reverence, as something very fine, very hard to construe, and utterly unintelligible to a mere English understanding.

At length, however, to supply this acknowledged deficiency in modern literature, and to introduce these almost untasted sweets to the knowledge and admiration of the general readers of poetry, two sturdy and adventurous candidates have advanced their claims: the one of whom (Mr. Girdlestone) has had the courage and perseverance to complete an entirely new translation of Pindar;—and the other (whose name is concealed, but who is announced by his Editor, Mr. Lee, as a person of high rank and considerable talents, lately deceased,) has contented himself with supplying those parts of his author, which are omitted in the selection made by West, with whose labours his own are joined in a well-conditioned 4to. volume.

It was the work of this unknown bard, which first attracted our notice; and though 'poems by a person of honour,' be, in these evil days of universal levelling, considered as no particularly tempting bill of fare; yet such is the natural effect of mysterious dignity, and such the advantage possessed by every posthumous author, (more especially the favoured few, whose works are discovered according to the rules of art, in a bureau, or wardrobe of 'deceased literary characters') that we opened his pages with a considerable degree of interest. Nor did the perusal of his preface, which is modest and well written, diminish our favourable expectations of the ensuing work. Unfortunately the fourth Olympic ode, which is the first of the new translations, too fatally convinced us of our error, and at once removed all impertinent curiosity as to the person of our unknown entertainer. Mr. Lee's concealment of his name, which at first we regarded as a stroke of policy,

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licy, became in our eyes an act of humanity to the illustrious defunct, and his surviving friends; and we only regretted that the editor's forbearance had not extended to his manuscript as well as his title. Never since the time of the renowned Scriblerus, has any purer specimen appeared of that school, which Pope and Swift were thought to have wounded to the death; and did not circumstantial evidence compel us to assign to its composition, a date posterior to West, and to the early productions of the present Laureate, we should not have hesitated to name as the author of these anonymous translations, the immortal Sir Richard Blackmore himself.

The following lines purporting to be a version of the sixth Olympic ode (perhaps the most beautiful and characteristic of all Pindar,) is really not unworthy of—'Him who ne'er was, nor will be half read.'

'As when some Artist plans a proud design
He bids the porch with stately columns shine,
A hero's name thus in the front we place;
But should Olympia grant her festive crown,
And Jove's pontific wreath his temples grace,
Should Syracusa *call the man her own*,
How shall his worth unenvied by the throng
Avoid the tribute of a pleasing song?'

Nor could even an Avatar of the goddess Dulness, embodied in the character of a bell-man, produce a stanza more ponderous than the following, from Pyth. 8. Ep. 5.

'Think life a day, *to be, or not to be*,
A chance so frail, that men are but a dream
Of fleeting shadows, which awhile we see,
By Jove enlightened with a prosperous gleam.'

What an exact description of a magic lanthorn! Lest, however, our readers should suppose that useful invention to be coeval with Pindar, we must observe that the happy thought of rendering a dream visible by the instrumentality of a prosperous gleam, is entirely the translator's property. This indeed, is far from being the only difference between our translator and his renowned original; and with all our partiality to the latter, we cannot in common fairness conceal, that Mr. Lee's incognito has greatly the advantage of the Grecian bard in the power of producing the most innocent, and (Pindar himself being judge) the most natural effect of poetry. That influence we mean to which even the wakeful eagle of Jupiter was subject, and Mars himself resigned his homicidal spear.

ὁ δὲ πάσσων
Ἄγχοῦ πόντου ἀμφὶ, ταμὼν

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Ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ ὅταν
τὰς Ἄρης, τραχεῖαν ἄνευθε λύρας
Ἐγχείων ἀκμὰν, ἰαίνει καρδίαν
Κώματι.

But our respect for the tranquillizing virtues of the new translation, is not altogether unmixed with surprise at the perseverance of Mr. Lee; who professes to have read it carefully through with a reference to the original. What effect the original may produce on him we know not, but the pertinacious perusal of the translation we are inclined to consider as a most singular case of wakefulness; and we are exceedingly curious to learn by what means he was enabled to repel that powerful invader, which sits so heavily on his adopted pages. In another edition he may perhaps inform us whether his attention was preserved by dropping, as was the custom of Aristotle, a brazen ball into a basin of the same material; or, as is sometimes related of the same philosopher, by a poultice of boiling oil on the pit of his stomach. At present we cannot help hinting our *suspicions* that these precautions have not been altogether effectual, and that both translator and editor have sometimes followed the example of the eagle. But for this, the 'reference to the original,' to which Mr. Lee lays claim, might we think have discovered some slight mistakes in quantity, which are to be found in greater or less number in almost every ode; and which arise chiefly from a singular and systematic production of the penultima in such proper names as 'Iamus,' 'Ænomäus,' 'Pitane,' 'Nemea,' and above all in 'Æneas,' confounding, as it should seem, the Bœotian ministrel with the son of Venus and Anchises. It is, however, but labour lost to expose the faults of a production which is almost without a merit. Were we of that school of critics who employ their time, like Pindar's own Hyperboreans, in immolating long-eared hecatombs to Apollo, yet the σκιρτήματα of such a foundered sacrifice as this translation, would hardly be acceptable at the shrine of our divinity. For the pious, the learned, and the elegant West, we can only wish, that he may have better company in future: for though he is frequently deficient in fire, and sometimes in simplicity; though he often overlays the force and brevity of Pindar by useless verbiage, and has perhaps, in almost every instance, failed to give an adequate idea of the broad and characteristic manner of the ancient bard; yet in correctness of taste, and harmony of numbers, he is still very superior to the remaining crowd of aspirants; and is seen perhaps even to greater advantage, when compared with the dulness of Mr. Lee's well-born foundling, and the harsh and involved numbers of Mr. Girdlestone. Yet is Mr. Girdlestone a scholar, and, we should apprehend, a man of genius. There are many *traits* in his work which proceed from no ordinary hand, and there is in his

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his notes and preface a whimsical simplicity and apparent goodness of heart, which are very seldom found in company with an inferior understanding; his defects, and they are defects which may be easily surmounted, are an uncultivated taste and an unpractised ear; and if we were not unfortunately sensible how slow an author is to take advice, we should hope that even these strictures might be of service to his future fame.

There are evidently in his writings hopes of far better fruit than the production before us. West perhaps had too subdued a strain of poetry; Mr. Girdlestone, on the other hand, is too often aiming at force and fire, and sometimes fancies himself spirited, when he is in fact only abrupt. When Pindar tells us that Theron had attained the *Herculean Pillars* or (as a later poet would have said) the *Thule* of renown, Mr. Girdlestone by a strange confusion of metaphor, asserts that

> ' —— His virtues *strike* the farthest land
> *Quick-glancing* where Alcides' columns stand.'

In the 4th Nemean, 'Τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔφεδρος' is rendered

> ' Sharp he pounc'd his foe.'

So fond indeed does he appear of abruptness, that he is often unintelligibly elliptical, where Pindar is as plain and narrative as Homer. The prayer of Pelops to Neptune, 1 Ol. Ant. 3.

> ——— σίδασον ἴγχος
> Οἰνομάου χάλκειον·
> Ἐμὲ δ' ἐπὶ ταχυλά-
> των σφρησον ἁρμάτων
> Ἐς Ἅλιν—
> Ἐπεὶ τρεῖς γε καὶ δὶς' ἄνδρας ὀλίσαις
> Ἐρῶντας, ἀναβάλλεται γάμον
> Θυγατρός.—

is abridged into the following bombastic imprecation.

> ' From fierce Œnomaus' hand the spear
> Dash, whose hideous, brazen glare,
> The trembling lover's panting breast appalls.'

In the following instance we are driven to the Greek to make out the meaning. The legend of Laius and his son Œdipus, which Pindar narrates as plainly as Mr. Scott could have done, is thus rendered:

> ' Such strains of ever varying fate
> Burst o'er the destin'd murderer's breast;
> Led by mysterious power the king he meets;
> Wretch! by thy hand thy father's blood is shed!'

The extent, however, to which Mr. Girdlestone carries the doctrine of ellipsis, may be best observed in a passage taken from an ode on

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on the death of Lord Nelson, prefixed to this translation. We are informed in a note, (nor did we ever feel more strongly the need of a commentary,) that,

> 'Who but some guardian angel of our land
> Blinded the foe, and seal'd with steady hand
> The bond of fate?'

is to be understood of Lord Nelson's sealing a letter with wax during the engagement off Copenhagen. Oh Lycophron, how art thou obscure! Yet does this extraordinary brevity appear to be less the effect of principle than of caprice; for we find that where the translator himself has been pleased, he has extended a few words of his original through as many lines as West could have done.

This passage occurs in Ol. 1. Ant. 2.

> —— ἀλλ᾽ ματρὶ πολλὰ μαιό-
> μενοι φῶτες ἄγαγον.—

Let us see how far a skilful wire-drawer can extend a single grain of gold.

> '—— in rapid flight
> Transported o'er th'etherial deep,
> His friends he leaves, who search and weep;
> Unheard their cries, far, far below
> At length the bitter tale of woe
> Returning back, a sorrowing train
> They bring his weeping mother, vain
> All search! he never more shall bless her sight.'

The opening of a work may be generally considered as no unfavourable specimen of its author's manner. Mr. Girdlestone thus begins the first Olympic ode.

> 'Best of all nature water flows:
> Nought amid treasures richer glows
> Than gold which gleams like fire; whose light
> Shoots through the bosom of the night;
> Proud gold that swells man's heart. My Soul!
> Seek not another star to roll
> Along the desert air with livelier fires
> When the sun warms the brightening day;
> Or shouldst thou try the tuneful lay
> Heroes illustrious feats to praise,
> Can wreath-bound victory nobler raise
> To Fame the loud triumphal strain
> Than from Olympia's sacred plain?
> Rise then ye bards, whose soul the muse inspires,
> Through all his courts the happy Hiero sing
> Victorious; strike your harps to Jove, Olympia's king!'

This is by no means easy or harmonious, nor can it be considered as

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as close or literal; we have all the stiffness of translation, without its accuracy. To the remainder of the ode, the same observation will nearly apply. 'Ἀχίντητον in the first Antistrophe, West had literally translated 'unwhipped.' Mr. Girdlestone renders it, 'the whip he scorns.' 'Αμέραι ἑπίλοιποι' Strophe 2, is *posterity*, not 'sunrise.' Why should strangers (Strophe 4) 'weep' for Pelops? Pindar only says that they walked in procession round the neighbouring altar of Jupiter; without attributing to their eyes such an abundance of moisture, as to whine over an ancient king with whom they had no connection, unless his being buried near the race course be considered as such. Μηχέτι πάσσαινε πόρσιον, a very characteristic Pindaric admonition to Hiero, not to be too curious respecting the future decrees of Providence, is rendered here as if it were a good resolution of the poet himself.

> 'No loftier source of praise
> I seek to dignify my lays.'

Which if it have any bearing on the context, can only mean, that he sought no better reason for praising Hiero than the certainty that he was a man of rank. But it is not such errors as these, which can materially impede the popularity or the usefulness of Mr. Girdlestone's translation; and there are to counterbalance them, many insulated expressions, and even entire passages, of great merit.

The notes and preface exhibit much poetical feeling, modesty and candour, all of them however blended with a tincture of absurdity. In one place he addresses his reader with a solemnity worthy of Cid Hamet Benengeli. 'Know then reader, &c.' in another he talks of Priam's 'sliddering in his son's gore.' We cannot praise the pedagogial jocularity which, in the notes on the sixth olympic ode, is exercised on Pauw and Heyne; and still less the flippant excuse for the wanton mistranslation of Ποσειδᾶνος Πετράιου. Pyth. 4.

'The learned have assigned several reasons for Neptune's title, none of which would seem pleasant to an English reader. I have therefore taken the liberty to substitute poetry for learning, which I think Pindar would not disapprove.'—p. 160.

Why the common interpretation, which derives this title from Neptune's having cleft the rocks of Thessaly, should offend an English reader, we know not; but we are sure that Pindar would remonstrate against the sophistication of his ode with such common-place trumpery as

> 'Who on his rocky throne rules ocean with his nod.'

On the whole, however, we must repeat our first observation; that if Mr. Girdlestone has failed, it cannot be esteemed a disgraceful failure; that his faults may all be considered as curable; that

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that he has learning and talent which do credit to those whom he addresses as his patrons; and that he has, to all appearance, an honest and simple nature, on which such patronage will never be thrown away.

Mr. Girdlestone has adhered with more strictness than any previous translator, to the accurate division of his odes into strophe, antistrophe, and epode; an arrangement, which though it be supported by very great authority, we are tempted to consider as unnecessary, not to say pedantic,—ill adapted to the nature and intention of modern verse, and by no means an essential part of even the ancient ode. The first who revived this arrangement among the moderns, says Dr. Johnson, was Congreve; a name of no great note in lyric poetry, but to whom he ascribes the merit 'of curing our Pindaric madness, and teaching the English that the odes of Pindar were regular.' Yet surely that regularity is rather to the fancy than the ear, which consists in the recurrence of lines of equal length at the distance of perhaps a page and a half. Nor can it be supposed that such scholars as Cowley, Milton, and Dryden were ignorant of an arrangement familiar to every school-boy; or that if they had thought it essential or advisable, they would not have employed it in their professed imitations of the ode and chorus of antiquity. Besides, if this regularity were so constituent a part of Pindaric poetry, what are we to think of the monostrophics which Pindar himself and all the other bards of Greece were in the habit of using? A little attention to the reasons of this general arrangement among the ancients will be sufficient, we think, to show that its utility has entirely ceased, and that it is no more to be adopted in translations of Pindar than the Selah of the Hebrews is to be inserted in a version of the Psalms.

The Grecian scholiasts have given a very unsatisfactory account of the strophe, antistrophe, and epode, by asserting that they were taken from the music of the spheres, with many other fooleries which it is not worth the while to repeat. Nor do we attribute much more weight to the common opinion, that such odes as these were sung by a chorus, who first danced to the right, then to the left, and then stood still. For, not to mention that this, even if it were true, (however it may account for the equal length of the whole strophe as compared to the whole antistrophe,) will by no means explain why their respective lines should severally so exactly correspond; we have pretty good reason for believing that this was by no means universally the case. The praises of the Olympic victor were often sung by a chorus, escorting him in solemn procession from the lists to his own lodging; and it is evident that such evolutions as are here described, would not only be very inconvenient

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convenient in the narrow and crowded street of a Grecian city, but, as they consisted in merely dancing backwards and forwards, must have been inconsistent with any progress at all. But in truth, it appears from unquestionable authority, that these magnificent odes were not condemned to be mangled by the voices of hired singers, or the contorsions of ballet-dancers, but were generally recited by the poet himself. It is thus that Aristophanes introduces his lyric bard intruding himself and his verses on the festival of Nephelococcugia; and it is thus that Pindar himself is described as singing his hymns to Apollo,—not trotting to and fro on the floor of the temple, but seated aloft in an iron chair or pulpit. No one in fact can read the first or the sixth olympic odes without perceiving at once how much of their beauty and good sense depended on being recited by their author. The rapid transitions, so much in the manner of a skillful improvisatore, who changes his subject as soon as he finds it becoming wearisome; the allusions to the banquet then before them,—to the songs which they had just heard,—and to the persons present; the compliments to the musicians and to the patron of the feast, and the artful mention of the poet's own feelings, history, or necessities, would all have been absurd and offensive in any mouth but his own. Mr. Scott's Last Minstrel might, in his proper person, touch with feeling and propriety on his own dependance on the great, or on the sorrows to which he had been exposed; but how would it sound if, in a birth-day ode, the children of the chapel royal, speaking in the name of the laureate, should request an increase of salary, or (as Pindar does in the fragment parodied by Aristophanes) the reversion of a worn-out state coach?

But though the reasons given by the grammarians be insufficient or absurd, yet since the bard was always accompanied by a band of musicians, there was an evident necessity that the *air* should be arranged before hand; there was a convenience that it should be also short, and to reconcile this with the variety which either poet or musician would be anxious to obtain, the epode was invented by Stesichorus, which broke what would else have been the tedious recurrence of the same uniform stanza. The use, then, of these divisions was exclusively musical; and as,—whatever was the fate of the original odes,—the translations, at least, are neither to be sung nor danced, we cannot see the necessity of retaining them. As far as the ear is concerned, they have no perceivable effect, since the first line is forgotten before its correspondent one is read; and we may appeal to all the ordinary admirers of English poetry, if they can detect the want of this arrangement in 'Alexander's Feast,' or, except by the eye, perceive that it is observed in 'The Progress of Poetry.' The real cause of the failure of our early English

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English Pindarics (which Congreve attributed to the irregularity of their metre) is to be found in the absurdity and bad taste of their language; its metaphysical subtleties,—its eternal antithesis,—its puns and quibbles,—its frequent bombast,—and its ridiculous specimens of anticlimax. Of these abominations, indeed, our English poetry has long been altogether purified; but it may perhaps be doubted whether our power of attracting and preserving attention has increased in an equal proportion with our correctness. Cowley, whose very errors must not be spoken of without respect, in spite of the manifold corruptions of his style, and the wretched ornaments with which he loaded the simple majesty of his original, could yet, by the mere force of genius, joined to the power of seizing and embodying in another language the vivid ideas of Pindar, electrify, with two short specimens, the whole mass of English readers, and produce a lasting enthusiasm for even the abuse of lyric poetry. How different, notwithstanding their boasted regularity, has been the fate of succeeding imitators! West, with all his elegance and learning, is chiefly, we are afraid, considered as a resource for school boys; and the other adventurers in this Icarian flight have successively journeyed in silence from the press to the pastrycook's, without name,—without notice,—and almost without criticism.

There have not been wanting some who have accounted for this indifference of the public to Pindar's translations, by reflections on the manner and subject of Pindar himself; who have imagined that allusions so exclusively antique must be unintelligible or wearisome to the general mass of readers; that few men would sympathize in feelings which they could not understand without a scholiast; and that the praises of King Hiero's horses could be listened to with little interest by any but his own grooms or flatterers. But where the spirit exists of real and genuine poetry, (and that such a spirit does exist in Pindar, the testimony of ages may be considered as sufficient authority,) we are slow to believe, however his local and temporary allusions may, from the lapse of time, be deprived of their application, that the general interests of his work can suffer from such a circumstance. The glowing description,—the generous sentiment,—the images and comparisons taken from natural objects,—these all remain unchanged, however forms of society or of manners may vary, or however the persons or objects may have perished to which the particular reference originally pointed. Short, indeed, would be the date of poetry, if its interest was only to continue while these temporary allusions were in force, or only to survive among that educated few to whom the manners and history of all past ages are present. But popular authors, in every age, abound, in fact, as much as Pindar, with these local and temporary

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porary ornaments; and if they had contented themselves with such loose and general imagery as left nothing to incur the risque of being obscure to posterity, it might be doubted whether posterity would have enjoyed any knowledge of their works at all.

With still less reason is the meanness of Pindar's subject alledged against the general merit of his poems. In the golden days of Greece, and when the nation had really other things to think of, we hear indeed little or nothing of the Olympic victors; and it was only in those ages, when the glory and the games of their fathers were objects alike of antiquarian research, that their enslaved and effeminate sophists, with the natural credulity of a conquered nation, extolled without moderation even the amusements of their illustrious ancestry. But the insignificance of a crown of olive, or the little merit which a king of Sicily could claim for his horses' swiftness, can in no case militate against the well-earned reputation of their panegyrist. We know by daily experience, that the powers of a genuine poet, whatever calls them forth, whether St. Cecilia's Festival or Lady Austen's Sopha, will ever produce something which posterity will not be willing to lose, however indifferent they may feel to the occasion which gave it birth. In Pindar's case more particularly, the triumphs of Theron or Agesidamus are as irrelevant to his poems as frames and canvass to the merits of a picture; and he hardly troubles his head with the mention of his employer, when his fancy is once embarked in the great sea of tradition and mythology. A more reasonable objection may be made to the perpetual introduction of deities and demigods, and to the languor and nausea which, in almost every modern reader, arises from the tedious and ever recurring Pantheon of classical poetry. But we are indeed mistaken, if we expect to find in the odes of Pindar, a polytheism as degraded and insipid as that which is familiar to school-boys. Where he acquired his notions may be difficult perhaps to decide; but the hell and heaven and retributive doctrines of the Theban rise as far above those of Homer, Ovid, and Virgil, as the prophetic writings of the Old Testament surpass those of Pindar himself. His Zeus is a much more awful being than the Jupiter we are accustomed to meet; and even Zeus himself, in one of his fragments, appears to shrink into nothing before that 'blessed one,' whom alone the beatified spirits of the just are described as adoring with hymns, in their dwellings above the firmament. When to these majestic flights of poetry, we add the singular wildness of his heroic legends; his pleasing though melancholy morality, and his graceful manner of blending sentiment with description,—an invention which never wearies, and a fancy which, where common minds would gasp for breath, appears but in its natural element, and as if unconscious

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conscious of extraordinary elevation;—we need not wonder that such an author was popular when alive, and after death almost adored; and that his works have been from Plato to Milton considered as the great and inexhaustible storehouse of poetry and eloquence.

To transfuse even the shadow of such beauties into another language is indeed an arduous adventure; and if Mr. Girdlestone has failed, it must be remembered that he has not failed alone. West himself, though in taste and smoothness he has left nothing to desire except the completion of his volume, yet by the languor of accumulated ornament, and by that artificial manner which better suited the meridian of Versailles than that of Etolia, has overwhelmed in a great measure, and extinguished the natural ease and spirit of the ancient minstrel. By this indeed, which is the besetting sin of all translators, no original author has suffered more than Pindar. His imitators have been so dazzled with his occasional sublimity, that they have never known where to stop their career on the safe side of bombast, and have entirely forgotten that, if his sentiments are lofty and glowing, his language is uniformly simple.

Above all, with a fastidious nicety which would fain improve upon their author, they have carefully softened down the natural inequalities of his style, and daubed over with the same thick varnish, or, as the French would call it, *onction*, alike his loftiest and his most playful excursions. His proverbs, his pedigrees, his disputes with contemporary bards, and his indignation at the Boeotian nick-name of 'swine,' are either entirely planed away as beneath the dignity of poetry, or translated with the same pomp of language as his addresses to the Sire of Gods, and his descriptions of heaven and hell. The ease and absence of all apparent effort, which is, perhaps, his most characteristic feature, is thus entirely sacrificed; the effect of his sublimest flights is diminished into an uniform flutter, and, in the zeal to make him invariably splendid, the translators have too often made him formal and tiresome.

Such compositions as theirs may indeed obtain the praise of elegance and equable dignity, but if they had been recited in an ancient hall to a company of warriors and wrestlers, the bard and his musicians would soon have performed to empty benches.

When we consider the situation of the poet of Thebes, so similar, in almost every circumstance, to that of the minstrel of a more modern chivalry, we cannot wonder at the resemblance which may sometimes be found in their style of composition, and which constitutes, in fact, that second manner of Pindar which Longinus observed, though he failed to appreciate the merit which, in its proper place, it possesses. In this respect, indeed, as well as in his mixture of sententious morality, and his light and sketchy touches

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touches of nature, none of his professed translators can afford so just an idea of the beauties of Pindar as the most popular of our present bards. His wild and singular mythology may offer many points of comparison with Dante, and still more with some conspicuous descriptions in 'The Curse of Kehama;' but, in the general tenour of his style and language, those who are really familiar with Pindar will oftenest trace a resemblance to one by whom that resemblance, we may venture to say, has never been suspected, the minstrel of Loch Kattrine and Branksome.

That the following experiments (for it will be readily seen that they claim no higher rank) have succeeded in catching a likeness of the animated features of the 'Olympian Prophet,' we certainly dare not venture to hope. Such as they are, they have the merit of a pretty close adherence to the original, and may illustrate, though in a very humble manner, some of the positions maintained in the present article.

TO HIERO THE SYRACUSAN, VICTOR IN THE RACE OF SINGLE HORSES.

OLYMP I.

Noblest work of nature's mold,
Water claims the sage's lay;
Noblest spoil that monarchs hold,
Bright and fearless of decay,
Meaner wealth must yield to gold
As darkness to the torch's ray.
Who, when the sun's full majesty
Towers in strong meridian sway,
Would seek along the empty sky
A warmer star, a purer day?
O thou, my soul, whose choral song
Would tell of contest sharp and strong,
Extol not other lists above
The circus of Olympian Jove;
Whence, borne on many a tuneful tongue,
To Saturn's seed the anthem sung
Hath sped to Hiero's hall away!

Over sheep-clad Sicily,
Who the righteous sceptre beareth,
Every flower of virtue's tree,
Wove in various wreath, he weareth.
But the bud of poesy
Is the fairest flower of all,
Which the bards in festive glee
Strew round Hiero's wealthy hall.

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The harp on yonder beam suspended,
Seize it, boy, for Pisa's sake,
And that good steed whose thought will wake
A joy with anxious fondness blended!
No sounding scourge his sleek side rended,
By Alpheus' brink with feet of flame,
Self-driven, to the prize he tended,
And earn'd the olive wreath of fame
For that dear lord, whose righteous name
The sons of Syracusa tell:
Who loves the generous courser well,
Belov'd himself by all who dwell
In Pelops' Lydian colony.
Of earth-embracing Neptune, he
The darling, since in days of yore,
All lovely from the caldron red
By Clotho's spell delivered,
The youth an ivory shoulder bore.
—Well,— these are tales of mystery!
And many a darkly-woven lie
With men will easy credence gain,
When truth, calm truth, may speak in vain.
For eloquence, whose honey'd sway
Our frailer mortal wits obey,
Can honour give to actions ill,
And faith to deeds incredible.
For tyrant's wrong, for hero's praise,
Trust thou the tale of after days.

But if we dare the deeds rehearse
Of those that aye endure,
'Twere meet that in such dangerous verse
Our every word were pure.
Then, Son of Tantalus, receive
This plain unvarnish'd lay!
My song shall elder fables leave,
And of thy parent say
That, when in heaven, a favour'd guest,
He call'd the Gods in turn to feast
At Sipylus his lov'd abode:
The glorious trident-bearing God
(Can mortal form such favour prove?)
Rapt thee on golden car above
To highest house of mighty Jove;
To which in after day,
Came golden-haired Ganymede,
As ancient bards in story read,
The dark-wing'd eagle's prey.
And when no human tongue could tell
The fate of thee, invisible,

Nor

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Nor friends who sought thee wide in vain,
To sooth thy weeping mother's pain,
Could bring the wanderer home again,
Some envious neighbour's spleen
In distant hints, and darkly said,
That in the caldron hissing red,
And on the God's great table spread,
Thy mangled limbs were seen.
But who shall tax (I dare not, I)
The blessed Gods with gluttony?
Full oft the slanderous tongue hath felt,
By their high wrath, the thunder dealt,
And sure, if ever mortal head
Heaven's holy watchmen honoured,
That head was Lydia's lord:
Yet could not human heart digest
The wonders of that awful feast,
Elate with pride the thought unblest,
Above his nature soar'd.
And now condemn'd to endless dread
(Such is the righteous doom of fate)
He eyes above his guilty head
The shadowy rock's impending weight:
The fourth with that tormented three
In horrible society!

For that in frantic theft
The nectar cup he reft
And to his mortal peers in feasting pour'd,
In whom a sin it were
With mortal lip to share
The mystic dainties of th' immortal board.
And who by policy
Can hope to 'scape the eye
Of Him who sits above, by men and Gods ador'd?

For such offence, a doom severe
Sent down his son to sojourn here,
Among the fleeting race of man:
Who, when the curly down began
To clothe his cheek in darker shade,
To car-borne Pisa's royal maid
A lover's tender service paid.
But in the darkness first he stood
Alone by ocean's hoary flood,
And rais'd to him the suppliant cry,
The hoarse earth-shaking Deity.
Nor call'd in vain, through cloud and storm
Half-seen, a huge and shadowy form
The God of waters came!

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He came, whom thus the youth address'd:—
Oh thou! if that eternal breast
Have felt a lover's flame,
A lover's prayer in pity hear,
Repel the tyrant's brazen spear
That guards my lovely dame;
And grant a car, whose rolling speed
May help a lover at his need;
Condemn'd by Pisa's hand to bleed,
Unless I win the envied meed
In Elis' field of fame.

For youthful knights thirteen
By him have slaughter'd been,
His daughter vexing with perverse delay:
Such to a coward's eye
Were evil augury;
Nor durst a coward's heart the strife essay.
Yet since alike to all
The doom of death must fall,
Ah wherefore, sitting in unseemly shade,
Wear out a nameless life
Remote from noble strife
And all the sweet applause to valour paid?
Yes, I will dare the course, but thou,
Immortal friend, my prayer allow!

Thus, not in vain, his grief he told.
The ruler of the watery space
Bestow'd a wonderous car of gold,
And tireless steeds of winged pace.
So, victor in the deathful race,
He tam'd the strength of Pisa's king,
And from his bride of beauteous face
Beheld a stock of warriors spring,
Six valiant sons, as fables sing.
But now with fame and glory crown'd,
Where Alpheus' stream with watery ring
Encloses half the lofty mound,
He sleeps beneath the pil'd ground,
Near that bless'd spot where strangers move
In many a long procession round
The altar of protecting Jove.
But in th' Olympian lists of fame
Survives the noble Pelops' name,
Where strength of hands and nimble feet
In stern and deadly contest meet;
And high renown and honey'd praise,
And after length of honour'd days,
The victor's weary toil repays.

But

But what are past or future joys?
The present is our own;
And he is wise who best employs
The passing hour alone.
To crown with knightly wreath the king,
(A grateful task,) be mine,
And on the smooth Eolian string
Resound his lofty line.
For ne'er shall wandering poet find
A chief so just, a host so kind;
With every grace of fortune blest,
The mightiest, wisest, bravest, best.

God, who beholdeth thee, and all thy deeds,
Have thee in charge king Hiero!—so again
The bard may sing thy horny-hoofed steeds,
In frequent triumph o'er th' Olympian plain.
Nor will the bard awake a lowly strain
His wild notes flinging o'er the Cronian steep,
Whose ready Muse, and not invok'd in vain,
For such high mark her strongest shaft will keep.

Each hath his proper eminence,
To kings indulgent providence
(No farther seek the will of heaven)
The glories of the earth hath given.
Still may'st thou reign! enough for me
To dwell with heroes like to thee,
Myself the chief of Grecian minstrelsy.

TO THERON OF AGRAGAS, VICTOR IN THE RACE OF CHARIOTS.

OLYMP. II.

Oh song, to whom the harp obeys,
Accordant, aye, with answering string,
What God, what Hero, wilt thou praise,
What man of godlike prowess sing?
Lo, Jove himself is Pisa's king;
And Jove's strong son was first to raise
The barrier of the Olympic ring;
And now, victorious on the wing
Of sounding wheels, our bards proclaim
The stranger Theron's honour'd name,
The flower of no ignoble race,
And prop of ancient Agragas:
Whose patient sires for many a year,
Where that blue river rolls his flood,
'Mid fruitless war and civil blood,
Essay'd their sacred home to rear;

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Till time adorn'd in fated hour
Their native worth with wealth and power,
And made them from their low degree
The eye of warlike Sicily.

And may the God of ancient birth,
From Saturn sprung and parent earth,
Of tall Olympus Lord;
Who marks with still benignant eye
The game's long splendour sweeping by,
And Alpheus' holy ford;
Appeas'd by anthems chaunted high,
To Theron's late posterity
A happier doom accord!
Or good, or ill, the past is gone;
Nor Time himself, the parent one,
Can make the former deeds undone:
But who would these recall,
When happier days would fain efface
Remembrance of the past disgrace,
And from the Gods on Theron's race
Unbounded blessings fall?

Example meet for such a song
The sister queens of Cadmus' blood,
Who sorrow's smart endured long,
Made keener by remember'd good.
Yet now, she breathes the air of heaven,
On earth by smouldering thunder riven,
Long haired Semele.
To Pallas dear is she,
Dear to the Sire of Gods, and dear
To him her son, in festal glee
Who shakes the ivy-wreathed spear.

And thus, they tell, that deep below
The sounding ocean's ebb and flow,
Amid the daughters of the sea
A sister nymph must Ino be,
And dwell in bliss eternally.
But, ignorant and blind,
We little know the coming hour;
Or if the latter day shall lower,
Or if to nature's kindly power
Our life in peace resign'd,
Shall sink like fall of summer eve
And on the face of darkness leave
A ruddy smile behind.
For grief and joy in fitful gale
The crazy bark by turns assail;

And,

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And, whence our blessings flow,
That same tremendous providence
Will oft a varying doom dispense,
And lay the mighty low.
To Theban Laius that befell,
Whose son, with murder died,
Fulfill'd the former oracle,
Unconscious parricide!

Unconscious!—yet avenging hell
Pursued the dark offender's pace;
And heavy, sure, and hard it fell,
The curse of blood on all his race!
Spar'd from their kindred strife,
The young Thersander's life,
Stern Polynices' heir was left alone:
In every martial game,
And in the field of fame
For early force, and matchless prowess known;
Was left the pride and prop to be
Of good Adrastus' pedigree.
And hence, through loins of ancient kings,
The warrior blood of Theron springs:
Exalted name! to whom belong
The minstrel's harp, the poet's song;
In fair Olympia crown'd;
And where, 'mid Pythia's olives blue,
An equal lot his brothers drew;
And where his twice twain coursers flew
The isthmus twelve times round.
Such honour, earn'd by toil and care,
May well his ancient wrongs repair;
And wealth unstain'd by pride
Can laugh at fortune's fickle power
And blameless in the tempting hour
Of dangerous ease abide,
Led by that star of heavenly ray
Which best in life's bewilder'd way
Our erring feet may guide.

For, whoso holds in righteousness the throne,
He in his heart hath known
How the foul spirits of the sinful dead,
In chambers dark and dread
Of nether earth abide and penal flame;
Where he whom none may name
Lays bare the soul with stern necessity;
Seated in judgment high,
The minister of God, whose arm is there,
In heaven alike and hell, almighty every where!

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But ever bright, by day, by night,
Exulting in eternal light,
From labour free and long distress,
The good enjoy their happiness.
No more the stubborn soil they cleave,
Nor stem for scanty food the wave,
But with the venerable Gods they dwell.
No tear bedims their thankful eye,
Nor mars their long tranquillity,
While those accursed howl in pangs unspeakable!

But who the thrice-renew'd probation
Of either world can well endure,
And keep, with righteous destination,
The soul from all transgression pure;
To such and such alone is given
To walk the rainbow paths of heaven,
To that tall city of Eternal Time,
Where ocean's balmy breezes play;
And flashing to the western day,
The gorgeous blossoms of such blessed clime,
Now in the happy isles are seen
To sparkle through the groves of green;
And now, all glorious to behold,
Tinge the wave with floating gold.

Hence are their garlands woven, hence their hands
Fill'd with triumphal palm, the righteous doom
Of Rhadamanthus; whom o'er these his lands,
A blameless judge in every age to come,
Chronos, old Chronos, Sire of Gods hath placed;
Who with his consort dear,
Dread Rhea, reigneth here,
On cloudy throne with deathless honour graced.
And still, they say, in high communion,
Peleus and Cadmus here abide;
And with the blest in blessed union,
(Nor Jove has Thetis' prayer denied,)
The daughter of the ancient sea
Hath brought her warrior boy to be;
Him whose stern avenging blow
Laid the prop of Ilium low;
Hector, trained to slaughter fell,
By all but him invincible;
And sea-born Cygnus tam'd, and slew
Aurora's knight of Ethiop hue.

Beneath my rattling belt I bear
A sheaf of arrows keen and clear;
Of vocal shafts that wildly fly,
Nor ken the base their import high,

Yet

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Yet to the wise they breathe no vulgar melody.
Yes!—he is wise whom nature's power
Hath rais'd above the crowd;
But, train'd in study's formal hour,
There are who hate the minstrel's power,
As daws who mark the eagle tower,
And croak in envy loud.
So let them rail!—but thou, my heart,
Rest on the bow thy levell'd dart;
Nor seek a worthier aim
For arrow sent on friendship's wing,
Than him, the Agragantine king
Who best thy song may claim.

For by eternal truth I swear,
His parent town shall scantly bear
A soul to every friend so dear,
A life so void of blame:
Though twenty lustres rolling round,
With rising youth her nation crown'd,
In heart in hand should none be found
Like Theron's honour'd name.
Yes—we have heard the factious cry,
But let the babbling vulgar try
To blot his praise with tyranny:
Seek thou the ocean strand;
And when thy soul would fain record
The bounteous deeds of yonder Lord,
Go, reckon up the sand!

ART. X *Reflections on the Nature and Extent of the Licence Trade.* pp. 78. Budd. 1811.
An Enquiry into the State of our Commercial Relations with the Northern Powers, with reference to our Trade with them under the Regulation of Licences. pp. 110. Hatchard. 1811.

THE subject of the licence trade did not, we believe, till lately, begin to attract any considerable share of public curiosity. It was, indeed, notorious that our accustomed commerce with the shores of Northern Europe had long since been interrupted by the enemy; that for the purpose of diminishing the inconveniences which might result to this country from such interruption, an indirect intercourse, protected by licences, had been opened by our government; and that the policy of this measure was by no means universally admitted by those who are best acquainted with the commercial relations of this country. But the minds of men have been long engrossed by questions of great and immediate importance to the community; and the disorders alleged to exist in a single

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single branch of our extensive trade, would probably have continued to be overlooked, had not the nature and extent of these disorders been developed, and their connections with the essential interests of the community pointed out, in a memorial, addressed to the Board of Trade by the merchants of Hull, and published in all the daily papers. About the same time were published the two pamphlets which we are about to consider, and which, though in some respects at variance with each other, evince the same hostility to the licence trade, and are also, so far, in complete unison with the above mentioned memorial.

That a system so very reprehensible as that which these several documents concur in describing, should have been deliberately adopted by the Board of Trade so long ago as 1808, and continued during that, and the two following years, without exciting any remonstrance on the part of the mercantile body, who, on the 4th of April, 1811, became so much awake to all its demerits, is so strange, as to be almost incredible. But the mysteries in which the whole subject is involved, will doubtless be, in due time, removed. We shall, for the present, content ourselves with giving a brief abstract of the two pamphlets before us, and with adding such remarks on their contents, as they may appear to require, without venturing any opinion on a case, of which the whole merits have not been yet laid before the public.

The author of the 'Reflections' has intentionally restricted himself to those arguments which he thinks himself able to substantiate, by an appeal to the long established principles of our national policy; to the regulations of public law; or to the moral feelings of mankind. He has barely noticed, without condescending to expatiate upon, the most obvious, and in our apprehension, the most conclusive objection to the measure, namely, 'that it subjects the whole trade of the country to the controul of the executive government, and, that when commercial speculations become the result of peculiar privileges, it must follow, of course, that the privileges will be liable to be obtained by favour, and extorted by intrigue.' The substance of his reasoning therefore, when divested of the numerous authorities, by which it is, perhaps, unnecessarily supported, may be comprehended in a very short compass.

It is self-evident that a state of war between two countries, imposes on the subjects of each the necessity of abstaining from any direct commercial intercourse with the other, because, a declaration of war is always the act of the highest authority in the state. Every attempt made by individuals on either side to engage in such an intercourse, must, if unsanctioned by a particular permission, be construed as an act of treason towards their respective sovereigns: and consequently, the government, which, in any instance, sanctions

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sanctions the trade, must be, in that instance, at variance with its own declarations of hostility. It is no less evident that neither of the belligerents can secure impunity to the subjects of the other in the prosecution of such a traffic; nor can it hold out, to its own, any well-founded hope of reciprocal advantage. Every commercial licence therefore, is in its nature an anomaly; a suspension of a general law; an exception from general practice; justifiable in a few solitary cases; but only justifiable in each, by the importance of the purpose for which such deviation is permitted.

Now it appears, from documents laid on the table of the House of Lords, that upwards of 15,000 licences were issued by the Privy Council in the course of the year 1809, and that 48,000 foreign seamen were employed in the trade thus licensed. The numbers of both, as our author informs us, were very greatly augmented during the year 1810; in so much that nearly the whole trade of the world appeared to be carried on under licences; and he affirms it to be notorious to those who are conversant with the questions litigated in the Court of Admiralty, that the vessels protected by these licences are, with very few exceptions, manned and navigated by the enemies of the state.

If these allegations be well-founded, it cannot be denied that the whole code of our former commercial regulations, though not formally abrogated, has been silently supplanted by a new system of policy; and that the vast trade of this country which the legislature had, for two centuries, continued to cherish and protect, as the foundation of our naval greatness, has lately, by the express sanction of government, been rendered subservient to the purposes of the enemy.

To promote the construction of British shipping, and the increase of British seamen, was the professed motive of numerous laws enacted from the middle of the seventeenth century to the year 1786, when the principle of our navigation code was most distinctly confirmed; and, although it should be questioned whether the interference of government in commercial concerns is ever beneficial, it must at least be conceded, that such interposition was, in this case, well intended: besides which, it is well known that the object to be attained was always a favourite with the nation; and that, to the statutes enacted for its attainment, our commercial prosperity and naval greatness have been very generally attributed. It is true, that for the benefit of trade itself, some exceptions were admitted to the general spirit of the navigation laws: it is also true that the eagerness with which their object was pursued appeared at times to subside; and that, during the pressure of war, it was found necessary to concede to neutrals, a share in that navigation which could no longer be engrossed without a sacrifice

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crifice of our more important naval interests. But never was our adherence to the principle more steady than at those times when the practice was thus relaxed. If, for instance, it was permitted, that for the purpose of navigating our merchant ships, a majority of foreign sailors should be employed, it was in the hope that, under a British master, a part of those mariners might be (as indeed they often were) induced to enter into our service. But now, when the navy of Great Britain is the only barrier which guards the freedom of the world, and when the most formidable enemy whom we have yet encountered aspires to universal conquest, through the destruction of our commerce, the commerce of these Islands is surrendered, under the novel system of licences, as a nursery of seamen to navigate his navies! His own imperial flag cannot, indeed, appear with impunity within our harbours, but the vessels of all his tributary nations, whilst permitted to wear the badge of their former sovereignty, though navigated by his vassals, and piloted and commanded by such officers as he shall think fit to appoint, have a daily and undisturbed access to every part of our coasts; and it thus depends upon himself to organize and discipline, under our especial protection, that corps of mariners, which he has avowed to be the only instrument necessary to the completion of his ambitious projects.

A second, and no less important objection, to the system of licences, is the encouragement which it holds out to the dissemination of immorality and bad faith: for such, it seems, is the facility with which licences are granted by the Privy Council, and so easy their transfer from hand to hand, that they are, in many parts of the continent, by no means an unusual article of sale. Their market price is known to have been, in Norway, about five hundred guilders; and at Amsterdam about seven hundred six dollars; whilst at Bourdeaux it has varied with the varying tenour of Buonaparte's decrees. Provided with one of these instruments, the foreign owner of the vessel which it is designed to protect, proceeds to furnish himself with a double set of papers, so complete in every part, and so skilfully framed, that they can scarcely fail to deceive the cruizers of either belligerent with respect to the real destination of the cargo. As a farther precaution, *both sets of papers are verified by the oath of the captain*; and, from the notoriety of this practice, that solemn test of truth, on which so much reliance is placed by all other courts of justice is, in the discussion of prize causes completely disregarded.

"This then (says the author) being the actual state of the trade, if we consider that there are, at this moment, many thousand vessels navigating the various seas of Europe with these double sets of documents, we cannot be surprised, either at the complicated machinery of deceit, or

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or at the disgusting details of falsehood and perjury, which the examination of these cases discloses. A person unacquainted with the history of the traffic which is now carried on, under the cover of British licences, could scarcely form to himself an idea of the labyrinths of mystery and fraud, by which the mercantile transactions of the present day are enveloped and obscured.' p. 31.

A third objection to the system is, that it exposes us to suffer by gross abuses which it is out of our power to controul. Of these abuses, indeed, we have little right to complain. We invite foreign merchants and mariners to violate the laws enacted by their own government; to consider the profits of an illicit trade as cheaply purchased by deliberate perjury; we put into their hands an engine of deceit which secures them from detection; and having thus taught them to emancipate themselves from the restraint of every moral principle, we ought to expect that they will dupe us in our turn, whenever it shall suit their interest. Whilst we issue licences which expressly protect against the vigilance of our own cruizers vessels bearing *any* flag except the French—notwithstanding *all* the documents which accompany the ship and cargo may represent the same to be destined to *any neutral or hostile port, or to whomsoever such property may appear to belong,* it would be strange indeed if the enemy should find any difficulty in availing himself of an expedient, by which he is relieved from the expence of insurance. The fact has been abundantly proved.

'It has even happened (says our author) that two successive importations to Amsterdam have been attempted under cover of the same British licence. Examples, too, are not wanting of vessels having licences to import commodities from France, being employed in the coasting trade of that kingdom; and during the course of the last summer, whole fleets, which were privileged to bring cargoes from Russia and Denmark to this country, were actually employed in importing naval stores, and other Baltic produce, into those parts of Prussia and Swedish Pomerania, which are in the occupation of the French troops. In a word, it may fairly be computed, that of the last two hundred vessels detained for the adjudication of the High Court of Admiralty in this country, at least three-fourths have been proceeded against on the sole ground of their carrying on the commerce of the enemy, under the protection of British licences.' pp. 44, 45.

A fourth objection to the system is, that it operates unjustly, because unequally, upon the trade of different neutral nations. Here it must be recollected that by the Order of Council of the 26th April, 1809, it is decreed 'that all ports and places as far north as the river Ems inclusively, &c. &c. shall continue, and be subject to the same restrictions in point of trade and navigation *without any exception, as if the same were actually blockaded by his Majesty's*

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Majesty's naval forces in the most strict and rigorous manner.' These words cannot be liable to misconstruction. The virtual blockade imposed by them is declared to be as complete as if the whole interdicted coast were actually besieged by a squadron adequate to cut off all commercial communication. It is, professedly, an innovation on the usual doctrines of maritime law; an innovation provoked by the violence of the enemy; an act of retaliation required, perhaps, by a just sense of our national dignity, and justifiable on these grounds; but, surely, no longer justifiable, than whilst it is executed with inflexible impartiality. To the remonstrances of the Americans or other neutrals, who protested against our abridgment of their commerce, we had a right to answer, that their own tame submission to the arrogant and unjust pretensions of our enemy, precluded them from any claim of redress, on account of those injuries which any measure of effectual resistance that we could oppose to such pretensions, must unavoidably occasion. But from this answer we are now debarred. Whilst every American vessel, navigated by mariners of her own country, laden with the produce of the United States, and fitted out on the sole account of American merchants, has, when detected within the limits of the virtual blockade, been seized and confiscated,—the same authority which instituted the interdict, has granted permission indiscriminately, if not to the native subjects, at least to all the vassals of France, to conduct their ships into the forbidden ports, and to return with cargoes, '*to whomsoever the same may appear to belong.*'

The result of these reasonings shall be given in the words of the pamphlet. p. 57.

'Upon the whole, if the author is correct in his apprehension of the facts that have been enumerated, as well as of the influence deducible from them, it must be obvious, that the licence trade, in its present extended state, has effected an entire revolution in that code of laws, under which the European trade of this country has, for nearly two centuries, been fostered and encouraged, and under which our naval empire has gradually been advanced and extended, and finally elevated to a vantage ground, unparalleled in the history of the world.

'It must be equally obvious, that, as a political measure, it is founded on an unsound and unnatural base;—that it is calculated to disseminate over a large portion of the civilized globe, principles the most opposite to true wisdom and true policy;—to overturn ancient and established maxims of morality and good faith;—to do away all those honourable and sure tests of upright and sincere conduct, which courts of the law of nations have in all times respected and upheld;—in a word, that it is calculated to dissolve one of the material links in that chain, by which the all-wise and beneficent Father of the Universe has bound together the happiness and the duty of the human race.

'Lastly,

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'Lastly, it must be obvious, that besides affording the enemy a secure nursery for his military marine, it presents to him every facility of carrying on, under the protection of British licences, that traffic, which the vigilance and activity of British cruizers could otherwise intercept and annihilate.'

Dismissing this pamphlet for the present, we proceed to the 'Inquiry, &c.' the author of which takes a very different view of the subject, and embraces a greater variety of topics.

He begins by a retrospect of the principal changes which have taken place in the political and commercial relations between Great Britain and the northern powers since the memorable treaty of Tilsit, in July 1807. He observes that, after the acquiescence of Alexander in the conditions of that treaty, there remained only one measure by means of which Great Britain could hope to recover some degree of influence in Russia; which was, by the retention of Zealand, from whence her naval power could have constantly menaced all the coasts of the Baltic, and given security to our commerce. That the Danes, whom the boldness of our enterprise had overawed, and whom a steady government and a due attention to their protection might have conciliated, having been left to their first feelings of resentment and revenge after the capture of their fleet—whilst Prussia was surrendered to the power, and Russia to the intrigues, of France—it could not but be foreseen that the projects, so long entertained by Buonaparte, of excluding our commerce from the north of Europe, must shortly be consummated. In fact, from that time, all access to the harbours of the Baltic, those of Sweden alone excepted, has been denied to our merchants, or conceded for the sole purpose of promoting the views and gratifying the rapacity of our enemy.

To those, who justly estimated the enormous power of that enemy; his consummate skill; his perseverance; his unrelenting severity; and the terror which he inspires; it must have been plain that our regular commercial intercourse with the countries under his controul lay wholly at his mercy. But it was hoped that a secret and unavowed trade, to a considerable extent, might still be practicable. It was supposed that nearly all the princes of Europe were adverse to the continental system, which they were compelled to enforce in their public acts; and that their subjects, harassed by the most painful privations, would gladly catch at every means of evading those restrictions which their fears prevented them from openly resisting. If these opinions were false, and if a mutual exchange of produce between Great Britain and the continent could not be effected, by the ingenuity of our merchants conspiring with the wants and wishes of all Europe, it seems evident that the efforts of the British government for the extension

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extension of trade, could not but be powerless. Their intervention could only be mischievous, by giving publicity to those commercial transactions, which depended for their success on the most impenetrable concealment. It may therefore be presumed, that the strange measure of licensing, to an indefinite amount, the imports from all quarters, unaccompanied, as it necessarily was, by any security for the export of our own manufactures or produce, was extorted from our cabinet by some commercial speculators; or at least, that the perseverance in the experiment, notwithstanding the various distresses which it has occasioned, is to be attributed to the importunity of such interested advisers.

Respecting the nature and tendency of these licences, the author, with whom we are at present occupied, has added nothing to the general reasoning which we have already adduced; but his knowledge of commercial affairs has furnished him with some additional illustrations and facts, by which that reasoning is supported. He describes with much minuteness the process by which our own instruments are employed to our own injury; he corroborates (p. 32) the statement that, 'in the course of the year 1810, not less than thirty-seven vessels provided with such licences safely arrived, from Archangel, in the ports of Holland, laden chiefly with naval stores.' He shews that whilst British ventures in the Baltic trade were charged with an enormous insurance which, after all, was by no means commensurate with the risk incurred by the underwriters, the enemy was supplied, through the aid of our licences, at a comparatively small expense: because the detection of British property on board a vessel captured by the enemy, was followed by the loss of ship and cargo; whilst the only penalty imposed by us on the licensed trader, when detained in consequence of abusing his privilege, was the necessity of disposing of his cargo at the British market. He appeals (p. 36) in proof of the general advantages derived by foreign powers from our mistaken policy, to the late commercial regulations published by the courts of Russia and Denmark; of which it is perfectly manifest that, 'the real object is to protect and secure to the enemy that trade, which, without the aid of British licences, would be quite annihilated,' and he contends that, 'whilst we have submitted to evils of this magnitude, we have in a great measure failed in the main object for which, it is presumed, the licence system was established.'

The untoward events of the last two years could not fail to raise, very considerably, the price of all the articles usually imported into this country; and the extent of this rise, which threatened us with a dearth of the materials absolutely necessary for the construction and equipment of our navy, may be supposed to have been

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been the chief consideration which induced our government to adopt, in 1808, the licence system. Whether the emergency was such as to demand a temporary recourse to such new and extraordinary measures, it is needless to inquire; but it is notorious that, through the medium of the licence trade, we were, during the two following years, inundated and overwhelmed by an unparalleled excess of imports; that the prices at which these imports were sold were inadequate to repay the first cost of the articles added to the enormous freights exacted by the foreign carriers; that a general reliance on the protection attributed to licences produced very extensive speculations in the export of British and colonial produce; that fleets thus laden have been successively confiscated; and that whilst, in consequence of this state of things, the amount of duties on our custom-house books has appeared to indicate an unusual prosperity in our national commerce, the real situation of the mercantile world has been, and is, calamitous beyond all former example.

We will not follow the author through his laboured discussion of the modifications by which the licence system might have been rendered somewhat less injurious; nor examine his remarks on the various concurrent accidents which introduced, into all the various branches of our commerce, one general spirit of adventurous speculation; but will proceed to state the opinion which it seems to have been his principal wish to promulgate; namely, that the unfavourable state of our foreign exchanges; the actual depreciation of our currency; and the extravagant price of bullion, are the necessary consequences of the system which we have been considering; and that, so long as this system shall continue, the resumption of cash payments by the Bank must be impossible. We will endeavour to exhibit, very briefly, the substance of the reasoning employed by the author in support of his opinions, which do not exactly coincide with any which have been entertained, either by the advocates, or by the opponents of the Restriction Bill.

He admits that the doctrine of the balance of payments rests on a most suspicious foundation; he also admits, that the question, whether the issues of Bank paper be excessive, is one, which he cannot undertake to decide; but he is disposed to think that the greatly increased amount of taxes imposed during the last fourteen years, and regularly paid to government, may have required a considerable augment of the circulating medium; and that the metallic part of that medium which has disappeared, having been replaced by paper, the total value of this paper, great as it unquestionably is, may possibly be only sufficient for the regular wants of the country. The extent of these wants cannot be exactly known, consequently the excess of paper can only be inferred from the

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state of our foreign exchanges, the price of bullion, &c. that is to say, from those effects, which, if it existed, it would be likely to produce—or from the injudicious rules adopted by the Directors of the Bank, &c. &c.

But he insists that the test of our foreign exchanges is far from proving the excess of our paper currency, whilst it affords conclusive evidence in favour of his opinion. The Bank Restriction Bill was passed in February 1797. Now it appears, by a table of the monthly, as well as yearly, rates of exchange on Hamburgh, that, from the commencement of that year to the close of 1810, a period of fourteen years, the rate of the general average coincides almost exactly with the *par*, a coincidence, which proves that the oscillations of the exchange continued to compensate each other, notwithstanding the constant agency of a cause which ought to have depressed the balance more and more below the line of equilibrium. It is farther remarkable that during nearly five of these years, (i. e. from January 1803 to September 1808,) in spite of a progressive increase of our paper currency, from 13½ to 18 millions, the exchange continued to be favourable to this country. But in the last mentioned year, the system of licences was adopted, and in the month of October of the same year, the exchange began to experience a progressive depression, which continued almost without interruption till the month of March of the present year 1811, when it amounted to about 30 per cent. in other words, every pound sterling of our present currency, invested in the purchase of a bill on Hamburgh, has been depreciated by about one-third of its value.

Such a depreciation might certainly result, and has often resulted from a disordered currency; but it is admitted that at least a part of it may be produced by an unnatural state of commerce. It cannot be denied that at present trade is shaken to its foundations. That reasoning therefore which is the most incontestible, when applied to the commercial intercourse of nations who are permitted to satisfy their respective wants by mutually bartering the produce of their superfluous labour, may be totally inapplicable to a state of the world, in which the interests and passions of nearly one quarter of the globe are sacrificed to the caprices of a single man. He decreed that the ports of the European continent should be closed against the exports of Great Britain; and our markets, for a time, became glutted with the produce of our fisheries, of our colonies, and of our manufacturing industry. The resolution of the Spanish peninsula, by opening to us an access to the South American markets, relieved us from a part of our superfluities: and, perhaps, rather increased our customary supply of the precious metals; but at the same time, still further augmented our redundance

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redundance of trans-Atlantic commodities. Had we remained passive, or persevered in the measures of retaliation which we had for a moment adopted, the northern nations must have been reduced to the necessity of imploring admission to our ports on our own terms; but we relieved them from that necessity, by soliciting and bribing them to accept the advantages of the British market, unaccompanied by any pledge of reciprocal benefits. Is it, then, incredible that the numerous demands of this country, occasioned by such a trade, and by the simultaneous expenses attending our military and naval operations, should have produced a permanently unfavourable state of our foreign exchanges; an extravagant rise in the price of bullion; and a corresponding depreciation of currency?

Here two objections may be started; the first against the fact, and the second against the inference.

It may be said that the reports of the Inspector General of the Customs, presented to the Bullion Committee, indicate a favourable balance on our trade with the continent, during the five years 1805, 6, 7, 8, and 9, amounting, even if calculated on the *real* values of the exports and imports, to 8,800,000*l.* or on an average about 1,760,000*l.* per annum. To this it is answered that the calculations of Mr. Irving are indeed unimpeachable, but that the grounds of such calculations must be defective. The entries at the Custom-house can only record the amount of imports actually received; they cannot specify the number of cargoes captured by the enterprise of the enemy's cruizers; or betrayed to them by the collusion of the foreign captains; or, detained by various accidents in the Baltic, during the winter of 1809, the last year in the adduced period. Neither, though they truly recite the amount of goods shipped for exportation, can they enumerate the quantities confiscated in foreign ports, or those which, though saved from sequestration, are still lying in our warehouses at Heligoland. Yet all these particulars must come into our account: the amount of imports, and of a freight, scarcely less expensive than the imports themselves, which we have contracted to pay; and that of the exports which have been really available in discharge of such debt, must be compared, before we can form a just estimate of that balance, which our Custom-house reports undoubtedly indicate, but concerning which the list of bankruptcies (a document equally official) appears to give a very different testimony.

The objection against the inference is, that a losing trade must always tend to correct itself; that therefore the unfavourable symptoms which it produces, can never be permanent, and that a long continuance of those symptoms is a proof that the disease arises from an excess of currency. To this it is answered, that if this

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reasoning be conformable to general experience, it is because, an extravagant rate of exchange is capable of being checked by the transfer of bullion; and a high price of bullion by an increased importation of it, in return for some other article. But it may be safely affirmed, that in this country bullion is, at present, really scarce, and that an increased supply of it, except to a very limited amount, is unattainable. The country from which Europe derives its principal yearly supply of the precious metals, is glutted with our manufactures; at that market, therefore, bullion is become much dearer than usual with reference to those articles, by means of which we have always been accustomed to purchase it. The losses of the traders to South America cannot be doubted, after the application addressed to the legislature in behalf of the sufferers by this, as well as by other branches of commerce. It may be said, that Hamburgh, Amsterdam, and other places, could furnish a sufficient supply for all our purposes. They certainly could, if we were able to convey to them an equivalent return; but that is impracticable. Every post which arrives from the continent announces the execution of Buonaparte's anti-commercial decrees, and evinces the insufficiency of mercantile artifice when opposed to his absolute power, and unremitting vigilance. That some British manufactures, and a considerable amount of colonial produce, introduced almost insensibly, and through a variety of small and unsuspected channels did, for a time, obtain admittance to the continental markets, is, indeed, indicated by the recorded rates of exchange. Some clandestine traffic in these articles may still exist; and tend to check, in some measure, that drain of the precious metals, which is daily becoming more formidable, and of which the existence is proved by the depreciation of our paper. That paper is depreciated with reference to all other articles, as well as to gold and silver, has, indeed, been asserted, but the assertion is manifestly untrue, with respect to all the necessaries of life, of which the nominal value has not even experienced that degree of rise, which might have been expected from the natural effect of increased taxation; and it probably would be difficult to point out a single article of which the dearness is at all proportionate to that of the precious metals.

This slight sketch will perhaps be sufficient to explain those peculiar opinions of the author, which are connected with the much litigated question with respect to our circulation. His concluding advice shall be given in his own words:

'The only effectual means of remedying the various evils which at present exist, with regard to the state of the commerce of the country, its circulating medium, and its finances, is to regulate our commercial relations by the maxims of a more vigorous and decisive line of policy. As

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As the prohibitory system, which is now so rigidly enforced on the continent, precludes us from the benefits of any export trade to it, it is indispensably requisite, that we should endeavour to counteract this evil, by opposing to it similar measures.—If, however, any exception be made to the general plan of closing our ports against *all importations from those countries, where our exports are not admitted*, it should be confined to the admission of such articles only as are of indispensable necessity. There are but few commodities which we could not procure from other places, with which we should at the same time have the full benefit of a reciprocity of commerce; and there can be no doubt, that, by judicious arrangements, we might, in a very short period, render ourselves completely independant of the Baltic powers.—Pursuing that course of commercial policy which the peculiar circumstances of the country appear so urgently to require, we should admit of an unrestricted export-trade, and limit the importations from those countries alone, where our exports find admittance, deviating from this principle only in cases of absolute necessity. Should such measures fail in their intended effect, as to a general commerce, they would at least counteract that most injurious balance against this country, which arises from our excessive importations from the continent. They would consequently, too, be eminently conducive to the re-instatement of an advantageous course of exchange, and would reduce the present very high price of bullion, which has been principally occasioned by its great depression. The apparent depreciation in our paper currency would be corrected, and its relative value would soon be nearly, or quite equalized with the intrinsic value of the precious metals.'

On the first of the two pamphlets with which we have been occupied, we have very little to remark. The writer's arguments, admitting the correctness of the premises, which, in the present state of our information, we are unable to controvert, are fairly deduced, and his expressions, though earnest and vehement, are not intemperate. The only passage which we must except from this general commendation, occurs in p. 61, where he deduces the licence trade from the orders in council, and represents it as 'the legitimate offspring of that unnatural measure,'—as 'deeply imbued with the hereditary taint of the parent stock, &c.' We entirely object to this metaphorical filiation. We admit that our government, when they retorted the defiance of the enemy, and subjected his coasts to the blockade which he had proclaimed against ours, reserved to themselves the privilege of excepting, from the general interdict, the commerce of those neutrals who should acquire a claim to such indulgence by vindicating the just rights of neutrality. But we deny that any modification of a measure which we are still inclined to consider as wise and dignified, and which certainly breathed a spirit of open and undisguised hostility, can be fairly assimilated to a system which is described as a tissue of simulation and dissimula-

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tion, and as tending to undermine the foundations of justice, and of moral feeling.

The second pamphlet possesses the singular merit of preserving, throughout, the same unpresuming tone which is employed in the preface. It contains a good deal of information, though not always happily arranged; and the author appears to have studied, with much attention, the interest and policy of the northern powers, particularly of Russia; and to have suggested the most probable means of counteracting the influence of France in that part of Europe. On the much contested subject of our currency, his arguments, we think, are sometimes embarrassing, but by no means conclusive. We know not how to defend the alleged amount of our favourable balance of trade against his objections; and we are not sure, that even by establishing the alleged amount of it, we should satisfactorily refute his principal position. Mr. Irving has stated (App. Bul. Com. No. 73.) the favourable balances on our whole trade, during the five years ending with 1809, as forming an aggregate of fifty millions; which gives an annual average of ten millions. It is to be observed, however, that in his estimate, he considers the freight as principally paid to British ship-owners. Now, it has been asserted by authority, that the freight alone, which was paid to foreigners in 1810, amounted to five millions; and that, during the same year, our foreign expenditure did not fall short of eleven millions. On these grounds, therefore, we have our doubts, whether the national income is, in fact, sufficient to furnish the pecuniary means of defraying the national expenditure.

If this be, indeed, our situation; if, notwithstanding all the boasted advantages of our improved agriculture, it be necessary for us to send out annually about seven millions in bullion or coin for the purchase of wheat; if our military expenses must also be defrayed by a constant emission of the precious metals; and if our stock of bullion cannot be annually replenished; it certainly follows that there is an urgent necessity for the adoption of the remedy recommended by our author, and that the repeal of the restriction bill would not have enabled us to persevere with impunity in a trade which he represents as equally disadvantageous and immoral. But so far only, in our estimation, do his arguments warrant his conclusion. If the efflux of the precious metals be rendered, by our own impolitic acts, more rapid than its influx, let us resolve to adopt a more rational system of policy which will stop the drain. But why couple this resolution with a manifest absurdity? Why issue promissory notes, of which the payment is known to be impossible, and declared to be illegal? Why call that *money* which is *circulating credit;* which, because it is so, is subject to indefinite variations of price; and why alter, by means of this misnomer, the

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the legitimate and definite measure of value?—But it is time to take leave of our author, and of a question, the real merits of which must soon be placed out of the reach of controversy by the unerring test of experience.

ART. XI. *Psyche, with other Poems.* By the late Mrs. Henry Tighe, large 4to. pp. 314. Longman. London. 1811.

THE poem from which this volume takes its title, though hitherto unpublished, was, as the editors inform us, printed for private circulation some years ago. The death of the author very naturally suggested to her friends the idea of more widely diffusing these memorials of her taste and talents; and the admiration which *the Legend of Love* is known to have excited within the limited sphere of its previous existence, no less naturally renders it, on its public appearance, an object of curious attention to the critic.

With the poem, the editors have reprinted a preface, which the author originally prefixed to it, and which is explanatory of her general design. This was no other than to shadow forth, under the guise of a tale, altered from the ancient and beautiful apologue of Cupid and Psyche, the trials and triumphs of virtuous love. Mrs. Tighe here professes her despair of affording universal satisfaction even to the small and, as may be supposed, indulgent circle of readers whom she was addressing; and this, from her consciousness that there were some among them, to whom all allegorical writing was distasteful. She does not, however, stop to examine the justice of the prejudices entertained by persons of this disposition; nor are we, on our part, inclined to revive the discussion of a question which the commentators and critics on Spenser have discussed to satiety. At the same time, it appears to us that those writers afford few clear ideas on the manner in which an allegorical representation of moral truth may best aim to produce its effect; or, in other words, at the exact object and properties of this species of composition; and, since from the due resolution of that question must be derived the only test by which the merit of a particular individual of the species can be decisively tried, we may be pardoned for bestowing on it a few words.

According to popular conception, the fundamental principle of poetic allegories of the moral kind, is that they add fresh attractiveness to the lessons of virtue and practical wisdom, by clothing them in all the mingled fascinations of narrative and poetry. Pure and just sentiments, it is supposed, when thus set forth, recommend

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themselves to the fancy by the accompaniment, and to the memory by the association of complicated incident, and brilliant description. But, though it may be allowed that compositions of this class are not ill calculated to serve the general purpose of conveying pleasure and instruction, we greatly doubt whether the vulgar notion of the process by which the operation is effected, be correct. It is not quite apparent to us that the excellence of such compositions in practice, exactly coincides with their excellence in theory.

The perfection of allegorical poetry, as indeed of all ornamented narrative, must, to a great degree, obviously consist in its graphical truth and vigour:—in the creative and *realizing* faculty of the poet;—in the skill with which he infuses life and individuality into all his scenes and figures. It can hardly be denied, therefore, that, so far as immediate and powerful impression is concerned, the effect produced on us by the productions referred to, is proportional, not to our perception and recognition of their emblematical character, but rather to our forgetfulness, or at least, to our neglect, of that circumstance. For the time, we surrender our minds to the belief of their actual and literal truth. It is not meant to be affirmed that the illusion ever is, or can be complete; but merely, that, to the force of the illusion, whatever it be, the interest excited must generally bear a given relation; and, by consequence, that the poetical effectiveness of the story is, thus far, altogether independent of its didactic tendency. No man, of the most ordinary sensibility, ever read the noble description, in Spenser, of the single combat between the Redcross Knight and the Saracen Sansjoy, who could allow himself to reflect that, by this visible battle, with all its picturesque circumstances of prelude, was symbolized a conflict purely mental, or the struggle in the mind of a Christian between the principles of religion and infidelity. The same remark may be exemplified with respect to the splendid portrait of Prince Arthur, on his first rencounter with Una.

> 'Upon the top of all his lofty crest,
> A bunch of hairs discolour'd diversely,
> With sprinkled pearl and gold full richly drest,
> Did shake, and seem'd to dance for jollity;
> Like to an almond-tree ymounted high
> On top of green Selinis all alone,
> With blossoms brave bedecked daintily,
> Whose tender locks do tremble every one
> At every little breath that under heaven is blown.'

Surely it is impossible that any mind, endowed with a capacity to feel the beauties of such exquisite imagery, or to appreciate the rest of the description, should divert its regards from this splendid picture

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picture of a knight of the old romance, to the abstract or mental quality of *magnificence*, which it was professedly designed to personify.

Passion, indeed, must have its pauses. The glow of enthusiasm will intermit or subside; and, in a lucid interval, we may exercise our curiosity in exploring the latent virtues of the 'fairy-fiction' which has hitherto only delighted our senses. Yet, undoubtedly, it still remains a question whether the poetic interest produced by an allegorical composition has the effect of conciliating us to the moral lessons deposited beneath; nor does it furnish any answer to say that, after we have ceased to be interested by the composition as a narrative or a poem, we are at leisure to profit by it as a discourse on ethics. Even this remark, however, is less than the truth. The admiration inspired by the perusal of such a work, will generally remain in sufficient strength to indispose the mind for the business of torturing it by analysis. We shall always be slow to decompound a gem which, in its crystallized state, is of such eminent beauty.

It may perhaps be said that, after all, it is of some importance to preserve moral truth by embalming it in rich and immortal verse. Thus maxims of great practical importance, we shall be told, are potentially, though not actually, retained in the memory of mankind; and, though seldom sought, it is at least known where, when wanted, they may be found.

Those, however, who may be inclined to urge this argument, should reflect on the extreme simplicity even of the most refined morality which it is within the competence of allegory to inculcate. To delineate in language the subtle essences and exquisite play of the more delicate among the mental affections,—to exemplify the principles of ethical wisdom in their application to the numberless exigences of social life,—is a task, at all events, sufficiently difficult of execution; but which it would be no more possible to accomplish by the gross machinery of continued personification, than to dissect an eye with a pick-axe. Whenever, accordingly, allegory ventures beyond the limits of truism and common-place, it is found to become incomprehensible, and must consequently be useless. It has been made an objection to Spenser, that 'his moral lies too bare;' yet it is not always easy to decypher the emblems even of Spenser, nor was that admirable writer himself unaware of their occasional obscurity. 'Knowing,' he observes in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, 'how doubtfully all allegories may be construed; and this booke of mine, which I have entitled *The Faery Queene*, being a continued *Allegory*, or *darke conceit*; I have thought good, as well for avoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof,

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thereof, (being so by you commanded,) to discover unto you the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course thereof I have fashioned.' If the quotation be in other respects unimportant, yet on the general subject at least of allegorical writing, the judgment of so illustrious a master of the art must be esteemed without appeal. In effect, the maxims which have ever been intelligibly enforced in this species of composition, will prove, on examination, to be not more momentous than they are trite. That the passions are good servants but bad masters,—that it is dangerous to dally with temptation,—that it is the part of folly to sacrifice the future to the present,—such are the lessons taught by allegory;—lessons, which, indeed, no man sufficiently feels and values, but which, so far as the mere act of reminiscence is concerned, no man surely ever forgets; lessons, therefore, which, to *impress* on the minds of men, would be of the highest moment, but which, for the simple purpose of being *preserved*, hardly require so costly a repository as an epic poem.

Notwithstanding the remarks which we have offered, we are far from affirming the utter inefficacy of allegorical writing for the purposes which it professes to answer, although we conceive that it can answer those purposes only indirectly. It is within the option, as it appears to us, of the writer to apply it to the requisite use, by availing himself of the opportunities which this style of composition affords him, of digressing into reflections of a moral or sentimental cast. The attention of him who reads such productions, has, as we have already observed, its breathing-places. In the intervals of the narration, we become calm; and fully perceive, and not without a somewhat irksome feeling, the unsubstantial and *fairy* nature of the pageant at which we have been gazing. During these moments, should the fabulist employ himself in presenting us with a cold analysis of his own fictions,—should he compel us carefully to thrid back the mazes of allegory,—he would merely aggravate our dissatisfaction into disgust. But he may moralize, we apprehend, in a happier strain. Borrowing a hint from his subject, he may yet forget for a while his story; he may come home to our bosoms with some intimate and touching sentiment, and may thus sweetly lead us from the excitements of gorgeous description or perplexed action into the tranquil recesses of contemplation. By this device, when skilfully practised, he not only effects his main object of inspiring virtuous emotions and principles, but, at the same time, accomplishes the additional end of relieving and consequently invigorating our attention.

All poetry, we are sensible, furnishes scope for the occasional indulgence of the museful and moralizing mood. But the ethical allegory must, from its very nature, abound in these facilities beyond

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yond most other kinds of composition; and in no other, assuredly, are we supplied with so ready a transition from the splendid and picturesque delineation of visible objects to the developement of moral truth and the expression of just sentiment. On the side of allegory, the regions of sense immediately adjoin, if we may so describe it, to those of reason and philosophy, and, from the wild and *Arabesque* scenery of fairy-land, we may pass at once into the bowers of Academus.

The sum, then, of our remarks on this head, is, that the capabilities of moral fable are limited; that we must not ask of the fabulist, profound lectures on human duty, for we should ask more than he has the means of giving; nor an elaborate decomposition of his own inventions into their moral elements, for we should repent of our request if granted; but that we may fairly require him to intersperse his relation with general and interesting reflections on the great truths which form its subject. It gives us pleasure to add that, so far as we can judge from the execution of the work before us, Mrs. Tighe, guided perhaps rather by taste than by principle, seems to have formed, respecting the nature of moral allegory, notions similar to our own. Her conception was, we are persuaded, just; and, during the course of the farther strictures which we are about to offer on her work, we shall have the opportunity of exemplifying, by an instance or two, the manner in which she has carried that conception into effect.

The fable, which forms the basis of the present poem, is, beyond doubt, universally known to our readers. On the particular application of it to the pains and pleasures of love, we would observe that though not, we believe, new, this mode of adapting the story yet seems of modern origin. In what sense the fable was construed by the ancients, does not appear to be very exactly known; but it is generally supposed to have figured some species or state of intercourse between the human soul and the Deity. The romance, therefore, or, as we might almost venture to call it, the poem, of Apuleius on the subject, ranks with that mystical order of writings, in which the various workings of the religious passion are typified by the hopes and fears of an amatory attachment;—a style of composition, which has, in all ages, captivated the luxuriant imaginations of the Oriental rhapsodists, from the Vedanti-philosophers of Hindostan, to the Sufi-sect of Persia. A poetic version of the fable of Psyche, constructed on this principle, appeared in English about twenty years ago. It had the credit of having been penned, if we mistake not, by a gentleman of Norwich, and, though decidedly inferior to the poem before us, does not want merit.

Little

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Little doubt, however, can be entertained, that a better use is made of the allegory by Mrs. Tighe, than if she had adopted it in its original sense. That it is possible for the mystical poetry to be in fact, as it is in profession, devotional, we are fully inclined to admit. But by many of those who have cultivated it, the veil of sanctity has unquestionably been employed, like the secresy and seclusion of the ancient mysteries, only to conceal the indulgences which it was ostensibly designed to exclude. The hierophant has lighted up his altar with fires, not only less holy than those of heaven, but also less *vestal* than the chaste though cold flame of fancy; and, for histories of devotion in the disguise of love, have been substituted histories of love in the disguise of devotion. If, in some cases, this abuse has been the effect of design, we are persuaded that, in others, the poet, instead of intending to deceive others, has in effect deceived himself, and, perhaps, has been the only person deceived. On the whole, therefore, this is a style, of which the general use can scarcely be encouraged, and which, even where there exists the most unimpeachable purity of purpose, can be managed only by a firmness and delicacy of hand rarely possessed in combination. If, however, the experiment is, after all, to be made, then a question seems to arise whether fitter machinery may not be found for the substratum of the allegory than mythology can furnish. Among the legendary stores of polytheism, many fables doubtless exist, which are either sublime or beautiful; but even these—connected as they are, always with falsity, generally with a mass of extravagance, folly, meanness, and impurity, and bearing no very equivocal features of such connection—are little worthy to be employed as the vehicles of the most awful truths that can engage the attention, command the reverence, or exercise the hopes, of mankind. A mixture is thus effected, by which not only all our notions of congruity and propriety in writing are shocked, but which is revolting to a far deeper set of feelings and principles than those which constitute taste. In strictness, all modern or, at least, Christian use of mythology, is, perhaps, liable to the same objection; but it is evidently liable to the objection in incomparably different degrees, according to the manner in which the fable is applied.

Declining the consecrated ground of the mystics, Mrs. Tighe is content to become the poetess of love; of 'such love as the purest bosom might confess.' She betrays, however, some apprehension lest the subject should incur the frown of severer moralists. Of this timidity we do not profess altogether to understand the grounds: nor can conceive why innocent love should be frowned on by any moralist whose frown is worth deprecating. The author quotes,

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quotes, indeed, on the occasion, a portentous sentiment from La Rochefoucault; 'Les jeunes femmes, qui ne veulent point paroître coquettes, ne doivent jamais parler de l'amour comme d'une chose ou elles puissent avoir part.' But the remark of Mrs. Tighe on this maxim, is equally just and acute. 'I believe' (she says) 'it is only the false refinement of the most profligate court which could give birth to such a sentiment, and that love will always be found to have had the strongest influence where the morals have been the purest.' After all, the only tolerable objection to the subject of love, is that it is a common favourite with all writers; and to this objection the answer seems to be, that it is a common favourite with all readers. Having every other charm, it may dispense with that of novelty.

In the adaptation of the literal to the figurative story, the maintenance of a perfect accuracy would be extremely difficult; and we have already observed that it is wholly unnecessary. Some slight incoherencies may be admitted into the narrative, if the intended moral may, by these means, be more fully or more exactly brought out. On the other hand, the descriptions may be allowed to contain some circumstances which shall be purely ornamental, and shall have no anti-type in the object personified. The poetry must be indifferent indeed, which leaves the reader leisure to notice with curious criticism these petty faults. At the same time, the rule of consistency has its claims; nor can any worse accident befal an allegory, than that the war between its direct and its typical signification should become so fierce and open, as to force on our attention both of them at once, and that in a state of raging enmity. The lamentable aberrations of Spenser in this respect, are well known; and we may therefore the less wonder, that Mrs. Tighe is not entirely unexceptionable. In a literal view, her Cupid is a beautiful, amiable, and valiant youth, the husband of Psyche; figuratively, he represents the sentiment of virtuous love; but the story does not always hold in both senses. The first part of it is copied, with considerable fidelity, from Apuleius. To have endured, however, the allegorical superstructure here designed for it, what was thus borrowed should have undergone somewhat more of modification; for, on the plan of Mrs. Tighe, what emblematical meaning can possibly be attached to the envy with which the beauty and conquests of Psyche inspire Venus, to the incident of the oracular prophecy which Psyche receives of her future husband, and, indeed, to several of the adjoining incidents? Nor are these, let it be remembered, mere excrescences from the narrative, but important parts of it. Even where the author relinquishes her model and invents for herself, her allegory is not always sufficiently correct. When Cupid masters Passion who is described as bearing

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bearing the shape of a lion, or conquers Ambition who is imaged as a knight, both the characters with which he is invested, are preserved. Not so, when he flies from Psyche in consequence of her suspicions of his constancy, or when he resents her wishes for a life of celibacy. Actions are here attributed to him, which, as applied to a mere sentiment of attachment in the mind of Psyche, seem incapable of any rational explanation.

The most obvious characteristics of the poem before us, are, a pleasing repose of style and manner, a fine purity and innocence of feeling, and a delightful ease of versification. Passages certainly occur, distinguished by force of expression, or by considerable descriptive energy; but these are not predominant, and their effect is quenched by the not uncommon intervention of languor. With several individual exceptions, therefore, the poem is, on the whole, pleasing rather than great, amiable rather than captivating. In the judicious and affectionate address prefixed to it by the editor, we are told that, even in the life-time of the author, it was borrowed with avidity and read with delight; and that the partiality of friends has already been outstripped by the applause of admirers. Whether the future progress of its fame will correspond with the past, we will not undertake to determine; but of this we are confident, that no reader, who has sufficient taste and feeling to bestow on it the applause of an admirer, will be able to help regarding the memory of the author with the partiality of a friend.

We cannot dismiss the versification of Mrs. Tighe with a single complimentary sentence. She has chosen the stanza of Spenser, a metre, now considered as sacred to allegory, and at once the richest and the most difficult of any that have been familiarly used in English. She complains that the management of it has cost her infinite trouble; and, undoubtedly, we sometimes detect, in her pages, evidence of that fact. But occasional instances of tautology, abruptness, and quaintness or violence of expression, may be found in the most elaborate poems which have been composed in this stanza, and are, in effect, inseparable from a metrical system which, of all others, makes the most immense demands at once on the copiousness and the melody of the language. Even the great father of the system has multitudes of lines which are too evidently the offspring of necessity, and which accordingly, like necessity, seem to have no law. Making allowance for these human failings, the author before us has done full justice to the structure of her verse. Her strains are sounding and numerous, without constraint or excessive complication; nor would it be difficult to extract from the poem many passages as flowing and as musical as the finest in the Fairy Queen or the Castle of Indolence.

It is now incumbent on us to submit to the reader a few specimens

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mens of Mrs. Tighe's performance; and we know not that we can begin better than with the first of the introductory stanzas. It will remind the reader of Ariosto and Spenser, and is thrown off with much spirit and gaiety.

'Let not the rugged brow the rhymes accuse,
Which speak of gentle knights and ladies fair,
Nor scorn the lighter labours of the muse,
Who yet, for cruel battles would not dare
The low-strung chords of her weak lyre prepare:
But loves to court repose in slumbery lay,
To tell of goodly bowers and gardens rare,
Of gentle blandishments and amorous play,
And all the lore of love, in courtly verse essay.'—p. 5.

Psyche is, by the command of the oracle, abandoned on a rock, and Zephyrs convey her to the palace of Cupid, in the island of pleasure. We transcribe a portion of the stanzas descriptive of this celestial residence and its wonders.

'Increasing wonder filled her ravished soul,
For now the pompous portals opened wide,
There, pausing oft, with timid foot she stole
Through halls high domed, enriched with sculptured pride,
While gay saloons appeared on either side
In splendid vista opening to her sight;
And all with precious gems so beautified,
And furnished with such exquisite delight,
That scarce the beams of heaven emit such lustre bright.

'The amethyst was there of violet hue,
And there the topaz shed its golden ray,
The chrysoberyl, and the sapphire blue
As the clear azure of a sunny day,
Or the mild eyes where amorous glances play;
The snow white jasper, and the opal's flame,
The blushing ruby, and the agate grey,
And there the gem which bears his luckless name
Whose death by Phœbus mourn'd ensured him deathless fame.'
pp. 31, 32.

'Now through the hall melodious music stole,
And self-prepared, the splendid banquet stands,
Self-poured the nectar sparkles in the bowl,
The lute and viol touched by unseen hands
Aid the soft voices of the choral bands;
O'er the full board a brighter lustre beams
Than Persia's monarch at his feast commands:
For sweet refreshment all inviting seems
To taste celestial food, and pure ambrosial streams.'—p. 33.

After

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After the nuptial ceremony, the following passage occurs, to which, as we believe, few rivals in delicacy of sentiment, style, or versification, can be found.

'Oh, you for whom I write! whose hearts can melt
At the soft thrilling voice whose power you prove,
You know what charms, unutterably felt,
Attends the unexpected voice of Love:
Above the lyre, the lute's soft notes above,
With sweet enchantment to the soul it steals
And bears it to Elysium's happy grove;
You best can tell the rapture Psyche feels
When Love's ambrosial lip the vows of Hymen seals.'—p. 34.

On the subsequent visit of Psyche to her sisters, those most unamiable and ill-conditioned ladies not only contrive to fill her mind with suspicions of her newly acquired lord, but insist on her assassinating him. The picture of Psyche, under the press of the contradictory feelings which now assail her, is expressive and true.

'Oh! have you seen, when in the northern sky
The transient flame of lambent lightning plays,
In quick succession lucid streamers fly,
Now flashing roseate, and now milky rays,
While struck with awe the astonished rustics gaze?
Thus o'er her cheek the fleeting signals move,
Now pale with fear, now glowing with the blaze
Of much indignant, still confiding love,
Now horror's lurid hue with shame's deep blushes strove.'—p. 52.

One of the most interesting points in this fable is the first discovery, by Psyche, of her hitherto invisible lover. We subjoin the passage in which Mrs. Tighe delineates the scene in question. With some mixture of feebleness and laxity, it has yet much merit.

'Twice, as with agitated step she went,
The lamp expiring shone with doubtful gleam,
As though it warned her from her rash intent:
And twice she paused, and on its trembling beam
Gazed with suspended breath, while voices seem
With murmuring sound along the roof to sigh;
As one just waking from a troublous dream,
With palpitating heart and straining eye,
Still fix'd with fear remains, still thinks the danger nigh.

'Oh, daring Muse! wilt thou indeed essay
To paint the wonders which that lamp could shew?
And canst thou hope in living words to say
The dazzling glories of that heavenly view?

Ah!

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Ah! well I ween, that if with pencil true
That splendid vision could be well exprest,
The fearful awe imprudent Psyche knew
Would seize with rapture every wondering breast;
When Love's all potent charms divinely stood confest.

'All imperceptible to human touch,
His wings display celestial essence light,
The clear effulgence of the blaze is such,
The brilliant plumage shines so heavenly bright
That mortal eyes turn dazzled from the sight;
A youth he seems in manhood's freshest years;
Round his fair neck, as clinging with delight,
Each golden curl resplendently appears,
Or shades his darker brow which grace majestic wears.

'Or o'er his guileless front the ringlets bright
Their rays of sunny lustre seem to throw,
That front than polished ivory more white!
His blooming cheeks with deeper blushes glow
Than roses scattered o'er a bed of snow:
While on his lips distilled in balmy dews,
(Those lips divine that even in silence know
The heart to touch) persuasion to infuse
Still hangs a rosy charm that never vainly sues.

'The friendly curtain of indulgent sleep
Disclosed not yet his eyes' resistless sway,
But from their silky veil there seemed to peep
Some brilliant glances with a softened ray,
Which o'er his features exquisitely play,
And all his polished limbs suffuse with light.
Thus through some narrow space the azure day
Sudden its cheerful rays diffusing bright,
Wide darts its lucid beams, to gild the brow of night.' pp. 55, 57.

In comparison with this sketch, we are tempted to exhibit another of the same subject. It is extracted from the poem of 'Cupid and Psyche,' which we have already mentioned as having appeared some years ago; and the reader will discern, in some of the expressions, traces of the mystical manner of interpreting the tale.

'Now trembling, now distracted; bold,
And now irresolute she seems;
The blue lamp glimmers in her hold
And in her hand the dagger gleams.
Prepared to strike she verges near,
The blue light glimmering from above,
The HIDEOUS sight expects with fear,
And—gazes on the GOD OF LOVE!
Not such a young and wanton child
As poets feign, or sculptors plan;

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No, no, she sees with transport wild,
Eternal beauty veil'd in man.
His cheek's ingrain'd carnation glow'd
Like rubies on a bed of pearls,
And down his ivory shoulders flow'd
In clustering braids his golden curls.
Soft as the cygnet's down his wings;
And as the falling snow-flake fair,
Each light elastic feather springs,
And dances in the balmy air.
The pure and vital stream he breathed,
Makes e'en the lamp shine doubly bright,
While its gay flame enamour'd wreathes
And gleams with scintillating light.'

In the latter cantos of Mrs. Tighe's poem, there is a manifest declension, both of spirit and of care. Yet they contain some very beautiful verses. Those pre-existent elements of fine thoughts, and visions of yet unembodied beauty, which float round the imagination of a poet, those forms

'—— that glitter in the Muse's ray,
With orient hues, unborrow'd of the sun'—

have seldom been pourtrayed with a more chaste and tender pencil than in the two following stanzas which open the fifth canto.

'Delightful visions of my lonely hours!
Charm of my life and solace of my care!
Oh! would the muse but lend proportioned powers,
And give me language, equal to declare
The wonders which she bids my fancy chase,
When rapt in her to other worlds I fly,
See angel forms unutterably fair,
And hear the inexpressive harmony
That seems to float on air and warble through the sky.

'Might I the swiftly glancing scenes recall!
Bright as the roseate clouds of summer's eve,
The dreams which hold my soul in willing thrall,
And half my visionary days deceive,
Communicable shape might then receive,
And other hearts be ravished with the strain:
But scarce I seek the airy threads to weave,
When quick confusion mocks the fruitless pain,
And all the fairy forms are vanished from my brain.'

pp. 145, 146.

This passage reminded us of a description in Thompson, which, if it be coloured with somewhat more mellowness, yet seems to lose in delicacy nearly all that it gains in splendour. We shall insert

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sert it, and, admiring it greatly, yet do not think that Psyche has reason to dread the comparison.

'And hither Morpheus sent his kindest dreams,
Raising a world of gayer tinct and grace,
O'er which were shadowy cast Elysian gleams,
That play'd, in waving lights, from place to place,
And shed a roseate smile on Nature's face.
Not Titian's pencil e'er could so array,
So fleece with clouds the pure ethereal space;
Nor could it e'er such melting forms display,
As loose on flowery beds all languishingly lay.

'No, fair illusions! artful phantoms, no!
My muse will not attempt your fairy-land:
She has no colours that like you can glow;
To catch your vivid scenes, too gross her hand.'—
Castle of Indolence, Canto I.

We will add, from Psyche, yet one other extract, as a specimen of the manner in which, consonantly to the ideas thrown out in the former part of this article, Mrs. Tighe fills the interstices of her story with contemplative effusions suggested to her mind by her subject. It should be premised, however, that much less than justice is done to such a passage by exhibiting it in a detached state. Neither the pertinence, nor the full effect of a digression can be appreciated by any but those who arrive at it in the course of a progressive perusal of the entire piece.

'When vexed by cares and harassed by distress,
The storms of fortune chill thy soul with dread,
Let Love, consoling Love! still sweetly bless,
And his assuasive balm benignly shed:
His downy plumage o'er thy pillow spread
Shall lull thy weeping sorrows to repose;
To Love the tender heart hath ever fled,
As on its mother's breast the infant throws
Its sobbing face, and there in sleep forget its woes.

'Oh! fondly cherish then the lovely plant,
Which lenient Heaven hath given thy pains to ease;
Its lustre shall thy summer hours enchant,
And load with fragrance every prosperous breeze:
And when rude winter shall thy roses seize,
When nought through all thy bowers but thorns remain,
This still with undeciduous charms shall please,
Screen from the blast and shelter from the rain,
And still with verdure cheer the desolated plain.'—pp. 180, 181.

To Psyche are added, in the volume before us, a number of minor poems, not intended by the author for publication. They are of various merit; but mostly bear marks of haste or carelessness. Some

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of these, however, did not our limits warn us against proceeding, we should be happy to transcribe; and as to one, we cannot refuse ourselves that satisfaction. It was the last production of the author, penned only three months before her death, and under the pressure of an illness plainly prophetic of the worst. How much of the interest, which it seems calculated to excite, must be ascribed to the circumstances amidst which it was composed, we are not able, and not very willing, to determine; but, most assuredly, the reader to whose bosom it conveys no emotion, is incompetent to feel the true charm of poetry. We have only to add, that the twelve last lines, being of very inferior execution to the rest, we shall take the liberty to omit.

ON RECEIVING A BRANCH OF MEZEREON, WHICH FLOWERED AT WOODSTOCK, DECEMBER, 1809.

'Odours of Spring, my sense ye charm
With fragrance premature;
And, 'mid these days of dark alarm,
Almost to hope allure.
Methinks with purpose soft ye come
To tell of brighter hours,
Of May's blue skies, abundant bloom,
The sunny gales and showers.
'Alas! for me shall May in vain
The powers of life restore;
These eyes that weep and watch in pain
Shall see her charms no more.
No, no, this anguish cannot last!
Beloved friends, adieu!
The bitterness of death were past,
Could I resign but you.
'But oh! in every mortal pang
That rends my soul from life,
That soul, which seems on you to hang
Through each convulsive strife,
Even now, with agonizing grasp
Of terror and regret,
To all in life its love would clasp
Clings close and closer yet.
'Yet why, immortal, vital spark!
Thus mortally opprest?
Look up, my soul, through prospects dark,
And bid thy terrors rest;
Forget, forego thy earthly part,
Thine heavenly being trust:—
Ah, vain attempt! my coward heart
Still shuddering clings to dust.

Oh

Oh ye! who sooth the pangs of death
With love's own patient care,
Still, still retain this fleeting breath,
Still pour the fervent prayer.'—pp. 307—309.

We shall close our strictures with an interesting advertisement which the editor has subjoined to this melancholy and striking poem.

'The concluding poem of this collection was the last ever composed by the author, who expired at the place where it was written, after six years of protracted malady, on the 24th of March, 1810, in the thirty-seventh year of her age. Her fears of death were perfectly removed before she quitted this scene of trial and suffering; and her spirit departed to a better state of existence, confiding with heavenly joy in the acceptance and love of her Redeemer.'—p. 311.

ART. XII. *A Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam; of a Residence there during* 1805, 1806, *and* 1807; *and of the Author's Return to Europe, by the way of North America.* By Baron Albert von Sack, Chamberlain to his Prussian Majesty. 4to. London. 1810.

THE highly embellished and fanciful frontispiece, with which the Baron Albert von Sack, Chamberlain to his Prussian Majesty, has thought it becoming to adorn the present publication, first drew our attention to it. Negroes, Indians, tropic-birds, flying-fish, dolphins, sugar canes, coffee trees, cotton plants, bananas, pine-apples, water-melons, &c. &c. formed an assemblage altogether irresistible. This happy thought of bringing under our eyes, at one glance, the most remarkable productions of a tropical climate, in some measure encouraged the conclusion, that the Baron had been equally ingenious in the literary arrangement of his volume: we saw, indeed, that the bulk was not very considerable, the type large, and the margin wide; but we still flattered ourselves that, in this small compass, much valuable matter might be contained. We opened the book, therefore, with the most pleasing expectations.

Seventeen letters, and an appendix, compose the work before us, of which twelve only relate immediately to Surinam. It appears, that these letters were originally written in the German language, and that it was the intention of the author to introduce them to the public through the medium of the German press; but the

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disturbed state of the continent opposing considerable obstacles to his return to his native country, he was persuaded to lose no time in unburthening himself of the mass of information which he had collected, and to submit, without hesitation, his valuable lucubrations to the judgment of a British public. The wish to improve himself in the English language, and the tædium attendant upon a long confinement to his chamber, induced the Baron to undertake the translation himself; when finished, it was submitted to the revisal of a literary friend, and at length presented to the world in the form which it now wears.

All this is told us in the preface; where we also learn, that 'the principal object in the publication of these letters is to show, by facts, that the climate of Surinam is not so unhealthy as it has been generally thought and represented in Europe.' But we are very much inclined to doubt the correctness of the assertion, that this was the *principal* object; more especially as the facts, which the Baron has adduced, by no means bear him out in his conclusions with respect to the healthiness of the colony. We rather suspect that the principal object of the publication of these letters, may be gathered from the following passages:

'The abolition of the Slave Trade has been determined upon by the Parliament of Great Britain: if it should hereafter be found, upon a fair trial, that the Africans themselves do not reap such advantages from it, as were at first expected, and if at the same time experience should shew, that the colonies are not yet come to such a state, as to do without new recruits of labourers, *perhaps the same legislature may be willing to institute some other regulations for the colonial supply and benefit.*'—(Preface, p. 4.)

And again:

'Benevolence operating at a great distance from the scene of observation naturally prompts the measures most congenial to its feelings; and to enforce their immediate adoption, either represents evils, *which do not exist*, or are *much exaggerated*; and suggests schemes of improvement, which the present condition of the colonies renders difficult for a speedy, and at the same time beneficial improvement.'—(Preface, p. 4.)

Should we, however, be disposed to give full credit to the Baron's assertion, that he was actuated *solely* by the desire of rescuing the colony of Surinam from the bad reputation attached to its climate; at least we may be allowed to suspect that the '*esteemed friends*,' who so earnestly recommended the publication, were influenced by motives widely different. In these letters they must have seen, as we do, a cautious, but upon that account not the less determined, attack

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attack upon the policy of the late acts of the legislature with respect to the abolition of the slave-trade. Hostility to these measures is, indeed, the principal feature in the work; and this, coming from a quarter apparently uninfluenced by any interested motive, presented to us as the result of the personal investigation of an unprejudiced observer, was probably conceived more likely to produce effect, than if it had assumed a more questionable shape. But we shall enter upon this subject hereafter: at present we must turn our attention more immediately to the Baron himself, and pursue our remarks upon his epistles in the same regular series in which he has given them to the public.

In the first letter, the Chamberlain of his Prussian Majesty opens upon us in the interesting character of an invalid residing in the island of Madeira for the recovery of his health. A dread of the cold winds of February and March, which are there particularly keen and piercing, induces him to turn his thoughts towards a warmer climate, and after some little hesitation as to the country to be preferred, we find him (we confess rather unexpectedly) fixing upon Surinam, a country, that (whatever attractions it may offer to the commercial speculator) has never been supposed to possess many allurements for the valetudinarian. The Baron, however, was not of this opinion: having derived little benefit from the celebrated climate of Madeira, he was determined to try the more powerful influence of a tropical sun. At the same time he confesses, that other motives tended to influence him in his determination, and these he promises to relate to his friend upon a future occasion, (page 2.) We must, however, rest satisfied with the general plea of health, for the Baron never offers any farther elucidation of these mysterious motives either to his friend, or to the public.

On the 25th of January, 1805, our author sails from Funchal in the Jason of 300 tons, commanded by Captain Martin. Gentle breezes, and a cloudless sky are the constant attendants upon his voyage. At length, on the 19th of February, the low land of Guiana appears in sight, its immense forests apparently floating on the ocean. We are not, however, to suppose, that these three weeks are lost to the Baron, nor that he passes over, thus lightly, the circumstances of his voyage: very far from it. Reclined upon the deck of the Jason, he indulges in all the reveries of a German imagination, and these he recapitulates to his friend in a strain of benevolence, equally amiable and entertaining. Is a dolphin seen? the Baron immediately informs his friend, that it now remains only a matter of conjecture, why the ancients attributed to this fish the power and the will of rescuing the human species from a watery grave: but he hazards a *perhaps* upon the subject, which is too

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characteristic of his turn of mind, to allow us to pass it by unnoticed:

'Perhaps, a lover seeing his fair companion trembling at his side in a distressing voyage, may have told her, that if any accident should happen to their ship, those dolphins which they saw swiftly sporting round them, and whose plaintive voice they had often heard, would compassionate their condition, and soon carry them to a happy shore. The poets, after this, made use of the same fiction to save their heroes from the greatest perils at sea.'—(p. 6.)

From these, and similar day-dreams, he is roused by the discovery of two strange sail in the N. W. a discovery admirably calculated to dispel the most determined *schwärmerey*. They prove to be French privateers, and after a short action, the Jason is obliged to strike her colours. This event naturally gives rise to a very strong, and at the same time, very luminous philippic against privateering; and our author expresses a confident hope, that this depredatory kind of warfare will very shortly be abolished. The system of privateering has not inaptly been compared to that of irregulars and light troops, in continental warfare. The same arguments that hold good against the one, will be found equally applicable to the other. In a moral point of view, the ordinary proceedings of neither can be strictly justified; but we strongly recommend the Baron to restrain his acrimony upon the subject, lest an unfortunate application of his arguments may lead to a future residence in the Castle of Spandau. The Prussian cabinet has ever acted upon a principle of pillage; the great *Fritz* himself was little better than an overgrown pirate. The Baron, therefore, stands upon very ticklish ground in the propagation of these philanthropic principles, which bear as hard upon the government which can countenance rapine and plunder by land, as upon that which can countenance similar violence at sea.

Being the subject of a neutral power, our author is civilly treated by the captain of the privateer, and he is assured, that nothing belonging to him will be touched. The disappearance of a considerable portion of his baggage gives the lie to these friendly protestations; but still, such is his confidence in the generosity of the captors, a long time elapses before he can be persuaded of the reality of his loss. At length, when he is fatally convinced of his misfortune, he bears it like a philosopher, consoling himself with the reflection 'that he may put down the loss in his account-book under the head of unexpected expences, for which travellers should be particularly prepared.'—(p. 27.)

It had originally been the intention of the French captain to proceed with his prize to Guadeloupe, but the wind veering about, he finds himself under the necessity of steering for Martinique, where he

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he anchors in the Bay of St. Pierre, on the 1st of March. Our author is very much struck with the beautiful appearance of this island, and delighted with the civility and pleasing manners of the inhabitants. He finds nothing to censure in this favoured spot, except an unaccountable apathy on the part of the natives with respect to the encreasing number of venomous snakes. The introduction of these reptiles into the islands of Martinique and St. Lucie, is accounted for in the following ingenious manner:

'The original natives of these two islands used to attack the Indians of the coast of South America, and plunder their habitations: the people of the continent, by way of retaliation, caught many venomous snakes in baskets, and carried them over to the islands, where they turned them loose, not only as an act of revenge upon the living, but to continue as a plague to posterity; an idea truly savage.'—(p. 23.)

Such a plague was by no means likely to escape the philanthropy of the Baron, and we accordingly find him suggesting various plans for the extirpation of these reptiles. Many schemes are started, such as, fixing a price upon their heads, the introduction of the Egyptian ichneumon, or the more summary mode of eating them in broth. The merits of each plan are very gravely and fully discussed; and as Mr. de Sack informs us, that he has sent copies of his work to the West Indies, we have little doubt but that the serpent race will, ere long, have ample occasion to rue this accidental visit, and the epicures of Martinique good reason to be grateful for a suggestion, which offers so savoury and valuable an addition to their culinary resources.

A serious misfortune, however, befals the Baron two days after his arrival at Martinique; he is attacked by a violent acrimonious humour in his stomach. (p. 26.) His friends and his landlady are greatly alarmed, and recommend astringent cordials; the Baron prefers castor oil, and the result justifies the preference. In two days he is as well as when he first landed. This transient indisposition does not prevent his departure for St. Lucie on the 8th of March, from whence he sails again on the 11th for Barbadoes. His short stay in these two islands offers little worthy of notice: he speedily re-embarks, and without further interruption arrives in the river of Surinam on the 21st of April.

Our author is no sooner settled in the town of Paramaribo, than he addresses a letter to a female friend, descriptive of the scenery around him:

'Here are no romantic mountains, nor shaded grottos, nor pleasing cascades; not even a gently rising hill is to be seen. All around Paramaribo, the whole country is an uniform plain; yet its landscapes have a particularly rich appearance from the luxuriant growth of so many different species of vegetables, which, though they charm the spectator,

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spectator, must lose their most striking effect in description. I hope, therefore, you will agree in thinking this country possesses interesting prospects, though I should fail in my endeavour to represent them to you in language adequate to their merits.'—(p. 44.)

This little effusion of modesty is followed by an animated description of his lodgings at a widow's in Tamarind-street; two rooms and a cabinet (*cabinet de travail*, we presume,) on the ground-floor, and a bed-chamber above. Every thing that he sees from his windows delights him: poultry yards, canals, fishing boats, Indians, sea-cows, all furnish food for reflection and admiration.—'In this situation,' says the Baron, 'I can enjoy the society of the town, and still more that of rural life, which is so beneficial to my health.' With the rising sun he is awakened by the delightful melody of the Goda Bird, which perches on his window-shutter, and chaunts its sweet notes without fear of molestation. Such are his enjoyments at home. After the great heats of the day are over, he strolls into a beautiful Savannah, which leads into a wilderness, the commencement of that interminable forest, which spreads over the uninhabited part of Guiana:

'Of the many alleys, that are formed here, one, which I frequent the most, winds along a serpentine river, where a number of beautiful butterflies are often hovering over the flowing mirror, and seem to delight in the reflected splendour of their glittering wings; but a still more brilliant *spark* darts from the blossom of a tree; this is a humming bird.'—(p. 47.)

In this romantic spot, surrounded by these sparks, himself the most brilliant amongst them,

——————velut inter ignes
Luna minores——

the Baron rears a humble seat of turf under the shade of a lofty cotton-tree. Here he passes many delightful hours ruminating on past pleasures, and thinking, perhaps, of other sparks upon the banks of the Spree or Oder. One day he finds a string of beads, and a broken cane, near this favourite spot:

'What a pleasure,' exclaims he, 'to find so delightful a spot is not entirely neglected by our fellow creatures!—perhaps, some aged negroe rested here with his heavy load!—perhaps, a negress, suckling her new-born babe, and enjoying, in this solemn retreat, undisturbed, the tender feelings of a mother!'—(p. 48.)

Spirit of the immortal Kotzebue, how interesting a picture! What volumes of smoke from the *meer-schaum* pipe must have accompanied the inditing of this sentence!

Leaving the Baron's reflections and descriptions to those, who take greater delight than we do in such gentle exhibitions of German

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main pathos, we proceed to the consideration of those parts of his journal, from whence any information can be extracted with respect to the present state of the colony of Surinam. A two years residence, and an intimacy with the principal inhabitants must have given him many opportunities of obtaining useful and interesting information; but we are sorry to say, that he appears to have profited but little by the opportunities afforded him, for it has seldom fallen to our lot to notice a quarto volume, containing a more meagre detail of real information, or built upon such slender foundations, as this before us.

Mr. de Sack supposes the population of the town of Paramaribo to amount to 20,000 souls. He classes them as follows:—1800 Europeans; 3000 Jews; 4000 free negroes and people of colour; and 11,000 slaves. It is evident, however, that this loose calculation is very little to be depended upon, as the difficulty of ascertaining the exact number of slaves is almost insurmountable. (p. 41.) Our author is much indebted to Stedman, in the slight sketch which he gives of the progress of cultivation, and the gradual increase of the commerce of the colony from the period when it was first ceded to the Dutch. It is, however, by no means ill done, and will probaby be read with greater interest than any other part of his work. We have reason to believe, that he is perfectly correct in his opinion, that the prosperity of Surinam is now rapidly on the decline. The formidable neighbourhood, and the increasing numbers of the bush negroes, a bad system of cultivation, and the non-residence of the principal planters, are the causes to which this decline is attributed; but admitting these to be the chief causes, we believe that the frequent change of masters, and the uncertain fate of the colony hereafter, have not a little contributed, in later days, to accelerate the ruin of its commerce.

Mr. de Sack is of opinion, that the first shock given to the prosperity of the settlement, arose from the establishment of Dutch counting houses, where persons, who wished to cultivate new land, could easily obtain a temporary advance of money. This encouraged too great a speculation. Many were ruined by engaging in projects beyond their means; whilst others were forced, by the importunity of their creditors, to abandon their speculations at the very time that they had every reasonable prospect of ultimate success. The sequences were, the abandonment of much land already brought into cultivation, a general distrust in all matters of credit, and an almost universal stagnation of trade. But the greatest danger, to which the colony has been exposed, was the revolt of the negroes, who destroyed a great number of the finest plantations, and murdered every white inhabitant that fell into their hands. The evils attendant upon this unfortunate event, were by no means removed

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by the peace, which was ultimately concluded. It was apprehended that the tranquillity would be but of short duration; and the most active and wealthy planters, naturally supposing that they should be the first victims in the event of a renewal of hostilities, lost no time in removing from a country, where the advantages of commerce offered but a very inadequate remuneration for the perils to which its votaries were constantly exposed.

The present numbers of the Bush or Aucka negroes are very differently stated. In fact, it is impossible to make an exact calculation, as they frequently separate into distinct divisions, and form new villages in different parts of the forest. But whatever may be their numbers, they are certainly the most dangerous enemies of the colony; and should they ever make common cause with the plantation negroes, the most disastrous consequences would inevitably ensue. The origin of these people is to be traced to the year 1674, when the Dutch obtained possession of Surinam. Whilst the English planters were preparing to leave their estates, a party of the negroes took the opportunity of deserting into the woods, and these fugitives were afterwards joined by other runaways. When the French attacked Surinam, in 1712, the Dutch governor recommended the planters to send their slaves into the interior, as a precautionary measure. This was accordingly done; but when the danger was over, the negroes very naturally refused to return to their respective plantations, preferring a life of liberty with their countrymen in the forests. From that period, they became a most formidable body, and very shortly engaged in open hostility with the colony. In 1761, a peace was concluded with a large party of these negroes living in the vicinity of the river of Surinam; but their animosity does not appear to have been removed by the concessions made to them in this treaty. Animated by their example, a most formidable revolt broke out amongst the negroes on the Cottica River, in 1772, which spread devastation over the most fertile parts of the settlement. We may refer those of our readers, who wish for a more particular account of this unfortunate rebellion, to Captain Stedman's Narrative of the campaign.

There certainly can be but one opinion as to the policy of endeavouring to remove such dangerous neighbours, either by force or address; yet we are really at a loss to conceive by what means so desirable an object is to be effected. The Baron's plan of transporting them to Sierra Leone appears, from the nature of things, to be totally impracticable. His other scheme of encouraging the establishment of an intermediate colony of native Indians, as a barrier to any future incursions, although wearing a more plausible appearance, would, we believe, prove nearly as difficult in

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in accomplishment. At all events, but little can be done at present. Whenever a general peace shall have decided the fate of this colony, it will then indeed become an object of the greatest importance to those who remain its masters, to adopt some vigorous and decisive line of policy in order to avert the dangers which are rapidly increasing, and which have been the result of half measures and temporary expedients.

During our author's residence at Surinam, he makes two excursions into the interior of the country. The first up the river Commeywine; the second up the river Surinam, as far as the plantation of Bluebergh. He is infinitely more struck with the wonderful fertility of the soil, than with the ingenuity or art of the cultivators. What are we to think of a set of people, to whom, in the 19th century, the use of the plough is unknown, in a soil, too, so admirably adapted to the operation of that most simple instrument of husbandry?

'The great labour of the negroes lies chiefly in tilling the land, which is here performed by *hooks*, while in several parts of the West Indies, they have begun to make use of the plough; and this method has been found very profitable. There can be no better land for ploughing than at Surinam, since the ground is quite level, and without stones to impede the share.'—p. 101.

The banks of the Commeywine, although brought into cultivation at a later period than those of the Surinam, are more healthy, and the plantations in a more flourishing state. The plantations on the banks of the Cottica (the most fertile and healthy spot of all) were entirely destroyed by the revolted negroes, in the year 1773. Since that time, this tract of country has become a favourite resort of the Bush Negroes, who have been induced to settle there, principally on account of the vicinity of the river Arawina, which divides the colony from Cayenne. These lawless plunderers know how to appreciate the advantages of a secure and speedy retreat, in the event of a pursuit from their enemies.

Cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, and cocoa are the principal articles of exportation from Surinam. M. de Sack enters into some detail of the different modes of cultivating these articles, and describes, with great accuracy, the different appearance presented by the respective plantations to the eye of the traveller. This part of his work may not be unacceptable to such of his readers as are unacquainted with the scenery of a tropical climate.

We have already hinted, that hostility to the late measures, adopted by the legislature with respect to the abolition of the slave trade, forms a distinguished feature of the work before us. One letter is dedicated entirely to this subject; but the whole book may be considered as a systematic, though cautious defence of this detestable

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testable commerce. M. de Sack went to Surinam prejudiced, as he is pleased to term it, in favour of the abolition, and he informs us that the change in his opinions was the result of accurate investigation and personal observation. He tells us, that the slaves are comparatively happy and contented, and that their lot is infinitely more fortunate than that of their countrymen who have been emancipated, and who are distinguished by the appellation of free negroes. We shall not dispute this point, in form, but simply ask M. de Sack, why the slaves are so desirous of emancipation? The situation of a poor negro, turned adrift in a foreign country without the means of subsistence, is certainly little to be envied; but if it be so much more miserable than the life of the slave, what prevents him from returning to his former bondage?—What prevents him from disposing of his liberty to the highest bidder?—Now, though we believe, that the horrors related by Stedman no longer exist,—indeed, notwithstanding his delectable drawings, we are very much inclined to doubt whether they ever did exist to the extent affirmed by him,—yet enough escapes, even from the Baron himself, to prove that the situation of these devoted people is wretched and miserable in the extreme.

'All things considered, I confess that the result of my observations has greatly diminished the prejudice which I brought with me from Europe with respect to the situation of the negroes in the colonies. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the fate of the negro depends entirely on the temper and disposition of the master: for while I have found the negroes happy on some plantations, I have at times, in my rural walks, seen, and heard still more of the severe correction of others.'—p. 109.

Different effects are often produced by the same causes upon different minds; but unless we had Mr. de Sack's own word for it, we should certainly have conceived it impossible, that a man could be a witness to scenes of the nature here described, and yet acknowledge that his *prejudices* upon the subject were diminished.—What! and in your rural walks too, Baron, and when reclined upon the turf-seat under the cotton tree? Not a thought but for butterflies and humming-birds, though your ears were still ringing with the shrieks of suffering humanity? Such *transcendental* philosophy!—

But the baron tells us that he is pleading the cause of humanity:

'The women in the colonies are not put to those heavy employments, which are imposed upon them by the male tyrants of Africa, and other uncivilized countries. In this respect, therefore, the condition of the female negroes is rendered happier by their removal to the colonies.'—(p. 141.)

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This is decisive with respect to the ladies—now for the gentlemen:

'Now, if in reality these cruel usages actually prevail amongst the African Negroes, it will be found so far from being wrong, that *it becomes meritorious* to save those victims from their sanguinary conquerors, and bring them to a state of servitude in a civilized country.'—(p. 145.)

The total abolition of the slave trade is of course, most decidedly disapproved of by our author. The negro children born upon the plantations are not sufficient to keep up the necessary supply of labourers; therefore, if no new supply be afforded, the ruin of the colonies must ensue. 'The wealth of Surinam,' says he, 'will not only vanish, but what is worse, the land will relapse into that state of wilderness and swamp, which originally, by exhaling the most pestilential vapours, proved so destructive to the first settlers.'—(p. 144.)

It would be tedious and unnecessary to carry our readers through the whole chain of the Baron's arguments upon this subject; arguments, which possess no novelty, and which have already been refuted as often as advanced. We shall merely add, that he concludes by strongly urging the necessity of a renewal of the slave-trade, under the immediate authority of the government. He is so good as to give us a detailed plan for an establishment of this nature. He enumerates the rare qualities which it will be necessary for the principal overseer or governor to possess; and designates with great accuracy the particular class of negroes which it would be most prudent and profitable to purchase. We must refer such of our readers as are desirous of farther information upon this subject, to the 15th letter, entitled 'On the Abolition of the Slave Trade.'

We every where find our author roundly asserting, that the climate of Surinam is not more unhealthy, than that of other tropical countries; but the facts which he has adduced in support of this opinion, are so much at variance with his conclusions, that we do not feel disposed to place any great reliance upon these assertions. A perusal of his 13th letter will justify our scepticism upon this subject. He there tells us, that the young, the healthy and the strong, are the most likely to fall victims to the climate; that the slightest deviation from prudence, either with respect to clothing or diet, is attended with considerable risk; yet he concludes by declaring, that the climate is by no means unfavourable to longevity; that it is, indeed, peculiarly favourable to the ladies, 'who frequently enter into third and fourth marriages.' (p. 133.) This may be an argument highly satisfactory to the ladies, but we apprehend that their husbands will view it in a very different light.

The Baron informs us, in the early part of his work, that a considerable

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siderable number of German husbandmen were brought to the colony some years back, encouraged by an unconditional grant of land. No sooner, however, had these unfortunate people taken possession of their grant and begun to labour, than they all fell victims to the climate. 'It is observed,' says M. de Sack, 'by the bills of mortality, that of the Europeans established in these climates, the Spaniards live the longest, the French next to them, but the English the shortest of all.' He also observes as a peculiarity in the climate of Surinam, that it tends to promote excessive irritability. (p. 131.) It is to be hoped, that this effect is counteracted by a subsequent residence in a colder latitude; if not, we should recommend to the Baron a course of cooling medicines before he ventures upon a perusal of these cursory remarks.

We shall conclude with M. de Sack's account of the daily employment of a planter's life:

'He rises at six o'clock, and to enjoy the pleasantness of the morning, takes his breakfast under his piazza, at which he is attended by a number of female negroes, and a boy, who presents him with a segar-pipe; during this time he orders the domestic concerns for the day; then putting on a light dress, he takes a walk by the side of the river to see if there are any new vessels arrived, and to converse with their captains. About eight he returns home, and till ten employs himself in business, then takes a second breakfast, which consists of more solid articles than the first, and would be considered in Europe as a tolerably good dinner. After this, he occasionally returns to business until two o'clock, when he goes to a club, of which there are two principal ones. Here he learns the news of the day, takes some refreshment or cordials, and returns home at three to dinner, which is often in the society of his friends. Some have the same custom here, as prevails in the south of Europe, of indulging themselves with a nap in the afternoon, but others prefer a walk. About six, after taking his tea, if he is not engaged in any other company, he again visits the club. About ten he returns home to his supper and then to rest.' (p. 111.)

With such people M. de Sack passes the principal part of his time during his residence at Surinam, and is delighted with his company and situation. We must honestly confess, that neither the society, nor the climate possesses any attractions for us. Even the vaunted delicacies of their kitchen, have something in them extremely repugnant to our ideas of good cheer: we are afraid that we should make wry faces at lizard pyes and parrot broth; but the fat caterpillar, 'more delicious than the most delicate marrow' (p.96) would absolutely drive us from the table.

On the 7th of June 1807, our author sails for the United States in the Vesta, an American brig, commanded by Captain Petty. On the 3d of July he comes to an anchor in the bay of Naragansett,

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Narraganset, opposite the town of Providence. It will be unnecessary for us to accompany him in his rapid flight through many of the principal towns in the United States, as it would contribute neither to the information nor amusement of our readers. Previously to his departure, he winds up his account of America, with a description of the character and manners of its inhabitants. His delineation, generally speaking, is neither remarkable for its perspicuity nor for its accuracy; but for the truth of the following remark, we can most readily and conscientiously vouch:

'The great inclination which the people of this country have for disputing on political matters is sometimes very unpleasant: in stage-coaches, or at the table of the hotel, I have always declined entering into those discourses, but in private company it is not always possible to avoid it. They are not content with praising their own constitution, but they attack the principles of other governments, of which they have often very little information; and they are even much displeased with those who wish to change the conversation to other subjects, and they will declare it unnecessary to observe so much reserve of opinion in this land of liberty.'—p. 214.

This disputatious disposition is accompanied by so much bigotry of opinion, and so much coarseness of manner, that it requires a no common share of philosophy to remain unruffled by its attacks. Its effect upon a mind suffering from the *irritable* climate of Surinam, must have been truly distressing.

M. de Sack's voyage to Europe is remarkable for nothing but a most poetical description of a storm, which, when published in its original German, will no doubt be long considered as a proper model for imitation by every manufacturer of horrors in Jena, Göttingen and Leipsic.

'Some heavy clouds appeared in the north-west, which gradually increased, and spreading over the horizon, involved the rays of the sun, which now appeared through the mist as an *enormous red glowing fire ball*: the *mournful tune* of the tempest was heard in the rigging: the ocean changed its colour (from its usual lapis lazuli colour) to a *dead marble grey;* the waves were rising in different forms *as so many sepulchres*, and the strength with which they dashed against the vessel made them appear like *solid rocks:* by the increase of the hurricane they assumed the shape of *mountains*, on which the foam appeared like the *snowy tops of the Alps*: the ship was shaken in all her parts,' (well she might!) 'and by the combat of the two powerful elements, our *neutral habitation* was almost dashed to pieces!'—p. 219.

The danger to which our Chamberlain's '*neutral habitation*' was exposed, naturally suggests the idea that a single plank only divides him from '*the dead marble grey.*' This as naturally recals to his recollection Sir G. Staunton's account of certain 'Chinese vessels, whose holds, divided into twelve different partitions, are all made water-tight, so that if any accident happen to the vessel, the

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water can only penetrate into one part of the ship.' This appears to our author to be a most admirable contrivance, and he proposes that packets should be built upon the same construction, which, although they might not sail so fast as the others, would amply repay this inconvenience by the superior security afforded to the crew and cargo. Six divisions, he thinks, would be enough to begin with, and we really think so too. The Baron is not very clear in his description, but we understand him to mean, that there should be six ships, one within another, like a *nest of boxes*, and that the outside ships should be stripped off as occasion required, like the grave-digger's coats in Hamlet. If this be his meaning, we think he has rather mistaken the passage to which he alludes; but that is a matter of little moment: his scheme will possess a greater degree of originality, and procure him a greater degree of reputation—in Germany.

We presume, from the attachment manifested by M. de Sack towards a tropical climate, that at some future period he may again be tempted to visit a country so favoured by nature, and which has now acquired so much celebrity from his animated descriptions. In that case, we venture to express a hope, that we shall hear from him again. We feel interested in every scheme, which he has proposed, from the establishment of a commerce in slaves founded upon principles of humanity, to his last luminous suggestions upon the subject of ship-building. We now take our leave of him, grateful for all the information which he appears to have been desirous of affording, and for all the entertainment which he really has afforded us.

ART. XIII. *Correspondance inédite de Madame Du Deffand, avec D'Alembert, Montesquieu, Le Président Henault, La Duchesse Du Maine; Mesdames De Choiseul, De Staal; Le Marquis D'Argens, Le Chevalier D'Aydie, etc.* 3 vols. 12mo. Colburn. 1810.

Letters of the Marquise Du Deffand to the Hon. Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, from the Year 1766 *to the Year* 1780. *To which are added Letters of Madame Du Deffand to Voltaire, from the Year* 1759 *to the Year* 1775. *Published from the Originals at Strawberry-Hill.* 4 vols. 12mo. Longman. 1810.

THE first of these publications has been for some time before the world; but as it was composed chiefly of the letters of Madame du Deffand's friends, it served to excite rather than to gratify curiosity respecting her own. The second publication, which

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which has more recently appeared, supplies the omissions of the former. It consists almost entirely of the letters of Madame du Deffand herself, and will therefore be the principal subject of reference in the course of our remarks. We do not hesitate to call this collection an interesting one;—interesting however, not, because it admits us, like the correspondence of Madame de Sevigné or Mademoiselle d'Aïssé, into the recesses of a susceptible heart; but, because it introduces us to a brilliant circle of acquaintance; and discloses, in some measure, the interior of a very peculiar character.

The name and history of Madame du Deffand are probably well known to most of our readers; but for the sake of those who may not immediately recollect the particulars of her life, it may be proper briefly to mention, that she was born of a noble family in the province of Burgundy; that she early attracted notice by her gallantries no less than by her beauty and talents; that she was married to the Marquis du Deffand, from whom she separated 'on finding him a weak character and a tiresome companion;' that she formed for many years the center of the most brilliant and scientific society in Europe; and that after a life distinguished for every thing but virtue, she died at the age of eighty-three in the year 1780.

To develope the character of such a woman by the lights which she has herself supplied in her familiar writings, would be a task both curious and useful. It is a task however which we disclaim the idea of attempting:—our intention is only to bring into one view some desultory observations which have arisen during the perusal of these volumes.

This lady seems to have united the lightness of the French character with the solidity of the English. She was easy and volatile, yet judicious and acute; sometimes profound and sometimes superficial. She had a wit playful, abundant, and well-toned; an admirable conception of the ridiculous, and great skill in exposing it; a turn for satire which she indulged, not always in the best natured manner, yet with irresistible effect; powers of expression varied, appropriate, flowing from the source, and curious without research; a refined taste for letters, and a judgment both of men and books, in a high degree enlightened, and accurate. As her parts had been happily thrown together by nature, they were no less happy in the circumstances which attended their progress and developement. They were ripened, not by a course of solitary study, but by desultory reading and by chiefly living intercourse with the brightest geniuses of her age. Thus trained, they acquired a pliability of movement, which gave to all their exertions a bewitching air of freedom and negligence; and made even their best efforts seem only the exuberances or flowerings-off of a mind

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mind capable of higher excellencies, but unambitious to attain them. There was nothing to alarm or to overpower. On whatever topic she touched, trivial or severe, it was alike, *en badinant*; but in the midst of this sportiveness, her genius poured itself forth in a thousand delightful fancies, and scattered new graces and ornaments on every object within its sphere. In its wanderings from the trifles of the day to grave questions of morals or philosophy, it carelessly struck out, and as carelessly abandoned the most profound truths; and while it aimed only to amuse, suddenly astonished and electrified by rapid traits of illumination, which opened the depths of difficult subjects, and roused the researches of more systematic reasoners. To these qualifications were added an independance in forming opinions and a boldness in avowing them which wore at least the semblance of honesty; a perfect knowledge of the world, and that facility of manners which in the commerce of society supplies the place of benevolence.

Such was this extraordinary woman on the side of talents; but we are sorry to add that on the side of the better and more endearing parts of our nature, the affections and the virtues, she appears in a less favourable light. This assemblage of captivating qualities covered a heart equally unprincipled and insensible. Her feelings were, probably, always superficial; but in truth, no feelings, whatever might be their temper, could have long resisted the habitual depravity of her principles. As she was a sceptic from her childhood, and enured to the excesses of an age and a court memorable in the annals of dissoluteness, it is not surprising that in renouncing the virtues of her sex, she renounced also its sensibilities. Jealous and vindictive; severe in her judgments; incapable of real attachment, but the slave of caprice; sudden in fondness as in resentment, and as inexorable in the latter as in the former she was volatile; envious and malignant; incredulous of virtue because she could not appreciate it, she contracted at length a selfishness so inveterate that it might be termed the essence of her character; a selfishness in which were joined the obstinacy of a principle and the ardour of a passion. She was the victim of prejudices which often clouded her judgment, and disturbed even her *tact* in the estimation of character. Her wit seldom played without wounding; and we cannot but think that her frankness itself was owing at least as much to a coarseness and presumption of mind as to a simple love of candour. She was obviously beyond the reach of the restraints which diffidence, or respect for received notions, or consideration for the feelings of others, impose on the overflowings of common minds. We observe accordingly that where it was her wish to conciliate, she could condescend to sacrifice her zeal for truth. Inflexible as it was to the suggestions of delicacy or tenderness, it invariably yielded to those of vanity.

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During the first part of her life, while her self-love was flattered by incessant homage, the defects to which we have alluded, attracted less notice and claimed perhaps some indulgence; but, as time advanced, they became more obtrusive and less pardonable. The habits of her youth had ill prepared her for an age unusually lengthened, and attended with more than common sorrows. Disease and infirmity, by confining her body, abridged in some measure the range of her mind; her distresses were aggravated by blindness, and every day, while it took away some outward gratification, envenomed the gnawings of secret chagrin. At length that restless and undisciplined spirit, continually driven within narrower bounds, preyed upon its own strength, and abandoning itself to a querulous impatience, gave the last shade to its sufferings by making them less affecting and less respectable. There was obviously but one resource for such a mind so situated—it was that of attaching itself to some object which might fill up its faculties, and thus divert it from brooding over its own misery. Madame du Deffand perceived this necessity, and determined to resign herself to such an attachment. But now it was that those sensibilities which she had so early insulted, were avenged. The heart, which had been long closed to the profound feelings, now refused to be softened. She found herself, after repeated experiments, incapable of a sentiment so deep and exclusive as that of which she yet felt the perpetual and pressing want. Her first experiment seems to have been to establish under her roof some humble relative as a companion, whose attentions she might always command, and in whose society she might find a constant relief from ennui. This plan not answering, she tried the effects of friendship; and, as a last resource, endeavoured to take shelter in devotion. After being successively baffled in these efforts, she quietly resigned the pursuit of any permanent distraction from her misery. She resolved to enjoy what was yet attainable, to mix in the circles of pleasure, and to shut her eyes on the future, which had been too little regarded to be welcome, but was now too near not to be sometimes obtrusive. Thus in a state of alternate wretchedness and mirth, or rather of anguish, sometimes 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast' of gaiety, tormented by a disquietude which vainly struggled to become despair; shrinking from the hope of annihilation which she professed to indulge; and disavowing a futurity which she could not disbelieve, did this miserable woman pass the closing years of a long life; and thus at length did she sink into a grave which was hallowed by no sacred remembrance, nor washed by any tears but those of pity.

If any of our readers should be disposed to quarrel with the justice of the character which we have here represented, let them suspend their judgment till they have considered how far we are

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supported by the letters before us. A few, and comparatively but a few extracts shall be produced, which, we think, will convey a tolerable impression both of the good and of the bad qualities of Madame du Deffand.

Nothing can be more agreeably written than these letters. There is an air of freedom and good breeding about them, which sets off the felicities of their diction, and the charms of wit with which they sparkle. The style of their composition is light and elastic, and, excepting when sombre topics are expressly treated of, enlivened by a tone of gaiety.

We shall begin our quotations with an account of the Chevalier de Listenai, in the letters to Mr. Walpole. We cannot recollect to have met in any place a more admirable delineation of a class of our fellow-creatures whom it is not uncommon to encounter.

'Ce chevalier de Listenai dont je vous ai parlé, est positivement celui avec lequel vous avez soupé; il est parti aujourd'hui pour Chanteloup. Je le trouve un bon homme, doux, facile, complaisant; en fait d'esprit il a à peu près le nécessaire, sans sel, sans sève, sans chaleur, un certain son de voix ennuyeux; quand il ouvre la bouche, on croit qu'il bâille, et qu'il va faire bâiller; on est agréablement surpris que ce qu'il dit n'en est ni sot, ni long, ni bête, et vu le tems qui court, on conclut qu'il est assez aimable.'—*Letters*, vol. i. pp. 232—233.

The following passage will convey no mean idea of candour and independance of judgment, united with great discrimination and taste. To those who have been familiarised with the records of the *grand siécle*, it may not be unpleasing to review their early impressions under the guidance of an eminent observer of human nature; and to remark with how true a hand the balance is struck between two distinguished personages, the one the most interesting, the other the most surprising woman of that age of wonder and interest. In the sentence which is here passed upon Petrarch, we confess that we feel more reluctance to acquiesce. We cannot so easily forget

'La dolce vista, e'l bel guardo soave,'

which charmed us on the threshold of modern literature; nor can we consent to renounce the muse, of whom it may be said, in her own strains—

'Con leggiadro dolor par ch'ella spiri
Alta pietà che gentil core stringe;
Oltra la vista a gli orecchi orna, e'nfinge
Sue voci vive, e suoi santi sospiri.'

Still however, if it were allowed to insert a saving clause in favour of the real tenderness and purity of sentiment which breathe in the writings of Petrarch, we do not know that it would be possible to give in such few strokes a more accurate sketch of the Italian school of love.

'Je

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'Je n'ai point mal dormi cette nuit, et ce matin j'ai lu une trentaine de lettres de Mad. de Maintenon; ce recueil est curieux, il contient neuf années, depuis 1706 jusqu'à 1715. Je persiste à trouver que cette femme n'étoit point fausse; mais elle étoit sèche, austère, insensible, sans passion; elle raconte tous les événemens de ce temps-là qui étoient affreux pour la France, et pour l'Espagne, comme si elle n'y avoit pas un intérêt particulier: elle a plus l'air de l'ennui que de l'intérêt; ses lettres sont réfléchies, il y a beaucoup d'esprit, d'un style fort simple; mais elles ne sont point animées, et il s'en faut bien qu'elles soient aussi agréables que celles de Mad. de Sévigné. Tout est passion, tout est en action dans celles de cette dernière, elle prend part à tout, tout l'affecte, tout l'intéresse; Mad. de Maintenon tout au contraire, raconte les plus grands événemens, où elle jouoit un rôle avec le plus parfait sangfroid; on voit qu'elle n'aimoit ni le Roi, ni ses amis, ni ses parens, ni même sa place: sans sentiment, sans imagination, elle ne se fait point d'illusions, elle connoît la valeur intrinsèque de toutes choses, elle s'ennuie de la vie et elle dit, *il n'y a que la mort qui termine nettement les chagrins et les malheurs.* Un autre trait d'elle qui m'a fait plaisir; *il y a dans la droiture autant d'habileté que de vertu.* Il me reste de cette lecture beaucoup d'opinion de son esprit, peu d'estime de son cœur, et nul goût pour sa personne, mais je le dis, je persiste à ne la pas croire fausse. Autant que je puis vous connoître je crois que ces lettres vous feroient plaisir; cependant je n'en sais rien, car depuis feu Protée personne n'a été si dissemblable d'un jour à l'autre que vous l'êtes.

'Vous avez actuellement votre Pétrarque,* je ne comprends pas qu'on puisse faire un aussi gros volume à son occasion. Le fade autour! que sa Laure étoit sotte et précieuse! que la cour d'amour étoit fastidieuse! que tout cela étoit recherché, agrimaché, maniérée, et tout cela vous plaît! Convenez que vous savez bien allier les contraires.'—*Letters*, vol. i. pp. 213—215.

Of the literary sentiments of Madame du Deffand these volumes supply abundant records; but our limits allow the production of only a few examples; and these, taken as they are at random from her writings, display much strength and originality of thought, and what is more remarkable, much simplicity of taste.

'Vous voulez donc les Fabliaux, vous les aurez. Une des plus grandes différences qu'il y ait entre nous deux, c'est notre goût pour le genre de lecture. J'examinois l'autre jour ce que je trouvois de plus parfait de tout ce qui avoit été écrit, non pas dans chaque genre, mais de ce que je choisirois avoir fait, y compris tous les genres quelconques. Vous croirez peut-être que ce seroit les découvertes de Newton: oh, non, la chanson de M. de St. Aulaire me paroît trop bonne. Les livres de morale ne sont bons à rien, il n'y a que celle qu'on fait soi-même. L'histoire est nécessaire, mais ennuyeuse; la poésie exige le talent, l'esprit seul ne suffit pas; mais c'est pourtant dans ce genre que je choisirois l'ouvrage que je voudrois avoir fait, s'il avoit fallu n'en faire

* La Vie de Pétrarque, par l'Abbé de Sade.

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qu'un seul, parce qu'il me paroît à tous égards avoir atteint la perfection. Vous ne le devinez pas, et vous ne penserez peut-être pas de même, c'est *Athalie*. Mes insomnies qui sont, comme vous savez, longues et fréquentes, me font repasser tout ce que je sais par cœur; *Esther*, *Athalie*, sept ou huit cents vers de Voltaire, et quelques autres brimborions de différens auteurs, voilà malheureusement à quoi est bornée toute mon érudition; et cette pièce d'*Athalie* me charme et m'enlève, et ne laisse rien à désirer, ni à reprendre.'—*Letters*, vol. iv. pp. 2—3.

Though it cannot be said that the character of Madame du Deffand was, in every respect, unsophisticated, yet she always retained a strong relish for *the natural*, both in manners and in composition; a relish which she had probably acquired in the better days of French literature, before the *prettyisms* of Thomas and Boismont, or the sterile rhetoric of D'Alembert had supplanted the masculine beauties of Boileau, Racine, and Bossuet. Her passion for honesty is, indeed, often pushed to extravagance; and sometimes obtruded upon us with such a studied display, as even to excite a suspicion of its sincerity. We are persuaded, however, that it was genuine; and that she does not flatter herself when she says, 'Je hais toute insinuation, toute récherche, toute affectation.'

The bad taste which was so rapidly spreading over France during the latter half of the last century, she observed with infinite disgust and indignation.

'Il n'y a plus de gaîté, Monsieur, (she remarks to Voltaire,) il n'y a plus de grâces, les sots sont plats et froids, ils ne sont point absurdes ni extravagans comme ils étoient autrefois; les gens d'esprit sont pédans, corrects, sententieux; il n'y a plus de goût non plus; enfin il n'y a rien, les têtes sont vides, et l'on veut que les bourses le deviennent aussi. Oh! que vous êtes heureux d'être Voltaire; vous avez tous les bonheurs, les talens qui font l'occupation et la réputation, les richesses, qui font l'independance.'—*Letters*, vol. iv. p. 32.

'Ah! M. de Voltaire, il me prend un désir auquel je ne puis resister; c'est de vous demander, à mains jointes, de faire un éloge, un discours (comme vous voudrez l'appeler dans la tournure que vous voudrez lui donner) sur notre Molière. L'on me lut hier l'écrit qui a remporté le prix à l'Académie; on l'approuve, on le loue fort injustement à mon avis. Je n'entends rien à la critique raisonnée, ainsi je n'entrerai point en détail sur ce qui m'a choquée et déplu; je vous dirai seulement, que le style académique m'est en horreur, que je trouve absurdes toutes les dissertations, tous les préceptes, que nous donnent nos beaux esprits d'aujourd'hui sur le goût et sur les talens, comme si l'on pouvoit suppléer au génie. Je prêcherai votre tolérance, je vous le promets; je m'y engage, si vous m'accordez d'être intolérant sur le faux goût, et sur le faux bel esprit, qui établit aujourd'hui sa tyrannie; donnez un moment de relâche à votre zèle sur l'objet où vous avez eu tant de succès, et arrêtez le progrès de l'erreur dans l'objet qui m'intéresse bien d'avantage.'—*Letters*, vol. iv. pp. 280—281.

She

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She says to Mr. Walpole,

'Comment va le goût en Angleterre? pour ici il est entièrement perdu; et grâces à nos philosophes qui raisonnent sur tout, nous n'avons plus le sens commun; et s'il n'y avoit pas les ouvrages du siècle de Louis XIV, plusieurs de ceux de votre pays, et les traductions des anciens, il faudroit renoncer à la lecture.' *Letters*, vol. i. p. 25.

It was the same spirit of sound criticism which dictated her account of Gibbon. The sketch of the author, as well as of his works, is struck off in a very spirited and masterly style.

'Je vous dis à l'oreille que je ne suis point contente de l'ouvrage de M. Gibbon, il est déclamatoire, oratoire; c'est le ton de nos beaux esprits, et il me paroît qu'il se trompe souvent aux jugemens qu'il en porte; dans la conversation il veut briller et prendre le ton qu'il croit le nôtre, et il y réussit assez bien; il est doux et poli, et je le crois bon homme; je serois fort aise d'avoir plusieurs connoissances comme lui, car à tout prendre il est supérieur à presque tous les gens avec qui je vis.' *Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 286, 287.

It would be unjust to Gibbon to omit the terms in which he is mentioned in another letter.

'M. Gibbon a ici le plus grand succès, on se l'arrache, il se conduit fort bien, et sans avoir, je crois, autant d'esprit que feu M. Hume, il ne tombe pas dans les mêmes ridicules. Je ne sais pas si tous les jugemens qu'il porte sont bien justes, mais il se comporte avec tout le monde d'une manière qui ne donne point de prise aux ridicules; ce qui est fort difficile à éviter dans les sociétés qu'il fréquente.' vol. iii. pp. 295, 296.

It is really amusing to observe the *acharnement* with which this lady pursues the encyclopedists. Even to Voltaire himself she sometimes avows truths very little suited to his taste. She has indeed the precaution previously to disarm his wrath by a peace-offering of unmeasured flattery; yet the irritability of that mirror of philosophers could not fail to be touched by the point and boldness of her strictures.

'Vos philosophes, ou plutôt soi-disant philosophes, sont de froids personnages; fastueux sans être riches, téméraires sans être braves, prêchant l'égalité par esprit de domination, se croyant les premiers hommes du monde, de penser ce que pensent tous les gens qui pensent; orgueilleux, haineux, vindicatifs; ils feroient haïr la philosophie.'—*Letters*, vol. iv. p. 107.

'J'ai mis beaucoup d'impartialité dans la guerre des philosophes, je ne saurois adorer leur encyclopédie, qui peut-être est adorable, mais dont quelques articles que j'ai lus m'ont ennuyée à la mort. Je ne saurois admettre pour législateurs des gens qui n'ont que de l'esprit, peu de talent et point de goût, qui, quoique très-honnêtes gens, écrivent les choses les plus malsonnantes sur la morale, dont tous les raisonnemens sont des sophismes, des paradoxes; on voit clairement qu'ils n'ont d'autre but que de courir après une célébrité où ils ne parviendront jamais; ils ne jouiront pas même de la gloriole des Fontenelle et la Motte,

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Motte, qui sont oubliés depuis leur mort; mais eux, ils le seront de leur vivant; j'en excepte, à toute sorte d'égards M. d'Alembert, quoiqu'il ait été mon délateur auprès de vous; mais c'est un égarement que je lui pardonne, et dont la cause mérite quelque indulgence; c'est le plus honnête homme du monde, qui a le cœur bon, un excellent esprit, beaucoup de justesse, du goût sur bien des choses; mais il y a de certains articles qui sont devenus pour lui affaires de parti, et sur lesquels je ne lui trouve pas le sens commun.' vol. iv. p. 265.

This is really fine writing; but we are, after all, not disposed to give Madame du Deffand so much credit for her opinions on this subject as they may appear to deserve; because, we think, they originated chiefly from a spirit of party. There was unquestionably in the doctrines of Voltaire and his satellites enough to alarm a judgment so sound and practical as that which she possessed; but the truth is, that for some time previous to the revolution a strong party had been formed in opposition to the philosophers. It was a party composed of the majority of the noblesse, of courtiers, and of pensioners; of all those, in a word, who were interested in the existence of public abuses, and whom rank or connections, or wealth, furnished with motives to loyalty. In strict consistency with the enlightened principles by which the members of that party were actuated, they anxiously limited hostilities to the political heresies of the encyclopedists. In the religious, or rather the anti-religious tenets of that sect, they not only acquiesced, but acquiesced with the utmost cordiality. Deserting the altar, they rallied round the throne; and seem to have imagined that the civil establishment would be cheaply saved at the expense of the ecclesiastical. In the war of extirpation which was waged against the Christian faith, they were not content with neutrality. They joined the cry of the assailants, and even cheered them on to the prey, under the vain hope of luring the dogs of havock from the spoils of the state by glutting them with those of the church. The wisdom of this conduct has been sufficiently ascertained by the event; but that the real aristocratical party was as hostile to the religious creed of the Christian church as it was to the political creed of the *philosophers*, is a truth established by the internal history of France during the last century. It is a truth also of which various illustrations are supplied by these letters. Through the whole tenor of Madame du Deffand's remarks on the maxims of Voltaire, the discrimination to which we have alluded prevails; and though we are not so ignorant as to identify the œconomists with the encyclopedists, it is to the same *esprit du corps* that we attribute the bitterness with which the woman who echoes back the impieties of Voltaire calumniates the enlightened patriotism of Turgot.

As Madame du Deffand lived in the most brilliant circle in Paris, she had opportunities to judge of all the persons of rank and

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and character who flocked to that metropolis. Her opinions on these distinguished strangers, of whom the greater number have since that period acquired, by means more or less creditable, some celebrity, form the most interesting part of these volumes.

During the reigns of the two last of the Bourbons, France was honoured by the presence of several royal visitors. Of these the first in order was the King of Denmark, Christian the Second. He was received with all the distinctions of majesty, and obtained considerable popularity both with the king and the people. It appears however that the peculiarities of his disposition were even at that time apt to betray themselves. In the following amusing anecdote we see the symptoms of that constitutional defect which afterwards led to more serious follies.

'Sa majesté Danoise a jeté d'abord tout son feu; excepté quelques louanges qu'il donne de tems en tems à Voltaire et au feu président de Montesquieu, il ne dit rien qu'on puisse répéter; tous les éloges qu'on peut faire de lui consistent à n'avoir rien dit, ni rien fait de ridicule et de mal à propos; il est, dit-on, comme une figure de cire; on croiroit qu'il ne voit ni n'entend; il n'a point paru sensible à aucune des fêtes qu'on lui a données; quand, au spectacle, le parterre applaudit, il bat des mains. A Chantilly on représenta le *Silphe;* l'acteur qui chanta

Vous êtes Roi, jeune et charmant,
Et vous doutez qu'on vous adore, &c.

se tourna vers lui. Tout le monde battit des mains, et lui avec les autres; déjà on a jugé qu'il étoit imbécille. Je suspends mon jugement, je crois que c'est un enfant fatigué, ennuyé et étourdi de tout ce qu'on lui fait voir et entendre. Il part après demain, et j'espère que nous n'en entendrons plus parler. Il y auroit de quoi faire des volumes des vers qu'on a faits pour lui, tous plus plats et plus mauvais les uns que les autres.' vol. i. pp. 277—8.

Christian was followed, after a long interval, by a genius of a higher order, Gustavus the Third of Sweden. On the graces and amiable qualities of this monarch, whose unconquerable spirit made him at one time the hope of Europe, Madame du Deffand enlarges with much warmth of praise. To these sovereigns succeeded the Emperor Joseph, who was equally admired and caressed.

'On ne parle ici que de l'empereur. Le hazard me l'á fait voir, je soupai Lundi passé chez les Necker; j'y arrivai à neuf heures et demie, l'empereur y étoit depuis sept heures un quart, il avoit été avec M. Necker environ deux heures, après lequel tems il passa chez Madame Necker qui avoit chez elle MM. Gibbon, l'Abbé de Boismont,* Marmontel, le Roi de l'Académie des Sciences, notre ami Schowaleff. Quand j'entrai dans la chambre, il vint au-devant de moi, et dit à M. Necker, présentez-moi; je fis une profonde révérence, on me conduisit

* 'A man of letters, whose pulpit eloquence displeased from the affectation of his style.'

à mon

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à mon fauteuil; l'empereur voulant me parler et ne sachant que me dire, et me voyant un sac à nœuds, me dit: Vous faites des nœuds.—Je ne puis faire autre chose.—Cela n'empêche pas de penser.—Non, et surtout aujourd'hui que vous donnez tant à penser.—Il resta jusqu'à dix heures un quart; il sait très-bien notre langue, il parle facilement et bien; il est d'une simplicité charmante; il est surpris qu'on s'en étonne; il dit que l'état naturel n'est pas d'être roi, mais d'être homme. Il n'y a rien qu'il ne veuille voir et connoître; il aura tout vu et connu, excepté la société pour laquelle le tems lui manque, ayant partagé celui qu'il doit passer ici en deux emplois, de curieux et de courtisan; il avoit été le Jeudi précédent à l'académie des sciences; je crois vous en avoir rendu compte. Il fut avant-hier, Vendredi, à l'Académie des Belles Lettres, et hier à l'Académie Françoise; il n'a point voulu faire de jaloux. On ignore le jour de son départ; je crois que ce sera bientôt. Ses succès ici ont été fort grands; mais comme il n'a distingué personne, ceux qui prétendent à l'être commencent à foiblir sur ses louanges.' *Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 261, 262.

It would gratify us to enrich our pages with a greater variety of the happy portraits which perpetually start up under the pen of Madame du Deffand; but we must content ourselves with selecting only a few specimens, which yet shew the touch of a master.

The character of Necker is admirable.—

'Ils (M. and Madame Necker) ne vous plaisent pas beaucoup, je le vois bien; tous les deux ont de l'esprit, mais surtout l'homme; je conviens qu'il lui manque cependant une des qualités qui rend le plus agréable, une certaine facilité qui donne pour ainsi dire de l'esprit à ceux avec qui l'on cause; il n'aide point à développer ce que l'on pense, et l'on est plus bête avec lui que l'on ne l'est tout seul, ou avec d'autres.' *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 151.

'Nothing' (as the editor has well observed) 'can be more accurate, nor better defined than this account of M. Necker in society.'

Two of our illustrious compatriots are thus depicted. That a suspicion so unworthy as that which is thrown out at the close of this extract should have entered into the imagination of Madame du Deffand, is extraordinary; and may perhaps lead to no favourable idea of the best society in Paris.

'Le Fox compte vous voir. Dites-lui que je vous ai écrit beaucoup de bien de lui. En effet j'en pense à de certains égards, il n'a pas un mauvais cœur, mais il n'a nulle espèce de principes, et il regarde en pitié tous ceux qui en ont; je ne comprends pas quels sont ses projets pour l'avenir, il ne s'embarrasse pas du lendemain. La plus extrême pauvreté, l'impossibilité de payer ses dettes, tout cela ne lui fait rien.

'Le Fitzpatrick paroîtroit plus raisonnable, mais le Fox assure qu'il est encore plus indifférent que lui sur ces deux articles; cette étrange sécurité les élève, à ce qu'ils croient, au-dessus de tous les hommes. Ces deux personnages doivent être bien dangereux pour toute la jeunesse. Ils ont beaucoup joué ici, surtout le Fitzpatrick; il a beaucoup perdu.

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perdu. Où prennent-ils de l'argent? c'est ce que je ne comprends pas; je ne saurois m'intéresser à eux, ce sont des têtes absolument dérangées, et sans espérance de retour; je n'aurois jamais cru, si je ne l'avois connu par moi-même, qu'il pût y avoir des têtes comme les leurs. J'ai bien quelque inquiétude de confier cette lettre au Fox; s'il avoit la curiosité de l'ouvrir, il deviendroit mon ennemi; mais je ne puis me persuader qu'il soit capable de cette infidélité.' *Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 219, 220.

Voltaire was one of Madame du Deffand's oldest correspondents. The last volume of the new collection consists almost entirely of letters to him, and some curious particulars relating to his conduct and temper are discovered in the other letters of that collection. It is the fate of this singular man, as it was of his patron and rival the King of Prussia, to become less amiable as he is better known. Since his death, various publications have appeared of the private writings of his contemporaries; and they have invariably tended to throw a shade on his name. It is not merely that he is proved to have been without principle or sensibility,—for on these points there has long been but one opinion,—but he is proved to have been completely destitute of that elevation of spirit, which, though nearly allied to feeling and principle, sometimes survives the absence of both. We believe indeed, that a reverence for itself is no less the criterion than it assuredly is one of the prerogatives of true genius. But the base chicanery to which Voltaire habitually stooped for the purpose of gratifying his vanity or his vengeance, degrades him, if possible, still more from the highest ranks of intellect, than it does from the level of vulgar honesty. Some amusing illustrations of this part of his disposition may be found in the memoirs of his friend Marmontel; and not a few will occur to those who recollect the story of his memorable residence at the court of Prussia. The volumes before us furnish some of the same kind, of which we shall produce one in the words of Madame du Deffand; premising, however, that the president Henault was, at the period in question, above eighty years of age, that Voltaire professed a friendship for him and occasionally corresponded with him in terms of cordiality; and that, independent of the natural *espieglerie* of the philosopher, no motive can be assigned for the attack here described, excepting rage at a very eloquent though respectful remonstrance which the president had some time before addressed to him on his atheistical principles. Even if the accusation brought against him should be unfounded; still its having been detailed, and implicitly believed by one of his warmest admirers, is a fact worthy of notice.

'Je ne crois pas vous avoir conté un fait assez singulier; il parut, il y a un an ou deux, une vie d'Henri-IV, par M. de Buri. Il y a environ

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viron six mois qu'il a paru une petite brochure dont la police a arrêté le débit, qui a pour titre: *Examen de la nouvelle histoire de Henri IV. de M. de Buri, par le Marquis de B.*... Il y a dans cette brochure une critique amère et sanglante de la chronologie du Président; nous avons été occupés pendant quatre mois à empêcher qu'il en eût connoissance; je me fis amener un M. Castillonne qui travaille au journal encyclopédique, pour obtenir de lui de ne point faire l'extrait de ce petit ouvrage; il me le promit et m'a tenu parole. Il y a six semaines ou deux mois que le Président reçoit une lettre de Voltaire qui lui parle de cette brochure et lui transcrit l'article qui le regarde, et un autre qu'on peut appliquer à une personne bien considérable. Nous fûmes bien déconcertés; le Président ne fut point aussi troublé que nous l'appréhendions. Il fit une réponse fort sage; Voltaire lui a récrit trois lettres depuis cette première; il veut absolument qu'il réponde, et comme le Président persiste à ne le vouloir pas, il lui offre de répondre pour lui; le Président y consent pourvu que Voltaire y mette son nom. Voltaire lui a d'abord dit qu'il croyoit que l'auteur de cette critique étoit la Beaumelle; depuis il lui a dit que c'étoit un Marquis de Belestad, lequel ne sait ni lire ni écrire; ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre, on en est sûr; mais savez-vous qui on soupçonne avec juste raison? Voltaire, oui, Voltaire lui-même. C'est de cela qu'on peut dire, cela est *inoüi*. Oh! tous les hommes sont fous ou méchans, et le plus grand nombre est l'un et l'autre.' *Letters*, vol. i, p. 274, 275.

We might extend this part of our subject by citing some observations, which, for justness of thought and knowledge of the world, deserve to be enrolled among the maxims of the most practised observers of mankind: and to them might be added specimens of playfulness of wit and natural pleasantry; but we prefer giving admission to the following example of inimitable naïveté.

'Je pense quelquefois au genre d'esprit que la nature m'a donné, car l'art n'y a rien ajouté, et le nombre de mes années n'est pas assurément celui de mes connoissances. Je pense quelquefois dans mes insomnies aux différens jugemens que l'on porte de moi; ils sont presque tous, faux; vous-même vous vous y trompez; tout ce que je conclus sur mon sujet, c'est que j'aurai mené une vie bien inutile, bien puérile, et que ce n'étoit pas la peine de me faire vivre aussi long tems; il y a cependant un nombre de gens qui me croient beaucoup d'esprit, et ceux là en ont si peu, qu'ils loueroient et approuveroient tout ce que je pourrois dire de bête et d'absurde.' vol. iii, p. 372.

Having pointed out to our readers the more agreeable traits of Mad. du Deffand's character, we are now called to the less welcome task of exemplifying some of its deformities. The letters before us may be said to lay open not only the mind, but, in some sense, the very manners of their author. It is easy to perceive, that with elegance and good breeding she united no small portion of coarseness and vulgarity. That she should possess the refinement which springs from purity of principle, was not indeed to be expected;

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expected; but it is somewhat surprising, and the consideration of sex in the present instance enhances our surprise, that a person distinguished in general by nicety and truth of tact, should yet have had taste enough to be indelicate and profane. Mr. Walpole has remarked that 'she never affected scepticism;' and it is true that in her correspondence with him she is peculiarly guarded, and contents herself with a few facetious allusions to the Christian religion; but in her letters to the wits and philosophers of her own country, it is in vain to search for the same moderation. With these gentlemen she evidently piques herself on her freedom from prejudice, and labours to impress them with a conviction of the soundness of her infidelity. Still, however, we must do her the justice to say that she is never so much below herself as at those times when she endeavours to be humourous on sacred topics. We do not think ourselves obliged to produce any specimens of her efforts in this department of wit; neither are we tempted to enlarge on the extreme grossness which disgraces some parts of her correspondence. It may not however be without amusement to mention that among her many titles to fame, she possessed that of being a *gourmande*. The cautions of her friends against a vice, which in her debilitated condition was immediately followed by its punishment, were numerous, and as it might have been expected ineffectual. Her health appears to have suffered materially in consequence of this strange and unfeminine propensity. In one of her letters to the President Henault she informs him—

'Ces eaux réellement me feront du bien. Je crains seulement de trop manger: j'ai toujours un très-grand appétit, et c'est surtout le bœuf que j'aime; je ne saurais souffrir les poulardes et les poulets: le bœuf, le mouton, voilà ce qui me paraît délicieux. Aujourd'hui je craignais d'avoir trop mangé, et je me sens l'estomac très-dégagé; ce qui achève de me déterminer de prendre demain ma médecine qui ne sera que de deux onces de manne.' tome iii, p. 107.

And again,

'Mes nuits ne sont pas trop bonnes, et je crois que c'est que je mange un peu trop: hier je me suis retranché le bœuf, aujourd'hui je compte réformer la quantité de pain.' tome iii, p. 126.

This is not, we believe, a common topic for *billets-doux;* at least on this side of the Channel.

We have in a preceding page expressed an opinion that the love of truth which Mad. du Deffand affected, and did in reality possess, was yet under the influence of a more powerful passion—that of vanity. We do not, as a proof of this remark, insist on the flattery with which she overwhelms her correspondents. The general understanding of society has so well adjusted the real value of language, that expressions of politeness, and even of affection may be

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be employed on common occasions without the imputation of insincerity; although there still remain some forms of speech which are too sacred for vulgar application, and which no mind of feeling would condescend to hackney as terms of unmeaning compliment. As flattery has acquired a sort of prescriptive currency in the intercourse of the *beaux esprits* of both sexes, we have certainly no right to quarrel with it in the present instance. But our objection to Mad. du Deffand is, that whenever it suits her wishes, she can lay aside her frankness, and stoop to disguise or misrepresentation. Her conduct towards Voltaire, for example, furnishes more than one instance of such duplicity. She had many opportunities of knowing his character; and it appears that she estimated him pretty accurately according to his deserts. Yet his approbation was indispensable to every candidate for notoriety. She was therefore anxious to be in his good graces; and secured his patronage by unwearied adulation and by a resolute sacrifice of her favourite prejudices.

In her letters to the philosopher of Ferney she exhausts every term of endearment and admiration. She assures him that he is the only writer and philosopher of genius of the age; that her affection for him is extreme; that she is his oldest and most attached friend; that she desires only to embrace him and to pass her last days in his society. Of these enthusiastic expressions, which were repaid by corresponding tokens of benevolence, the sincerity may be ascertained by adverting to the circumstance, that when Voltaire came to Paris, these devoted friends had only three interviews; and that his death is thus incidentally noticed at the close of a long letter.

'Vraiment j'oubliois un fait important, c'est que Voltaire est mort, on ne sait ni l'heure, ni le jour, il y en a qui disent que ce fut hier, d'autres avant-hier. L'obscurité qu'il y a sur cet événement vient, à ce qu'on dit, que l'on ne sait ce que l'on fera de son corps; le Curé de St. Sulpice ne veut point le recevoir; l'enverra-t-on à Ferney? Il est excommunié par l'Evêque dans le diocèse duquel est Ferney. Il est mort d'un excès d'opium qu'il a pris pour calmer les douleurs de sa strangurie, et j'ajouterois d'un excès de gloire, qui a trop secoué sa foible machine.' vol. iii. p. 356.

On a comparison of her letters to Voltaire with those to Mr. Walpole, we are struck with some curious discrepancies of opinion on the same topics. To Walpole she always wrote with sincerity; to Voltaire often with finesse and management.

In the letters to Mr. Walpole, M. Turgot is 'un fou,' 'aussi extravagant et présomptueux qu'il est possible de l'être;' 'denué de lumières;' 'un homme qui n'a pas le sens commun, qui ne voyant pas plus loin que son nez, croit tout voir, tout comprendre;' 'd'un orgueil et d'un dedain à faire rire;' 'un sot animal.' To Voltaire

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Voltaire the same personage becomes 'an homme d'esprit, mais qui n'est pas absolument de votre genre.'

Of the 'Laws of Minos,' a play written by Voltaire in his old age, she says to Mr. Walpole:

'Hier au soir j'eus assez de monde à souper; le Kain, à la prière de Voltaire, vint nous faire la lecture des Loix de Minos. Ah! je fus bien confirmée que la vieillesse ne fait que des efforts impuissans; le tems de produire est passé, il ne faut plus penser à augmenter sa réputation, et pour ne la point diminuer, il ne faut plus faire parler de soi. Je suis bien trompée si cette pièce a le moindre succès; il y a cependant quelques beaux vers. Dès qu'elle sera imprimée je vous l'enverrai. On ne peut refuser à Voltaire la curiosité de le lire, tant pis pour lui s'il s'expose à la critique. Son exemple doit servir de leçon non-seulement aux gens à talens, mais à tout le monde en général. On ne doit plus dans la vieillesse prétendre à aucun applaudissement, il faut consentir à l'oubli, et le consentement qu'on y donne de bonne grâce peut du moins mettre à l'abri du mépris.' vol. ii, pp. 378, 379.

To Voltaire she observes on the same production.

'J'ai tout entendu, mon cher Voltaire, et je vous en dois des remercîmens infinis. Je doute que les morts soient aussi contens de vous que le sont les vivans. Horace rougira (si tant est que les ombres rougissent) de se voir surpassé, et Minos de se voir si bien jugé, et d'être forcé d'avouer qu'il devroit subir les punitions auxquelles il condamne des gens moins coupables que lui. Asterie est très-intéressante. Le Roi représente très-bien Gustave III; c'est en faire un grand éloge. Sans doute j'aime ce Gustave, j'ai eu le bonheur de le connoître pendant son séjour ici. Je puis vous assurer qu'il est aussi aimable dans la société, qu'il est grand et respectable à la tête de la chose publique. C'est le héros que vous devez célébrer et peindre; il n'y aura point d'ombre au tableau.' vol. iv, pages 190, 191.

After these remarks she gravely adds,

'En vérité, mon cher Voltaire, vous n'avez que trente ans. Si c'est grâce à qui vous savez, que vous ne vieillissez pas, vous vérifiez bien le proverbe: *oignez vilain, &c. &c.*' vol. iv; page 191.

And again—

'Cessez donc d'écrire, si vous voulez nous persuader que c'est votre âge qui vous empêche de venir; vous avez quarante ans moins que moi, et j'ai bien été cette année à Chanteloup. Quand l'âme est aussi jeune que l'est la vôtre, le corps s'en ressent; vous n'avez aucune incommodité positive.' vol. iv, page 191.

But the most unjustifiable example of her complaisance occurs in respect to the letters which, it will be recollected, passed between Mr. Walpole and Voltaire on the comparative merits of the French and English drama. Voltaire was anxious to draw out this correspondence into a regular controversy; a design which was successfully eluded by his antagonist. Madame du Deffand

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was perfectly aware that Mr. Walpole, although he had declined any farther discussion, remained unshaken in his opinions; yet in noticing one of the letters written by Voltaire on this occasion, she thus compliments away the good sense and critical sagacity of her best friend.

'Ah! j'ai un thême pour vous écrire; j'ai entre mes mains la copie de votre lettre à M. Walpole. C'est un chef-d'œuvre de goût, de bon sens, d'esprit, d'éloquence, de politesse, etc. etc. Je ne suis pas étonnée des révolutions que vous faites dans tous les esprits. Je ne vous parlerai plus de la Bletterie, j'aurois voulu que vous n'en eussiez pas parlé. Quel mal peut-il vous faire?

Né ministre du Dieu qu'en ce temple on adore,

Vous en êtes quitte à bon marché; ah! qu'il vous seroit aisé de mépriser vos critiques, qu'est-ce qui les écoute?

'Je suis au comble de ma joie, je viens de recevoir pour bouquet de ma fête les sept premiers volumes de votre dernière édition; je m'en suis fait lire les tables. Tous vos ouvrages seront-ils compris dans la suite? Je ne veux que cette seule lecture, et le Journal Encyclopédique, pour avoir connoissance des autres livres, bien déterminée à n'en lire aucun entièrement. C'est Mad. de Luxembourg qui m'a fait ce beau présent; je ne vois, je n'aime que ceux qui vous admirent. M. de Walpole est bien converti; il faut lui pardonner ses erreurs passées. L'orgueil national est grand dans les Anglois, ils ont de la peine à nous accorder la supériorité dans les choses de goût, tandis que sans vous, nous reconnoîtrions en eux toute supériorité dans les choses de raisonnement.' vol. iv, page 99 to 101.

On the expression '*bien converti*,' Mr. Walpole very good naturedly observes in a note,

'L'amitié de Mad. du Deffand pour moi lui dictoit cette expression, qu'assurément je n'ai jamais autorisée. J'avois rompu tout commerce avec Voltaire, indigné de ses mensonges et de ses bassesses.' v. iv, p. 100.

The most remarkable feature, however, of Madame du Deffand's mind, is her want of feeling. The impression which cannot fail to be produced by her own representations corresponds with the terms in which she is described by La Harpe: 'Il étoit difficile d'avoir moins de sensibilité et plus d'egoïsme.'

In the choice of her friends she was influenced entirely by caprice; and during the crisis of her friendship the powers of language seemed to sink under its vehemence. Yet it required no extraordinary event to convert these transports of love into bitter resentment. The most trivial circumstance, if it tended to eclipse her pretensions, or to thwart her reigning passion, effaced the attachment of years, and substituted in its stead the most implacable rancour.

At one period of her life, she felt as sincere an affection for Mademoiselle Lespinasse as she was capable of entertaining. They quarrelled

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quarrelled and separated; and from that moment there seems to have been treasured up in the breast of Madame du Deffand, a hatred which even the sorrows and sufferings of its object had no charm to mitigate. However justly she might in the first instance have been exasperated, it was at least to be hoped that the death of her rival might have restored some of those first impressions which had been cast into shade by mutual jealousy and misconduct. When she heard of that event, she exclaimed, according to La Harpe, 'elle aurait bien dû mourir quinze ans plutôt; je n'aurais pas perdu d'Alembert.' The manner in which she announces it to Mr. Walpole is in the same cast.

'Mademoiselle de Lespinasse est morte cette nuit, à deux heures après minuit, ç'auroit été pour moi autrefois un événement, aujourd'hui ce n'est rien du tout.' vol. iii, page 149.

From this time Madame du Deffand never alludes to her without some expression of contempt or anger; generally stiling her 'la demoiselle,' or 'la muse de l'encyclopédie.' It is well known that the philosophers were involved in the quarrel between these ladies. To the infinite mortification of Madame du Deffand, her two principal friends, the President Henault and D'Alembert, warmly espoused the cause of Mademoiselle Lespinasse. This preference she never forgave. Marmontel relates, that, at the period of the rupture, she imperiously proposed to D'Alembert the alternative of breaking with Mademoiselle Lespinasse or with herself. He, without hesitation, resigned himself to his young friend; and incurred, by that act, the inexorable hatred of her whom he had quitted; a hatred which, among various efforts of vengeance, vented itself in sarcastic criticisms on his style as an author.

The President Hénault had been for many years the favoured lover of Madame du Deffand; but he too was, in evil hour, seduced by the attractions of Mademoiselle Lespinasse; and even proceeded to request her hand in marriage. This conduct, as it might have been expected, excited the indignation while it cooled the affection of his former mistress; and subsequently to this period, the intercourse between the lovers appears to have been of a temper well adapted to the great age of the respective parties. His death is thus recorded—

'Le Président mourut hier à sept heures du matin, je l'avois jugé à l'agonie dès le Mercredi; il n'avoit ce jour-là, ni n'a eu depuis ni souffrances ni connoissance, jamais fin n'a été plus douce, il s'est éteint. J'avois tant de preuves de son peu d'amitié, que je crois n'avoir perdu qu'une connoissance; cependant, comme cette connoissance étoit fort ancienne, et que tout le monde nous croyoit intimes (excepté peu de personnes qui savent quelques-uns des sujets dont j'avois à me plaindre.) Je reçois des complimens de toute part.' *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 109, 110.

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The only person of her own nation whom, after many years of intimacy, she did not dismiss from her regard, was Mr. Pont de Veyle; and it must be owned that the merit of this single exception is not a little abated by the character of the man in whose behalf it was made. It is not easy to imagine a being less amiable or less respectable than Mr. Pont de Veyle. We cannot afford room for the description which Mr. Walpole has given of him; but it is enough to observe that with many singularities and much talent, he was chiefly distinguished by his indifference and his want of sensibility. The President Henault describes him as one 'qui s'amuse du tout et n'aime rien.' This gentleman however was to the day of his death the companion of Madame du Deffand. In the 'Notice Historique,' prefixed to the 'Correspondance inédite,' a dialogue is given which sufficiently paints the two friends.

'*Pont-de-Veyle*, lui dit-elle un jour, *depuis que nous sommes amis, il n'y a jamais eu un nuage dans notre liaison.—Non, madame.—N'est-ce pas parce que nous ne nous aimons guères plus l'un que l'autre?—Cela peut bien être, madame.*' page xvi.

Immediately after the death of this attached friend, Madame du Deffand went to a large assembly; and when the company condoled with her on her loss, she replied, helas! il est mort ce soir à six heures, sans cela vous ne me verriez pas ici. La Harpe, who assures us that he was present when this scene took place, adds 'et elle soupa comme à son ordinaire, c'est à dire fort bien, car elle était très gourmande.' It should be observed however that this anecdote is in its circumstances somewhat inconsistent with the account which Madame du Deffand herself gives of the death of Mr. Pont de Veyle. The terms in which she there laments this misfortune, are indeed rather more impassioned than those which she commonly employs on such occasions; yet they have about them a coldness and an air of disquisition which are very different from the tone of deep sorrow. We should willingly insert the account we allude to; but prefer giving our readers a sketch of the state of her feelings some time after the event happened.

'J'ai perdu mon dernier ami en perdant Pontdeveyle, il n'étoit point aimable, j'en conviens, mais je le voyois tous les jours; il étoit de bon conseil, je lui étois necessaire, et il me l'étoit aussi. Aujourd'hui je ne tiens à rien, je n'ai que ma valeur intrinsèque, et c'est être réduite à moins que rien.' *Letters*, vol. iii, page 378.

In appreciating this part of Madame du Deffand's character much undoubtedly must be attributed to the original temperament of her mind. She was constitutionally selfish and cold. But it appears to us, that this habit of selfishness was made inveterate by her want of principle, and by the influence of the circumstances in which she was placed. Defect of principle is no less fatal to the sensitive,

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sensitive, than to the intellectual parts of man. The heart which has never been taught to swell at some high motive, will yield to ignoble impulses. Its powers will be thus enervated, while its propensities are debased; and habitual debasement (for let it be recollected we do not speak here of a temporary dereliction of principle) cannot consist with the indulgence of any profound emotions. It is a wise provision of our nature, which has united the higher faculties of the heart and the understanding by so many common ties; and has established a sympathy between that which is elevated in morals and that which is energetic in passion.

The ill effects, however, which are apt to result from an absence of principle, may yet, as daily experience proves, be counteracted by the operation of circumstances. There are many situations, which habitually invite the exercise of the amiable affections; and in which, by consequence, those affections, even uncontrouled by any decided moral influence, may be maintained in purity and vigour. Thus a life passed in retirement, where the feelings are not broken by a multiplicity of objects, or in familiar intercourse with romantic scenery, or in the bosom of domestic happiness, cannot fail under every supposition, to cherish the better inclinations of the heart. It is indeed the praise of the domestic relations, that they have the power not only to protect the feelings while yet unsullied, but also to reclaim them when vitiated, and to revive them when weakened: not only to preserve the vestal flame, but, if it be quenched, to rekindle it by an ætherial influence. In this point of view the institution of marriage is peculiarly striking, because it tends more directly than any other cause, to concenter and purify the affections if deadened by vice, or frittered away by frivolity. It calls up the neglected or abused energies of nature; and winning them to exertion by the charm of attractions whose force is in tenderness, teaches them to spread and luxuriate round the circle of the domestic duties. It acts therefore as an internal principle of renovation, to keep society from rapid degeneracy. Operating, if we may use the expression, by the mere movement of the machine, it corrects and rectifies the moral tone; and thus, in point of virtuous sensations, brings back every successive generation to the standard of the preceding.

These remarks have been suggested by a glance at the disadvantages to which Madame du Deffand was exposed. As her want of feeling was not supplied by principle, neither was her want of principle compensated nor even neutralised by any fortunate concurrence of circumstances. The career of her life was such as almost to preclude the possibility of a return to a better system. From the restraints of a cloister she was early transferred to the excesses of a profligate metropolis, and

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a court still more profligate. Yielding to the torrent, she abandoned herself to the reigning vices; and was not more celebrated among the witty for wit, than among the gay for dissipation, and the profane for impiety. From this state of ruin she might have been rescued by a happy marriage; but here too her evil genius interfered. According to the fashion among the higher circles in France, in the disposal of her hand the wishes of her relations alone were consulted; and the consequences were such as might have been prophesied; dishonour to her husband and disgrace to herself. She pursued with increased ardour the pleasures which had already betrayed her reputation; and at length by the shameless capriciousness of her gallantries, revolted even the indulgent morality of a Parisian public. Thus situated, with a husband whom she despised, and at length renounced, and without children, she had not even a fair chance of being recalled to goodness by the visitings of a pure and tender sentiment. It is therefore far from surprising, that she should have finally sunk into that utter heartlessness, from which at a later period she in vain endeavoured to rouse herself. At the later period here alluded to, she felt, as we have already remarked, the want of some fixed and sublime object of attention; and how painfully she felt it, may be gathered from her letters, which abound with traits like the following: 'Cependant il aime, et quoique ce ne soit qu'une poupée, cela vaut mieux que d'avoir l'ame vide. De tout ce qu'on rencontre, on ne trouve rien auquel on puisse s'attacher.' She was conscious that the ennui, by which she was tormented, sprung from the 'besoin de s'attacher;' and under this consciousness, she determined, when the resources of health and beauty had failed, to take refuge in the exercise of the affections. It was certainly most wise and natural for her in the midst of solitude and privation, to wish for some companion; 'c'est toujours (it is thus she explains her motives) 'un bien, d'être le principal objet de quelqu'un, rien n'est pis que l'indifférence active et passive, c'est-à-dire, celle qui est en nous, et celle qu'on trouve dans les autres.'—vol. iii. p. 432.

The first object of her choice was the lady whom we have already mentioned, Mademoiselle Lespinasse. The history of the connection between these singular women, and of the causes which led to its dissolution, it is unnecessary here to repeat, nor should we much covet the task of recording the commotions excited among the wise and learned of France, by the wranglings of a superannuated coquette and a delirious sentimentalist. The result, however, of a union which commenced under flattering auspices, goes far to prove that Madame du Deffand was incapable of being seriously attached. Four years passed in receiving good offices at the hands of

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of a person, anxious, for a time at least, to conciliate her regard, and peculiarly gifted with the talent of attaching, were insufficient to rectify the selfishness of that impassive mind. In the species of good-will which she professed towards her companion, there was no infusion of any sentiment distinct from a supreme reference to her own comfort. This was the object in which all her loves and friendships terminated; and independently of this object, she was insensible alike to joy or sorrow. Whatever might have been the delinquencies of Mademoiselle Lespinasse, the original cause of the rupture is to be found in the ungovernable self-love of her protectress.

The year subsequent to that which thus separated her from Mademoiselle Lespinasse, introduced her to Mr. Walpole. As the intimacy which followed this introduction, forms one of the most interesting features in her history, it has excited no little curiosity and discussion. It is indeed a fair problem to decide, how far in her mind a softer sentiment was mixed with that of friendship. We shall here avail ourselves of the language of the editor of the 'Letters of Madame du Deffand to Mr. Horace Walpole.'

'At the commencement of Mr. Walpole's acquaintance with Madame du Deffand he was near fifty, and she above seventy years of age, and entirely blind. She had already long passed the first epoch in the life of a Frenchwoman, that of gallantry, and had as long been established as a *bel-esprit*; and it is to be remembered that in the anti-revolutionary world of Paris these epochas in life were as determined, and as strictly observed, as the changes of dress on a particular day of the different seasons; and that a woman endeavouring to attract lovers after she had ceased to be *galante*, would have been not less ridiculous than her wearing velvet when all the rest of the world were in *demi-saisons*. Madame du Deffand, therefore, old and blind, had no more idea of attaching Mr. Walpole to her as a lover, than she had of the possibility of any one suspecting her of such an intention; and indulged her lively feelings, and the violent fancy she had taken for his conversation and character, in every expression of admiration and attachment, which she really felt, and which she never supposed capable of misinterpretation. By himself they were not misinterpreted; but he seems to have had ever before his eyes a very unnecessary dread of their being so by others—a fear lest Madame du Deffand's extreme partiality and high opinion should expose him to suspicions of entertaining the same opinion of himself, or of its leading her to some extravagant mark of attachment; and all this he persuaded himself, was to be exposed in their letters to all the clerks of the Post-office at Paris, and all the idlers at Versailles.'

In addition to these judicious observations, it may be suggested, that the situation of Madame du Deffand, and the complexion of her mind, were such at the period in question, as to account, in a great measure, for the impetuosity with which she grasped at the

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friendship of Mr. Walpole, and the fidelity with which she adhered to it.

She was heart-sick of the world. In her attempts to secure confidence, and especially in the recent instance of Mademoiselle Lespinasse, she had been disappointed. Her bad opinion of her species became inveterate; and she professed to be firmly persuaded that mankind was composed only of two classes, les fous and les fripons. But nature insensibly struggled against a perfect acquiescence in that persuasion; and she could not forbear still to indulge the prospect, or at least the wish, of meeting with some person on whose sincerity she might repose. When she saw Mr. Walpole, she thought that she had found the object of her search. The respectability of his character was imposing. To the polish of good-breeding and the charms of conversation, he added many estimable and engaging qualities; and above all, an honesty, which we are vain enough to think, was in some degree national. This was a virtue which invariably attracted Madame du Deffand. She observes in one of her letters, of a character which in this respect resembled that of Mr. Walpole, 'J'aime assez M. de Guignes, je lui trouve de la douceur, il a l'air de la franchise, et c'est une vertu assez rare dans le pays que j'habite.' An impression like this, but more ardent, may be supposed to have resulted from the same quality in her new friend. Whether he corresponded in every point of view to the being whom she conceived necessary to her happiness, may be doubted; but he alone, in the round of her acquaintance, approached to that model; and he certainly so far approached to it, as to invite her imagination to fill up the deficiency. It appears to us therefore, that a variety of feelings entered into that celebrated intimacy; and though among the number, esteem and affection may fairly be classed, yet the predominant principle, we are afraid, was still self-love. She cherished it, not with the ardour of sympathy, but with the avidity of one who clings to his last hope.

But the sentiment in question, of whatever ingredients it might have been composed, is uniformly in these letters pourtrayed with an energy and a pathos to which we cannot refuse our admiration. These effusions of a devoted spirit would probably have been still more abundant, had they not been repressed by the ungracious severity of him to whom they were offered; but in spite of coldness and reproaches, Madame du Deffand perpetually breaks forth into the language of fondness, and that with a warmth and a simplicity which are truly affecting.

We are aware that this account may seem inconsistent with the representations which we have given in a preceding page, of the heartlessness of Madame du Deffand. Her attachment to Mr. Walpole

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Walpole may perhaps be adduced as a proof that she was far from inaccessible to the most pure and lasting impressions. Such indeed we must confess was our first view of the subject; and such it would continue to be, if we adverted only to the tenor of her letters. But on a consideration of the circumstances of her life, and of some facts which we have already had occasion to notice, we have been induced to hesitate in admitting that conclusion. We do not doubt the sincerity of the attachment alluded to: but we doubt its depth and disinterestedness. We believe that the feeling which Madame du Deffand professed to have, really existed; but we think that it was neither so profound nor so free from selfishness as she perhaps imagined, and as the terms in which it is uttered imply. Our reasons for this opinion are briefly these.

In the first place we observe that these terms are not restricted to her correspondence with Mr. Walpole. She writes in language equally nervous and impassioned to all her friends. It seems as if in the moment of composition her genius always mounted to the same degree of heat; and mounted to it more by the stirrings of some inward principle of expansion, than by the application of any external influence. It would be easy to prove that in her letters, even to persons for whom she had no extraordinary preference, she used uncommon energy of diction. This is peculiarly the case with respect to Voltaire, whom it is sufficiently clear that she neither loved nor esteemed; but to whom she was in the habit of writing with an eloquence and an apparent sensibility which are no where surpassed in her addresses to Mr. Walpole. Examples of this kind may at least excite a suspicion, whether the strength of her friendships can be measured by that of her expressions.

In the second place we observe, that if this sentiment was indeed such as it may on a superficial view appear to be, it must have been the first real attachment of her life. We are then to believe, that, when she was more than seventy, she entertained for the first time, a predilection, in which all selfish considerations were lost in exclusive devotion towards its object. The bare statement of this circumstance seems to us to shew its improbability. If her affections had never been solicited to action till her acquaintance with Mr. Walpole, there might have been little extraordinary in so tardy a developement of feeling. But that she should have been surrounded for many years by favoured lovers, and that throughout that period, under every variety of situation, no fortunate incident should have touched her sensibility, is surely a sufficient proof that she was, for the remainder of her life, perfectly secure from any danger in that quarter. If, in her circumstances, she felt no real attachment before the age of seventy, we may pronounce it impossible that she should feel one after that age.

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If, however, we are required to explain, on other principles than those which we are calling into question, the nature of the friendship under review, we must observe, that there is one consideration which ought not to be overlooked. Mr. Walpole was the only person in whom Madame du Deffand, at any period of her life, placed perfect confidence. The effects of this single circumstance, to which we can here only allude, would, if they were fully traced out, probably account for all the peculiarities of her sentiments towards him. If the society, even of those whom she distrusted was necessary to her, in what light must she have regarded a connection which was above suspicion?

Besides, we cannot help attributing the *duration* of this friendship very much to the distance which separated the friends. If Madame du Deffand had obtained the wish which she frequently utters of an uninterrupted enjoyment of Mr. Walpole's company, we suspect that her next prayer would have been of an opposite description; and that even this distinguished favourite would have shared the lot of his predecessors.

It strikes us also as incontrovertible, that a sentiment so rooted and exclusive would have entirely absorbed the bosom where it was nourished, and left no room for habitual discontent or selfish complainings. Yet it is certain that in the case before us no such effect was produced. The letters to Mr. Walpole are crowded with the most frightful sketches of desertion and ennui. The sensation of desolateness which is imparted by some of these descriptions, resemble those with which a traveller may be supposed to contemplate the ruins of Thebes or Palmyra.

'Je ne connois que deux maux dans le monde, les douleurs pour le corps, et l'ennui pour l'âme. Je n'ai de passion d'aucune sorte; presque plus de goût pour rien, nuls talens, nulle curiosité, presqu'aucune lecture ne me plaît ni ne m'intéresse. Je ne puis jouer ni travailler; que faut-il donc que je fasse? tâcher de me dissiper, entendre des riens, en dire, et penser que tout cela ne durera plus guères. Personne ne m'aime, je ne m'en plains pas, je suis trop juste pour cela.'—*Letters*, vol. iii, p. 249.

'Je m'aperçois très-sensiblement que je perds petit à petit toutes les facultés de l'esprit; la mémoire, l'application, la facilité de l'expression, tout cela me manque au besoin. Je ne désire point d'être aimée, je sais qu'on n'aime point, et je le sais par moi-même, je n'exige point des autres qu'ils ayent pour moi les sentimens que je n'ai point pour eux; ce qui s'oppose à mon bonheur c'est un ennui qui ressemble au ver solitaire et qui consomme tout ce qui pourroit me rendre heureuse. Cette comparaison exigeroit une explication, mais je ne puis pas débrouiller cette pensée.'—p. 115.

Her dread of solitude, aggravated as it was by ill health and want of sight, obliged her in the year 1767 to supply the place of Mademoiselle Lespinasse by another inmate. Mademoiselle Sanadon, on

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on whom her choice fell, appears to have been exactly qualified for the situation; humble, submissive, unpretending. As she attracted no admiration, she formed no party, and excited no jealousy. She remained therefore till the death of her tyrant, in a state of peaceful and contented imprisonment.

But the resources of a single companion were insufficient, and Madame du Deffand was impelled, by the increasing horrors of her situation, to invite her nephew, M. d'Aulon, with his family, to make part of her domestic society. In reply to some observations of her correspondent on this project, she thus explains her motives.

'Vous avez peut-être toute raison en prévoyant que ce sera moins un agrément qu'un embarras dans ma vie. Mais, mon ami, vous ne savez pas à quel point mon caractère est foible, et l'abattement où je tombe quand je crains de passer mes soirées seule; la sorte d'humiliation qui tient à l'abandon m'est absolument insupportable; j'aimerois mieux le sacristain des Minimes pour compagnie, que de passer mes soirées toute seule; c'est un point fixe que j'ai dans la tête, une espèce de folie qui me fit aller, il y a vingt-cinq ans, en province, où je passai une année entière. Enfin, que vous dirai-je? il m'est nécessaire de n'être pas abandonnée à mes réflexions; si je ne craignois que vous ne traitassiez ce que j'ai à vous dire de métaphysique, je vous dirois tout ce qui se passe en moi; mais à quoi cela serviroit-il? à vous attrister peut-être, ou du moins vous ennuyer.'—*Letters*, vol. iii, p. 425.

In another letter she illustrates, in a very lively manner, the same doctrine, 'elle (ma niece) et son mari seront pour moi ce que sont les haies qu'on place sur les grands chemins bordés de précipices, ils ne garantissent pas du danger, mais ils en diminuent la frayeur.'

There is something impressive in the contemplation of this celebrated woman at this period of her career. It is affecting to observe, with how many props a decaying heart loves to sustain its weaknesses.

In spite, however, of every effort, her contempt of human nature increased; and her distrust of her friends (always excepting Mr. Walpole) was daily aggravated. She turned with disgust from the hollowness of those enjoyments from which age and sorrow had stolen their first colours; and sickened at the prospect of a world, which to her was lighted only by the gleams of a setting sun. The future at the same time was dark and cheerless.

It is related of Madame Roland, that on the night preceding her execution, she employed herself in playing on a musical instrument; and drew forth such tones of horror as thrilled the hearts of her fellow-prisoners. It was, perhaps, something of the same presentiment which inspired the following passage.

'Pour moi, Monsieur, je l'avoue, je n'ai qu'une pensée fixe, qu'un sentiment, qu'un chagrin, qu'un malheur, c'est la douleur d'être née; il

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il n'y a point de rôle qu'on puisse jouer sur le théatre du monde auquel je ne préférasse le néant, et ce qui vous paroîtra bien inconséquent c'est que quand j'aurois la dernière évidence d'y devoir rentrer, je n'en aurois pas moins d'horreur pour la mort; expliquez-moi à moi-même, éclairez-moi, faites-moi part des vérités que vous découvrirez; enseignez-moi le moyen de supporter la vie, ou d'en voir la fin sans répugnance. Vous avez toujours des idées claires et justes; il n'y a que vous avec qui je voudrois raisonner, mais malgré l'opinion que j'ai de vos lumières, je serai fort trompée si vous pouvez satisfaire aux choses que je vous demande.'

She still felt, even to agony, the necessity of some superlative sentiment on which she might lavish the energies of her mind; and these vague and feverish aspirations after an unknown good became at length irresistible. She repeatedly expresses to Mr. Walpole her conviction of the happiness of devotion; and the justice of her opinions derives strength from their sincerity.

'M. Craufard vous racontera la vie que je mène, il vous dira, s'il veut parler franchement, qu'il me trouve excessivement vieillie et de corps et d'esprit, que le nombre de mes connoissances est assez étendu, mais que je n'ai pas un ami, excepte, Pontdeveyle, qui les trois quarts du tems m'impatiente à mourir; que la Sanadona est d'une platitude extrême, que je vis cependant fort bien avec elle, qu'elle me fait faire une étude de la patience et de l'ennui; qu'enfin je suis assez raisonnable, mais pas infiniment heureuse, étant fort peu contente de tout ce qui m'environne, et moins de moi que de personne. Ma santé est médiocre, mais je n'en désire pas une meilleure, je serois fâchée d'avoir plus de forces et d'activité; mais ce que je voudrois ce seroit d'être dévote, d'avoir de la foi, non pas pour transporter des montagnes, *ni pour passer les mers à pied sec*, mais pour aller de mon tonneau à ma tribune, et remplir mes journées de pratiques qui, par un nouveau tour d'imagination, vaudroient pour le moins autant que toutes mes occupations présentes. Je lirois des Sermons au lieu de Romans, la Bible au lieu de Fables, la Vie des Saints au lieu de l'Histoire, et je m'ennuierois moins, ou pas plus de ces lectures que de toutes celles que je fais à présent; je supporterois plus patiemment les défauts et les vices de tout le monde, je serois moins choquée, moins révoltée des ridicules, de la fausseté, des menteries que l'on entend, et qu'on trouve sans cesse, enfin j'aurois un objet à qui j'offrirois toutes mes peines, et à qui je ferois le sacrifice de tous mes désirs.'—*Letters*, vol. ii, p. 372—374.

After our readers have acknowledged the good sense and truth of these remarks, they will naturally expect, in the next place, to see them carried into practice. The account which we shall subjoin of the attempt made for that purpose, is worthy of attention. While it opens an interesting view of feelings and motives, it betrays at the same time the secret struggles of pride and shame.

'La vieillesse, l'aveuglement, la surdité sont bien tristes, mais elles ne sont que cela, elles ne mettent pas au désespoir; elles abattent,' elles

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elles découragent: savez-vous le dernier effet qu'elles out produit en moi? souvenez-vous du songe d'Athalie, relisez-le si vous l'avez oublié, vous y trouverez ceci:

Dans le temple de Juifs un instinct m'a poussée
Et d'apaiser leur Dieu j'ai conçu la pensée.

'J'ai donc cherché à satisfaire cette inspiration, ou cette fantaisie, j'ai voulu voir, et j'ai vu un Ex-Jésuite, bon prédicateur, je lui ai trouvé beaucoup d'esprit, de raison et de douceur, il ne m'a rien dit de nouveau, mais sa conversation m'a plu; je le crois de bonne foi, je compte le voir de tems en tems; que sait-on ce qui en arrivera? si en effet il y a une grâce, je l'obtiendrai peut-être; à son défaut, si je peux me faire illusion, ce sera toujours quelque chose.'

This experiment also failed, like those which preceded it; and its failure affords another evidence of the situation of Madame du Deffand's mind. It appears, that she could estimate, and even detail the felicities of devotion. Her judgment was convinced, and her imagination captivated; it might therefore have been supposed that there could remain no obstacle to the attainment of her wishes. But the fact is, that her heart was in fault. It had not intenseness of emotion enough to realize the deductions of her reason, nor to kindle into life the visions of her fancy. She could not acquiesce in the doctrine of an invisible world, because her feelings gave her no hints of its truth. Yet it is so natural to believe what we confess to be rational and essential to happiness, that the progress from desire to persuasion is almost inevitable in a mind which is yet alive to the voice of nature. Besides, Madame du Deffand had lost many friends, whose places she professed herself incapable of supplying. Here then was another opportunity by which the same powerful voice might have led to the same conclusion. For the conviction that the attachments of this life shall be renewed in some other state of being, seems necessarily to result from the operation of strong passions under great distress. It is the effect, not merely of reason, but, we had almost said, of instinct; and is struck out by the workings of a wounded spirit, searching for consolation in the depths of its immortality. The mind, at such a moment, turns unbidden to the resource which has been provided. It draws arguments for hope from suffering and decay; and is taught, in some sort, by the excess of its sensibility, to divine the grandeur of its destinies.

As an illustration of these remarks, we cannot help adding, that we have always been struck by the variety of language which Cicero, in his various writings, adopts with regard to the great truth in question. In his moral and philosophical works he debates the doctrine of a future state, with all the doubt, which under his circumstances

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cumstances belonged to it. But when in the person of Cato,* he laments the friends whom he has lost, he forgets his scepticism, and assumes the tone of confidence which was so imperiously demanded by his feelings.

Another example of the same kind may be found among the ranks of modern philosophy. D'Alembert was not possessed of much sensibility; but his attachment to Mademoiselle Lespinasse amounted almost to a romantic passion. Soon after the death of that lady, he composed his 'éloge' on Madame de Sacy. That performance, which is distinguished throughout by an affectionate mildness of style, closes with an interesting picture of the friendship that subsisted between Madame Lambert and Madame de Sacy. In touching on the sentiments which are excited by the remembrance of a departed friend, the author, it was understood, gave the transcript of his own feelings. Real grief, on this occasion, imparted to his words an eloquent tenderness, and wrung from the cold philosopher, tones which might not have disgraced Fénélon.

'Madame de Lambert, qui survécut encore six années à M. de Sacy, entretint et nourrit toujours ce sentiment cher à son cœur. Elle y joignit un espoir plus consolant encore, celui que la divinité bienfaisante donne aux ames vertueuses, de se réunir un jour pour n'avoir plus à pleurer leur séparation; espoir en effet si propre à soulager les maux des cœurs sensibles; espoir dont la malheureuse humanité avoit un besoin si pressant, qu'elle a couru, pour ainsi dire, au devant de lui, avant que la bonté suprême et éternelle volut bien le lui présenter elle-même. Un sentiment profond et plein de vie, privé d'un objet chéri qu'il ne retrouvoit plus, et ne pouvant supporter l'idée accablante d'être anéanti pour jamais, a inspiré, intéressé, éclairé la raison, pour lui faire embrasser avec transport cette attente précieuse d'une existence immortelle, dont le premier desir n'a pas dû naître dans une tête froide et philosophe, mais dans un cœur qui avoit aimé.'—*D'Alembert, Eloges*, tom. i, p. 233.

The emotions which this passage is calculated to excite are sacred; and we will not violate their sanctity by introducing any quotations of an opposite tendency from the writings of Madame du Deffand. The last scenes indeed of her brilliant life were so melancholy, that we are not unwilling to shut them out of our remembrance.

Before we finally dismiss this subject, it is incumbent upon us to say a few words respecting the person to whom most of these letters are addressed.

In the notes to Madame du Deffand's letters, some extracts are given of Mr. Walpole's replies; and we confess that we are almost

* De Senectute.

selfish

selfish enough to wish that they had occupied a greater portion of these volumes. They seem to us happy specimens of epistolary writing, as far at least as talents are concerned. They are clever, agreeable, and spirited; abounding with amusing descriptions, lively sallies, and apposite traits of character. The style, though somewhat affected, is full of energy; and furnishes a pleasing proof of the proficiency to which a foreigner may attain in the French language.

These extracts speak favourably also for Mr. Walpole's moral feelings. The brutal excesses of the French populace on the execution of Lally, (excesses which were approved by Madame du Deffand,) he reprobates in the severest terms; and is no less vehement in his expressions of contempt for what he stigmatises as 'les mensonges et les bassesses' of Voltaire. The applauses lavished by that writer on the Empress Catharine are denounced in these powerful and indignant sarcasms.

'Voltaire ne fait horreur avec sa Catherine; le beau sujet de badinage que l'assassinat d'un mari, et l'usurpateur de son trône! Il n'est pas mal, dit-il, qu'on ait une faute à réparer: Eh! comment répare-t-on un meurtre? Est-ce en retenant des poëtes à ses gages? en payant des historiens mercenaries, et en soudoyant des philosophes ridicules à mille lieues de son pays? Ce sont ces âmes viles qui chantent un Auguste, et se taisent sur ses proscriptions.'—*Letters*, vol. i, pp. 148, 149.

To maintain uniformly a tone of such dignified honesty, is no common praise.

We should presume, from these scattered specimens, that the distinguishing feature of Mr. Walpole's correspondence, is sincerity. It must be owned, however, that at times he carries that virtue to a very singular excess. The language in which he frequently addresses his devoted correspondent, it would be mildness to designate as harsh and unfeeling. Some idea of its nature may be formed from one example.

'A mon retour de Strawberry-hill, je trouve votre lettre, qui me cause on ne peut pas plus de chagrin. Est-ce que vos lamentations, Madame, ne doivent jamais finir? Vous me faites bien repentir de ma franchise; il valoit mieux m'en tenir au commerce simple: pourquoi vous ai-je avoué mon amitié? C'étoit pour vous contenter, non pas pour augmenter vos ennuis. Des soupçons, des inquiétudes perpétuelles!—vraiment, si l'amitié a tous les ennuis de l'amour sans en avoir les plaisirs, je ne vois rien qui invite à en tâter. Au lieu de me la montrer sous sa meilleure face, vous me la présentez dans tout son ténébreux. Je renonce à l'amitié si elle n'enfante que de l'amertume.'—*Letters*, vol. i. p. 37.

These lines, as they have been permitted to see the light, are probably among the gentlest of his angry effusions. Of what description

scription the rest may have been, we are at liberty to conjecture, from the effects which they produced.

'Votre plume est de fer trempé dans le fiel. Bon Dieu! quelle lettre! Jamais il n'y en eut de plus piquante, de plus sèche et de plus rude; j'ai été bien payée de l'impatience que j'avois de la recevoir.'—*Letters*, vol. ii, p. 360.

To the 'Letters of the Marquise du Deffand and Mr. Horace Walpole,' are prefixed a preface, and a life of Madame du Deffand, by the editor. They are written in an excellent tone, and in a style temperate, chaste, and purely English. With much knowledge of the world, they evince a spirit of candour corrected by a strong judgment and sound principle; and are evidently the productions of a mind, enlightened and vigorous, polished alike by extensive reading, and by intercourse with the best society. The most important parts of Madame du Deffand's character are here accurately estimated, and placed in their just point of view. Her good qualities are not exaggerated; nor is the depravity of her heart disguised by a misplaced delicacy.

On the whole, we have read these prefatory pieces with great satisfaction; and in offering this testimony to the merits of an anonymous writer, we cannot avoid expressing a hope, that a second opportunity may be soon given us of performing so agreeable a duty.

ERRATA.

p. 8, l. 13 from the bottom; for *altogether* r. *all together*.
p. 10, l. 14 from the top; for *descents* r. *descent*.
ibid. l. 7 from the bottom; for *Judah* r. *Israel*.
p. 11, l. 19 from the bottom; for *lives* r. *lines*.
p. 156, l. 13 from the bottom; after 'commander,' insert 'Lieutenant Colonel Innes.'
p. 169, l. 2 from the top; for *but* r. *that*.

We should esteem it a favour if our anonymous correspondents would indicate a channel by which our observations might reach them.

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